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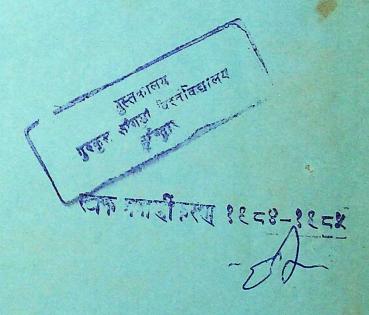
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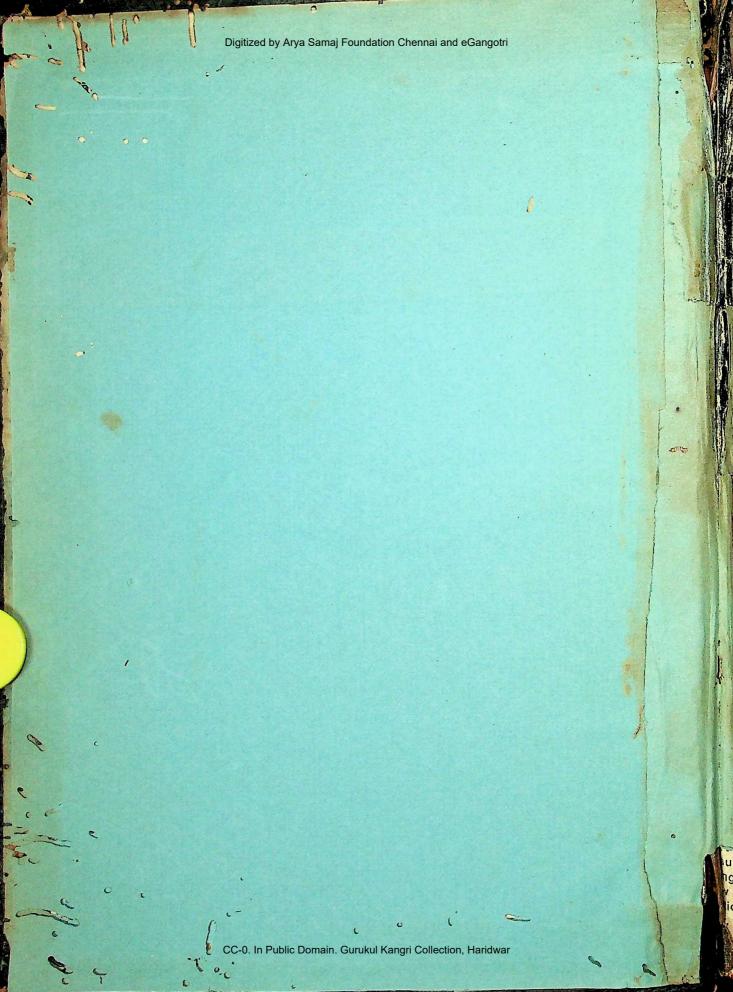
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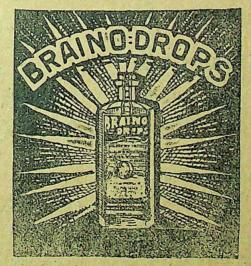
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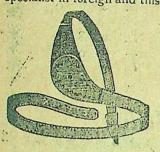
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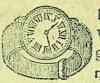
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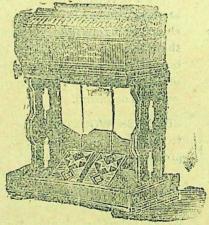
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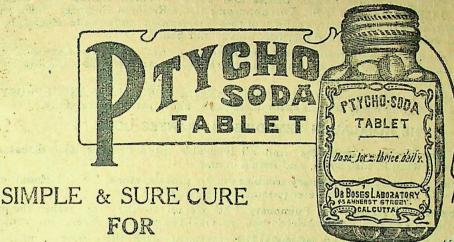
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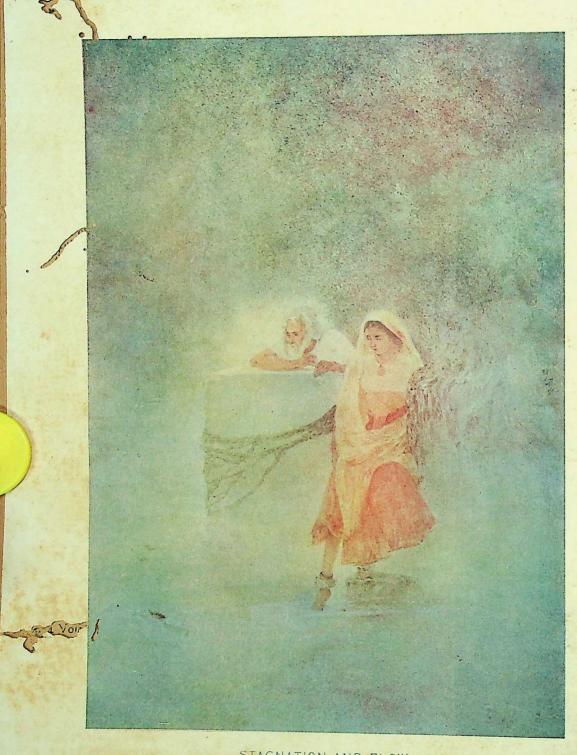
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THE MODERN REVIEW:

VOL. XXVII No. 1

JANUARY, 1920

WHOLE No. 157

POLITICAL TENDENCIES IN CHINESE CULTURE

By BENOY KUMAR SARKAR, M.A.

I. REVOLUTIONS IN CHINESE HISTORY.

THE Chinese are ever proud of the Tangs (A.D. 618-905) and the Mings (1368-1628) among their indigenous dynasties. It was under the Tang emperors that the Chinese empire comprised for the first time all the outlying regions called Greater China (Korea, Manchuria, Mongolia, Turkestan and Tibet). And the Ming dynasty is specially dear to the Chinese heart because its founder, a poor Buddhist monk, succeeded in overthrowing the "foreign" Mongols.

But, what is the political character of the Tang regime? Twenty-one emperors belonged to this dynasty. sixteen were nominal rulers. For twothirds of the period of about three hundred years the country was disturbed by civil wars or revolts within and invasions from abroad. Rivalry between minister minister or general and general, interprovincial struggles constitute the history of these two hundred years. The emperors, those "sons of Heaven", had to live under the protection of king-makers, powerful potentates, or enerals. Not more than one, Tai Tsung 627-50), had the Napoleonic might to hold ogether a consolidated empire.

The history of the Mings repeats the same tale. Tai Tsu (1368-99), the founder, proved to be a strong military man. He was real emperor of a United China, but of (1403-25) was powerful or lucky enough radition.

by leading a successful revolt against his own nephew. On the whole, the period was punctuated with Tartar invasions from the north and raids of Japanese pirates from the east. It ended with violent intrigues and seditious movements which ultimately led to Manchu conquest.

The revolutionary unrest that marked the Ming dynasty's administration may be gathered from the biography of the great "heretic" philosopher Wang Yang-ming (1472-1529). He had not been a favorite with the court because of his heresy. But in the posthumous defence of his character by the Imperial Director of Education we read of his "fourfold merit". It is interesting that all the items refer to disorder in the empire.

"First, Prince Ning was disorderly...... Within the Court the Wei Pin clique, favorites, and their associates were perfidious. Outside, such guards as Pi Chen Liu and Lan were treacherous, and the Court officials throughout the country nearly all looked on. Had it not been that Shou-jen (Wang Yang-ming) was loyal took upon himself the respectively of punishing the rebel, it would be hard to tell whether the country would be now at peace or in danger."

Wang's second merit was described thus:

"The camps of Tamao, Cha-liao, Liton, and Tungkang represented the combined force of four provinces. Soldiers had collected there for a number of years. When Shou-jen reached the place as guard La subjugated them all."

The third melat was the quelling of a rebellion.

maintain Tai Tsu's imperialistic for years, so that quiet rould not be restored, Yung-lo himself Became emper Suruku nor could the people be packed. In consequence

Sharjer was sent there and caused Prince Lu's followers to bow their heads in submission."

The fourth merit was as follows:

"Originally the eight military posts were the disgrace of the interior of the two Kwangs (provinces of Kedangtung and Kwang-si). The Government soldiers co-operated with the rebels and there was no way of getting at them; By a surprise attack he exterminated them as quickly and as easily as though they had been wood. It accrues to the merit of Shou-jen that he averted great calamity and was ready to work unto death." (Henke: The Philosophy of Wang Yang-ming).

The contemporary statement of the qualifications of a Ming celebrity thus opers up the normal disquiet to which China was a victim even under her indigenous rulers. Similarly under the Han dynasty (B. C. 202-A.D. 190) also, rendered illustrious through the powerful Wu-ti (B. C. 140-87), China never maintained her integrity for more than two successive generations. And the still earlier Chou (B. C. 1122-255), during which flourished Laotsze (c. B. C. 604) and Confucius (B. C. 551-479), was the period of feudalistic disintegration, of innumerable regicides, of baronial wars, and raids of Huns, Scythians or Tartars and of the aboriginal hill tribes. It was the epoch of fifty, sixty, seventy-five, and even one hundred and twenty five lesser Chinas maintaining their sovereignty alongside of one another.

The unrest and turmoil of the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries B. C., found adequate expression in the verses of the period. Some of these were collected by Confucius in his "She-king" (The Book of

Poetry).

In Part I, Book X, Ode VIII, the soldiers are describing the sufferings of the parents as they are called to the front and are eager to return to peaceful agriculture:

"Suh-suh go the feathers of the wild geese, As they settle on the bushy oaks. The king's affairs must not be stackly discharged, And so we cannot plant sacrificial millet

and millet. What will our parent mave to rely on? O thou distant and Zure Heaven! When shall we be in our place again?

When shall (our service) have an end?" (Legge's translation).

In Part II, Book VIII, Ode X, the sold of Cl are complaining that the kingdom is sear and scorched like the vegetable wor burnt yellow and then nearly black:

"Every plant is yellow; Every day we march. Every man is moving about, Doing service in some quarter of the kingd specific Every plant is purple; Every man is torn from his wife. Alas for us employed on these expeditions; the Ex How are we alone dealt with as if we riess. n

We are not rhinoceroses, we are not tigers To be kept in these desolate wilds. indige Alas for us employed on these expeditions. Morning and night we have no leisure."

This is the story of China under Chinese. China came under an foreign rule during two periods of her histolimits (1) the Mongol (1260-1368) and (2) Manchu (1644-1912). Both these period were, as usual, marked by intrigues, co piracies, civil wars and revolutions. So bited of these were led by secret societies, a by individual generals and governors, intrig others by Mohammedans.

II. THE LOGIC OF THE FISH.

Disruption is then the norm in the hist pire i of Chinese politics. As with the F Engel Roman Empire in Europe and the Mos perii Empire in India, in China also the Provi trouble facto independence of the and the formal vassals was regarded as inconsistent with jure imperium of the hwangti, sa violent bhauma or "world-sovereign". Besi the ca anarchic periods of complete disintegrat extending sometimes over centuries, dur which no one dynasty enjoyed even no Period nal hegemony over the rest, interve much between the fall of one and the rise of during other mighty Power.

China, like India, is, in Real-politi armas geographical expression. It is a "plo istic universe," in spite of the "fundame contin unity" of cultural "ideals" pervading entire area. China is one country on the sense in which Europe is one neither in ancient and mediaeval ages CC-0.11 Public Domain. Gurukul Kaligri Brederin Hatimes has it been possible of gra

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postulate the "unity of Europe" for purpos-1 ?" on). es of international politics. The "unity of China" and the "unity of India" are e sold equally unreal terms in the diplomatic is sear history of Asia. There have been many e wor Chinas and many Indias at the same time during almost every century.

Disruptive tendencies are not, however, kingd specifically oriental characteristics. "confusions and revolutions of governments! described by Anthony Ascham of itions, the English Civil War period have not been if we west marked features of the Occident than

not m of the Orient.

inder.

ry on!

The Imperial dynasties of China, whether itions, indigenous or foreign, have not indeed been long-lived. But where on earth have the ruling houses had greater longevity than in China? The boundaries of the alle Chinese empire as well as the territorial limits of the lesser Chinas have changed e peri tent and area of kingdoms, city-states, ues, ed duchies, and markgrafates of Europe exhins. So bited the same kaleidoscopic character? ies, a There have been anarchies, conspiracies, nors, intrigues, and regicides in China; but where has mankind known continuous H. Peace for any length of time?

The following picture of the Roman emhe hist pire is furnished by an anti-monarchist in the FEngelbert's De Orta et Fine Romani Im-

e Mog perii (c. 1325):

o the "The Roman empire was and is always Provi troubled by wars and rebellions; hardly ever s newere the gates of the temple of Janus shut; the the greater number of Roman emperors have died ti, sal violent deaths; and the Roman empire has been Best the cause rather of disorder than of peace." (Woolf: Bartolus). tegrat

This is an accurate picture of every ven no period of European history. It is true as nterve much of Machiavellian Italy as of Germany rise of during the Thirty Years' War. It suggests the Napoleonic era as exactly as the great politi armageddon initiated by Kaiser William II.

China is thus not the only country or dame continent where revolutions and changes ading of rulers have been plentiful as blackberries. The phenomenon of stable equilibrium has never been experienced by man either in the ages of in the West. The political centre ossible of gravity has been always on the move

from organism to organism, from class to class, leading to the subversion of the 'old and the ringing in of the new.

Revolutions constitute the assertion of new stronger forces, and all history is the document of these assertions. The record of human achievements in the political sphere is the illustration of but one logic. This is what in Hindu political philosophy is called matsya-nyaya or the "logic of the fish." Larger fishes swallow up the smaller, the stronger overpower the weaker. This "struggle for existence" is the law of the "state of nature" as described by Spinoza and Hobbes, or Naturprozess as Gumplowicz calls it in Der Rassenkampf.

The operation of the logic of the fish is "the golden rule," "the simple plan," observable in all organic relations. China has been no exception to the universal sway of the cosmic doctrine of might and the

survival of the fittest.

III. ACHIEVEMENTS AND FAILURES OF THE MANCHUS.

In Young China's terminology the anti-Manchu revolution of September 1911, has been characterised as anti-foreign. But, were the Chinese really a subject race under the Manchus? To be more general, we may even ask the question: "Were the Mongols and Manchus foreigners China?"

If the Mongols and the Manchus are to be treated as aliens and foreign usurpers, every other Imperial dynasty would have to be called almost equally foreign. Ethnologically speaking, nearly every "national" dynasty of China had more or less an intermixture of non-Chinese blood. The old civilization of the Chinese was built up by people who had come from outside, viz., from the north-west, and were thus aliens in China. The influx of new-comers, generically known as Tartars (of various denominations), from the north and north-west, and the assimilation of aborigines anothill tribes, especially in the south and south-west, have never ceased in Chinese history. The continent of China is a genuine museum of humanity, and that been awareal multing-pot of races.

"Foreign" influence has thus to be detected

in every epoch of Chinese culture.

Where vadeed on earth is to be found an alleged pure race with its institutions and ideals untouched by extraneous races? In this respect China does not differ at all from England, France, Germany, India, the United States or any other country of the ancient and modern world. If foreign influence in blood, language, or ideas of life is to be regarded as an instance of foreign subjection, no race of men has ever been really free. The diversity of races in China has undoubtedly led to the transfer of political hegemony from house to house and province to province. But this is exactly what has happened, for instance, in Germany, the land of heterogeneous peoples. And yet in Germany, as Bryce remarks in "The Holy Roman Empire", the diversity was "not greater than in France, where intruding Franks, Goths, Burgundians, and Northmen are mingled with primitive Kelts and Basques, nor so great as in Spain or Italy or Britain."

It is true that the Mongols and the Manchus came into China from outside. But it is also true that they never left China again "homeward bound". did not enter China to exploit it in the economic or cultural interests of another land, an alien mother-country. They did not regard China as their "colony" made it their patrie, or Vaterland, the centre of all their affections and dreams, their own, their "native land". They lived and worked only to make China the real "middle kingdom" of the world. Their sole ambition consisted in carving out for China "a place in the Sun".

The Mongols and the Manchus did not come to impose any foreign customs and laws upon the "natives" but became part and parcel of the indigenous social life. They assimilated themselves in every possible way to the manners, superstitions, prejudices, and sentiments that already existed among the people. Here, as in many other instances in world-history, "captive Greece captyred Rome."

We do not, therefore, hear of a so-called Mongol or Manchu culture in Chinamain Equikul Kangri Galletiniciarid Vivil service came in

Mongol and the Manchu periods have being as like other periods, but two links in a grows fro ing chain of the same Chinese civilization xamir In language, literature, the fine arts, philithou sophy, or religion, these periods do not nonorif present any hiatus between the precedinount, and the succeeding ages, except what is conferred evitable in a continuous evolution. Thus, I same Lao-tsze, the same Confucius, treater same Buddha, that had governed Chine pports life under the mighty Tangs and the brilliong ant Sungs, governed Chinese life under thtaine Mongols and the Manchus also. Hans o

Did the Chinese under the so-call foreign rulers suffer anything like Manch Spanish inquisitions, or the anti-Jewithinese "pogroms" associated with such Russiar the cities as Kishineff, Kovno, Vilna, or Kierimbitio Could any Chinese justly cry to his comraent. I as the Russian Jew could lament to honger in the language of Max Weber?:-"Is Chinese not in Egypt still and under Pharaohossibly hand that we live?" Or, could a pictul Sign like the following in regard to the, ho Romanoff regime be called up about the conq Mongol and the Manchu administration eriods

"Egypt only a myth, and Russia real, Egypt a legend, Russia tyrant to-day."

ol, iss Were the autochthonous men and won are of China treated by the Mongol and hust I Manchu rulers as mere hewers of wood alecessit drawers of water? Were they appoint new o only to the subordinate posts and clerimaking offices as but second fiddles to the "suthe regr riors" imported from the ruling races the The questions must be answered in more t oercion emphatic negative.

The The history of the Chinese administrati system does not, as a rule, furnish instasons of system does not, as a rule, furnish instruction oces of the "colour-bar" in public officempire. whether in the village service or in Coursever work. Appointments to government polalways in Imperial China had been made on a certain results of public examinations since Hather times (B. C. 29). These service regulationall desp were generally kept up by the Mongoembodi though put in abeyance for a short thother by some of the degenerates. The systethe M. was maintained throughout by the Mas esse chus. Impartiality and fair play were the Fr ensured. The highest officials in the armsince 1 the ministry, the education departmentavy in

we beer ay as much from the children of the soil a grows from the naturalized new-comers. lizatio xamination sifted the fit from the unfit s, philvithout race-prejudice. Besides, the five not nonorific titles of nobility, viz., duke, recedinount, viscount, baron, and baronet, were at is innferred without distinction on the Mann. Thus, Mongols and the Chinese. What ius, threater facilities for self-development or Chinespportunities to nurture their genius e brilliong lines of advance had the Chinese nder thtained, say, during the golden age of the

Hans or of the Tangs? o-call Of course, as the Mongols and the like Manchus settled down in China, the i-Jewithinese found in them fresh competitors Russior the loaves and fishes. Their field of · Kienmbition was circumscribed to that excomraient. But these competitors were then no to honger Mongols or Manchus but as good -"Is Chinese as the original inhabitants could naraohossibly be.

pictul Signs of foreign subjection are not wantto the however, to indicate that China was out a conquered country during the two

ration eriods.

In 1289 Kubla Khan, the great Mony." ol, issued an ordinance to disarm the en-I won are Chinese population. The measure and must have been a temporary political ood alecessity, but it did not succeed. And in opointriew of the fact that the Mongols were clerinaking themselves Chinese in all respects, "suthe regulation cannot be taken exclusively races the mark of "alien" domination. It was d in more the tyranny of an oligarchy than oercion by a foreigner.

strati The Manchu emperors stationed garriinstasons of Manchu soldiers at Peking and at office mpire. These Manchu "colonies", how-Court oever small they might be in size, were nt por always detested by the Chinese. But to on a certain extent they should be regarded that as the "praetorian guards" of matically despote the considerable as the visible ulational despots than specifically as the visible Iongo embodiments of a foreign rule. Taking all ort thother circumstances into consideration, systethe Manchu garrisons must be treated ne Mas essentially distinct in character from ere the French army and navy in Indo-China rtme havy in Korea since 1910.

Another fact of Chinese subjection to the Manchus is universally known. It is the queue or "pig-tail" at the back of the head with the front clean shaved. The Chinese never tolerated it and always smarted under the compulsion to keep it. It was however really a "fashion" with the men of light and leading among the Manchus themselves. But as it was abhorrent to the taste and sentiment of the Chinese, the imposition of the Manchu style must be regarded as sheer despotism. But, here, again, should it be called the tyranny of a foreigner, or rather the bigotry and arbitrary rule of an English Charles II in England or a French Louis XIV in France or the Russian Czars in Russia?

An interesting parallel to the Mongol and Manchu periods can be furnished from the history of India. The Mohammedan (the so-called Pathan, 1206-1526; and Moghul, 1526-1764) regime in India is similar to that of the Mongols and Manchus in China, because the first Mohammedans came into India as conquerors. But though they have maintained their religious antithesis practically intact, there has been ultimately a great rapprochement between the Hindus and the Mohammedans in language, music, painting, architecture, folk customs, etiquette, and phases of social life.

In political and military affairs the distinction between the original inhabitants of India and the new-comers (and the converts to the new faith) was all but obliterated. Hindu finance ministers were at the head of the Imperial treasury of the Great Moghul. The land revenue of the Mohammedan empire was organized by Hindu statesmen. Hindus were appointed equally with Mohammedans as governors of the provinces. The highest commissions in the army also were conferred on Hindus. Hindu commanders were trusted with Mohammedan troops against Mohammedan princes and governors. Expert Hindu chiefs were despatched to put down the revolts of Mohammedan generals and vicerovs.

ne armsince 1885 and the Japanese army and ces of Bengal in the cast and the Deccan in the Korea since 1910. The "Pathan" (Mohammedan) provinting the province of Bengal in the cast and the Deccan in the south were annexed to the Moghul

(Mohammedan) territory with the help of Hindu soldiers and generals. The emperor Jahangir (1605-27) sent the Hindus, Rao Ratan and Raj Singh, even against his own son Shah Jahan when he was a rebel (1623-25). Similarly the Hindu commanders Pahar Singh, Badal Singh and others were appointed by the emperor Shah Jahan (1628-58) along with Prince Aurangzib to take charge of the expeditionary force against Balkh and Badaksan (in Central Hindus thus co-operated Mohammedans in the Imperial attempt (1646-47) to found a Greater India. In the wars against the Persian Mohammedans, also, in Afghanistan, the buffer between India and Persia, the Moghuls and the Hindus fought shoulder shoulder (1648-53) for the expansion of their common Motherland.

The wars of Mediaeval India were thus neither racial nor religious, but fundamentally territorial or provincial. and Mohammedans on one side could thus be arrayed against Hindus and Mohammedans on the other. There was genuine identity of political and economic interests, so far as the "local" units were concerned.

Mohammedan rule in India was in no respects the "government of one people by another". It was not an alien rule like that of the Hohenstaufens, and later of the Habsburgs, in Italy, or of the French in Indo-China, or of the Americans in the Philippines. The rule of the Mongols and the Manchus in China was likewise not a foreign rule.

Besides, from the standpoint of national glory, the Mongol and the Manchu regimes were not behind the Han, the Tang, and the Ming. The Chinese can be as proud of their country's achievements during these periods of alleged "foreign" rule as during the others.

Kubla, the Grand Mongol, developed the material resources of China, deepened the Great Canal, patronized letters and faiths, and was in every way one of the best "enlightened despots" of the eighteenth century European type. Further, it was under him that in 1281 a Chinese "armada" was on the point of making Japan an island-province of Greater in Shift Bomant Waskul Kangriddington, Hair Wout loyalty and sensua

again, through him and his feudatorie Central Asia and Russia that the Chiwithon had the credit of extending the westigant frontiers of Asia into the very hearand n Europe, as far as the Carpathian Mowar This Mongol-Chinese empire ringe the medium through which Europeans on his gunpowder, the mariner's compass and and popular of printing art of printing.

And the latter-day degeneracy of of buff Manchus must not blind one to the The C that during at least the first century arto dec half of their rule down to Kien-lung (Tpersec 96) their records both in war and p And could vie with those of the "Augustan awas: of Chinese culture represented by the Taabsolu and the Sungs. Kanghi (1661-1722), quence second emperor of this House, suppreHe 1 rebellions, annexed Turkestan and TNether to the empire, introduced social reforming and promoted sciences and arts. It succes his humanitarian legislation that puHe sup stop to the traditional "sacrifice" rights women in the tombs of the aristocrats were t also attempted, with partial success, It is suppression of "foot-binding" amdental Chinese women. The monumental Dipolitic nary of the Chinese language and Encyachiev paedia of Chinese culture owe their orwarfan to his patronage. eligio

Kanghi was altogether the peerpant in China's greatest and the world's nThe co distinguished sovereigns. In intrinsic mwas no he was greater than any of the Mings. Subject the China of his days could, like Iramong under his contemporary Aurangzib regime Great Moghul (1658-1707) as descriexami by Bernier, the French traveller, st honorable comparison with the Eur Manel dominated by Louis XIV (1661-1715) this H

grand monarque, of France.

alist" understand the Asia of seventeenth century in the backgroun any le contemporary Europe it is necessary Greats forget the nineteenth century and rechas be developments in governmental theories institutions as well as in material scient and general culture. The public and vate morals of the English people du the age of Kanghi are thus described Manel Macaulay: "Then came those days not the sa to be recalled without a blush, the day fall of

the Chwithout love, of dwarfish talents and e westigantic vices, the paradise of cold hearts y hear and narrow minds, the golden age of the ian Moward, the bigot and the slave. The king ipire ringed to his rival that he might trample ppeans on his people, sank into a viceroy of France, iss and pocketed, with complacent infamy, her degrading insult and her more degrading rold. The caresses of harlots and the jests acy of buffoons regulated the policy of the state.

to the The Government had just ability enough tury ato deceive and just religion enough to

ial scie

and

and p And in France Louis XIV's dictum istan was: "I am the State". He carried this the Taabsolutism to its furthest logical conse-1722) quence both in home and foreign policies. suppreHe led aggressive wars against the and TNetherlands and the German states, and al reforbrought about the War of the Spanish s. It Succession. His taxation was arbitrary. at puHe suppressed the Huguenots. Nationality, crifice"rights of the people, freedom of conscience ocrats were things unknown in Europe. .

access, It is in the light of these facts of Occiamdental history that modern students of tal Dipolitical science ought to read the Asian l Encyachievements of the time. Internecine neir orwarfare, raids of military adventurers, and

feligious persecution were not more rame peerpant in China or in India than in Europe. d's The conception of civil and religious liberty nsic mwas not more highly developed among the ings. subjects of the Hapsburg emperors than ike hamong the peoples of Asia. The Manchu ngzih regime can thus easily bear the critical

descriexamination of Comparative History.

er, st Moreover, the decay of the later ne Eur Manchus is not a phenomenon special to -1715 this House. The mighty Tangs had not been mighty for long, nor had the "nationalist" Mings been wielders of strength for ground any length of time. Similarly the Manchus failed but to produce a legion of Kanghi the ssary Greats. In Europe also not every monarch has been a Caesar or a Charlemagne.

IV. THE CHINESE HERODOTUS ON THE LAW OF REVOLUTIONS.

To what, then, is the passing of the scribed Manchus due? We have to detect here

The revolution of 1911 does not differ from those of the previous ages in any significant sense except that this was initiated, if not conducted, by intellectuals like Kang Yuwei, Sun Yat-sen, and Liang Chi-chao.

The fundamental reason of revolutions in China, the land of perpetual insurrections and civil wars, is not far to seek. It is as universal as humanity itself. It is akin in character to the forces that down to the epoch of the French revolution kept Europe in eternal strife whether through dynastic ambitions or corrupt administrations. It is essentially what Polybius traces in the links or transitions between the "normal" and the "abnormal" in his "cycle of the forms of government."

The same Polybian dictum is stated by Sze Ma-chien (B. C. 90), the Herodotus of China, in his chapter on the closing period of the Han dynasty. "At length under lax laws, as the historian goes on, the wealthy began to use their riches for evil purposes of pride and self-aggrandisement and oppression of the weak. Members of the Imperial family received grants of land, while from the highest to the lowest, every one vied with his neighbour in lavishing money on houses, and appointments, and apparel, although beyond the limit of his means. Such is the everlasting law of the sequence of prosperity and decay."

The founder of the Manchu dynasty, also, in his inaugural proclamation (1644) bore testimony to the real causes of Said he: Chinese revolutions.

"The Mings having become corrupt, rebels rose everywhere and oppressed the people. China being without government, I, faithful to the beneficent traditions of my family, have destroyed its oppressors, saved its people, after which, yielding to the universal request, I have fixed the seat of the empire at Peking. Crowned with the blessings of Heaven, I announce that I have ascended the throne..... I beg respectfully that Heaven and Earth may aid me to remove the misfortunes of my country."

The Manchus conquered China at the invitation of the Chinese general Wu San-The complete subjugation was effected with Manchu armies but under Chinese generals. The Manchu conquest ays not the same causes as led to the decline and was thus almost a "national" undertaking. ne day tall of the "national" Coulses blo Dor Ini natural Was that the Manchus was, like the

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Buddhist beggar who had overthrown the last, Mongol, a real Yugavatara, "deliverer" or political Messiah. He began by calling China "my country". He came to remove its "misfortunes", and could thus sincerely issue the proclamation as a genuine "Chinese" patriot.

The Manchu dynasty was, therefore, as "legitimate" in origin as the Ming. Nor had the Han dynasty any more valid claims. Its founder is described by Du Halde as "a private soldier who became a freebooter and captain of a troop of vagabonds."

Like the founder of all other Imperial dynasties, Shoonchi (1644-61) was in reality putting an end to the "state of nature", which, according to the great Chinese philosopher Moh Ti (B. C. 500. 420?), is, as Suh Hu points out in the Development of Logical Method in Ancient China, an "anarchy of birds and beasts" He suppressed the operation of matsya. nyaya or the "logic of the fish", and "unified the people's diversified notions of what

SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION IN INDIA

BY LAJPAT RAI.

I.

THE RELATIONS OF THE SEXES.

THE sex relation is the most important of all human relations. It is the foundation of society. Marriage, which regulates that relation, thus becomes the most important of all social institutions. It is the foundation of family life, which in its turn is the pivot round which society revolves. The sex relation is receiving a great deal of attention at the hands of the modern scientific world. It supplies a theme for more than half of the total output of literature and art. rules supreme in prose, poetry, fiction, drama, sociology, philosophy and all the cognate subjects. Large and elaborate treatises, written by some of the best authorities in the social sciences (including the medical) dealing with the sex problem from every conceivable point of view, are multiplying. Some of them furnish the most illuminating reading on the subject. The question is so important and so farreaching in its consequences to humanity at large, and to communities, that neither findividuals nor nations can neglect it except at the peril of their efficiency.

The religious literatures of the world,

how important the question has been at all times, in all countries and under all circumstances. The primitive man attached as much importance to it as his cultured brother did later and as the modern man does now. No lawgiver could ignore of neglect it. Moses, Christ and Mohamed paid as much attention to it as Manu, Confucius and Zarathustra did. "Code Justinian" deals with it, and so does the "Code Napoleon".

It is the phase of life in the handling which the world has shown that variety of point of view, which is at once the beauty and the curse of this world of ours. No two nations ever took the same view of the ser relations. In no two countries were the laws of marriage the same. In no two centuries in the same country was the sex morality the same.

A careful study of the ethical history the world proves that ethical and more standards have varied with time, place and circumstances. There has been no such think as a universal code of morality. The rule of morality, especially those falling under the head of sex-morality, have been different and are different, in different countries and the codes of the different nations Donald Venuk communication, Appropriate sometimes different

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in the various internal social groups of one and the same community. That they have been different in different times has been established beyond a shadow of doubt. Every age and every community has surrounded its own code of morality with a halo of sanctity. Yet the succeeding generations had no scruples to tear down the old edifice and build a new one in its stead. Sometimes they have done it by a process of amplification; at others by quiet modification; so that to-day we are inclined to think that the progressiveness of a nation or community is revealed by the frequency of the changes that have taken place in its standards and ideals and rules of morality. Fixity of moral values for any great length of time is evidence of stagnation rather than of progress. A boast that our moral standards are the same to-day as they were three thousand years ago is a sign of senility.

"Morality," says Havelock Ellis, "is fundamentally custom, the mores of a people. It is a body of conduct which is in constant motion, with an exalted advanceguard which few can keep up with and a debased rear-guard. In the substantial and central sense, morality means the conduct of the main body of the community." "The collective conscience in the shape of moral precepts, lays down the conventional code which must be open to change," says another great writer. diversity of moral codes among different nations and at different stages of civilization proves that no moral precepts can be accepted as permanently unalterable. Of course, every nation considers its own code and its practices morally superior, if not perfect. Other nations are looked down upon by the measure of one's own national standards. A European Christian coming to the East very solemnly deplores the Ruddle of the Hindus, Moslems and Buddhists, of the Chinese and the Japanese. Judging them by his own standards, he calls them names—barbarians, half-civilized,

uncivilized, primitive, immoral, et cetera. A Hindu or a Mussalman coming to Europe is shocked at the immorality of the white man country of the

A pious Christian feels highly indignant at what he considers the orgies of Tantric practices in India. As a matter of fact the vast bulk of the Indians know nothing of them or about them. The Christian critic fishes them out, either by laborious study of the Tantric literature, or by clever crossexamination of his native servants, who, in their turn, have used the amplifying process on what they have heard asstories. The Hindu or the Mohamedan visitor to Europe and America feels that the worst orgies of Tantric practices fall into the shade in comparison with what goes on in the all-night-clubs and other pleasure resorts of Paris, Berlin, London and New York. Similarly, a Japanese when lectured on the . shocking immorality of an institution like the Yoshiwara of Tokio may well retort that the Yoshiwara is a much more moral institution than many nursing homes, and massage and bath parlours of London and New York.

When an oriental enters into a close study of sex conditions in Europe and America and hears it stated, on what appears to be unimpeachable authority, that between 75 and 90 per cent of the population of certain cities of these continents suffer or have suffered at one time or another, from venereal diseases, he begins to consider that compared with this the conditions in the Orient are those of bliss. He forgets, however, that while perhaps venereal diseases are not so rampant in the Orient as in the Occident. the other conditions of social life there are so unnatural and unsocial as to make life a hell, a thing to be despised rather than praised. The truth is that all judgments upon the morality of nations, other than our own, are, oftener than not, the result of prejudice, ignorance and conceit. judge others by our standards, without the guarantee of our standards being the best and the most reasonable.

The history of the Hindus shows that the ideas of sexual morality prevailing at the time of the Mahabharata were in all probability somewhat different from whiteman. The fact is that the one is perhaps as they certainly are different from as much moral or immoral as the other. What subsequently developed first under

Brahmanic and then Moslem influences. The mere mention of the manner in which the great body of the Pandus and many other Epic heroes were ushered into existence would shock the sense of decency of a modern Hindu, man or woman. How deeply does a Hindu flush with indignation and shame when listening to the stories of loose sex relationships mentioned in the Puranas. Serious efforts are put forth to explain away their apparent meaning by a "series of esoteric interpretations that are read into them." I do not say that all the stories are historical facts or that they are true narrations of facts as they happened; nor can any one ignore the - manifest symbolism that underlies at least some of them. Yet, after all has been said. it cannot be denied that these stories represent the ideas of morality that were current at the time when they were composed. It should at the same time by no means be forgotten that from hoary antiquity the race consciousness of the Hindu has rightly taken joyous pride in the ideal of the single-minded devotion of husband and wife to each other, even after the death of one of the two, as embodied in the stories of Shiva and Sati, Savitri Satyavan, Nala and Damayanti, Vasishtha and Arundhati, and Sita and Rama.

I have dilated on this point at such length because I want to impress upon my countrymen that, whether looked at from the fundamental or from the historical point of view, there is nothing unnatural or shameful in our revising our ideas of sex morality much less in discussing what changes are needed in our marriage laws. By our attacks on the abominable institution of child-marriage, by our championing the right of the widow to remarry, by the insistence with which the social reformers have been running down polygamy and by the half-hearted and timid acknowledgment which we have accorded to the right of the parties to make their own choice of their mates, we have practically admitted the necessity of a revision of our ideas about the institution of marriage. influences that have so far moulded our opinions on the subject & payelly Daning four

and partly social. The glaring injusti of the situation which allowed a pluraling of wives to the same man, had its share in moulding our opinion. There can no manner of doubt that the existing inequalities between the rights of men at women, in the matter of sanctioned by law and custom, Hinduan Muhammadan, are indefensible. All effort made to remove or at least lessen them mus therefore be commended. What the socie reformer has therefore so far attempted achieved, deserves praise. But hencefort our attempts at social reform should based on a fundamental scientific study the subject of sex relations.

What we need is an independent stude of principles and an independent application of them to our life. Blind imitation what is going on in Europe and America would be as detrimental to progress as blind acceptance of the notion that the Christian morality of marriage is the last

word on the subject.

A scientific study of the whole question may reveal that there is much in our ow customs that is worthy of being preserve or revived, as that there is much in the convention of Christian morality the deserves to be condemned and rejected The whole question should be investigate on its merits, without any bias. But the last is more easily said than done. Thereal certain prejudices and biases which one inherited, which are rooted deep down his nature, which he has drunk with mother's milk, which are part and paro of his constitution. To throw them awa and to divest one's self of them by for of will is not impossible, but extreme difficult. This is a feat which can achieved by very few. These "very fer must be the van guard of the army reform and reconstruction.

Social life in India must be reconstruct on a scientific basis. The struggle will long and tiresome, but it must be faced those who realise the importance of issue. The pioneers will, as usual, be hundown, denounced and attacked vehemently. But though wounded and lacerate they must have falter. They must specific truth and lead their countrymen on

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the paths of progress. Personally I lay no claims to speak on the subject with authority. I have not made a scientific study of it, nor do I possess the necessary qualifications for such a study. With my numerous other interests I have had no time even to make an exhaustive study of what has already been written and said on the subject by persons competent to pronounce opinions and propound theories. What I am attempting in this paper is to draw the attention of my countrymen to the urgent necessity of a thorough investigation of the matter before public opinion clarifies and tendencies take root, which it may afterwards require even greater labor to uproot. With these prefatory remarks I propose to make a few observations on the different points involved in the discussion of the subject, leaving my readers to pursue it in the pages of those authors who have written on it after a life-long study and who speak with the authority that is attached to original thinking and scientific research.

TT

THE POSITION OF WOMAN IN INDIA.

However much we may try to explain away ugly facts, it cannot be denied that the position of woman in India just now, and for some time past, has been very low, though it was higher in some past ages. The women of India, Hindu or Muhammadan, form a submerged class, though many of them justly wield great influence in the family circle and in society. The generality of women have been greatly depressed and their uplift is as necessary both from the moral and social points of view as that of the depressed classes. Yet I am afraid I connot swallow all the talk that goes on about the equality of men and women. To me it seems that the people who talk of "equality" per se, lack exactness of thought and expression. Woman is woman and man is man. To say that both are absolutely equal in every respect is nonsense, pure and simple. Why, woman is superior to man in several respects. No man can stand comparison with woman in the latter's capacity to love absolutely,

mother, to heal and cure, to comfort and solace, to sacrifice and give, to efface herself and to suffer. The stream of kindness and love that flows from her bosom, the creativeness that is her function in life, these alone put her head and shoulders above man. On the other hand, in his spirit of masterfulness, in his physical capacity to fight and to endure, in his ability to rule, to conquer nature and also his fellowmen, man is decidedly superior to woman.

In his collection of "Essays in War Time" (1917) Havelock Ellis devotes one essay to "The mental differences of men and women" and notices the "contradictory and often extravagant opinions" that are maintained on the subject. Many assume . that there are no mental differences between men and women, but there are others for whom the mental superiority of man at every point is an unquestionable article of faith. There are others again who hold that "the predominance of men is an accident, due to the influence of brute force; let the intelligence of women have free play and the world will be straightened out." He then proceeds to discuss the question on "a fairly sound and rational basis", and says:

"At the outset there is one great fundamental fact always to be borne in mind; the differences of the sexes in physical organization. That we may term the biological factor in determining the sexual mental differences. A strong body does not involve a strong brain, nor a weak body a weak brain; but there is still an intimate connection between the organization of the body generally and the organization of the brain, which may be regarded as an excessive assemblage of delegates from all parts of the body. Fundamental differences in the organization of the body cannot fail to involve differences in the nervous system generally, and especially in that supreme collection of nervous ganglia which we term the brain. In this way the special adaptation of woman's body to the excercise of maternity, with the presence of special organs and glands subservient to that object, and without any important equivalents in man's body, cannot fail to affect the brain. It is not, we must remember, by any means altogether the exercise of the maternal function which causes the difference; the organs and aptitudes are equally present even if the function is not exercised, so that a woman cannot make herself loftily 0-0. In the sets of the Court of the

He considers the differences in the muscular systems of men and women also fundamental. "Even in savages, among whom the women do most of the muscular work, they seldom or never exceed the men in strength." In civilization, even under the influence of careful athletic training, women are unable to compete muscularly with men; and it is a significant fact that on the variety stage there are few "strong women".

Whatever the cause may be, the resulting difference is one which has a very real bearing on the mental distinction of men and women. It is well ascertained that what we call "mental fatigue" expresses itself physiologically in the same bodily manifestation as "muscular fatigue". He then proceeds to quote facts which have been ascertained by a comparative study of figures supplied by the records of Insurance and Sick Benefit Societies and finds that women are tired out more easily than men and that consequently their work is less valuable.

Discussing the greater precocity of girls, he observes that precocity "is a quality of dubious virtue. It is frequently found, indeed, in men of the highest genius, but on the other hand it is found among animals and among savages, and is here of no good augury. In the comparison of girls and boys, both as regards physical and mental qualities, it is constantly found that while the girls hold their own, and in many respects more than hold their own, with boys up to the age of fifteen or sixteen, after that the girls remain almost or quite stationary, while in the boys the curve of progress is continued without interruption."

Discussing another aspect of the biological factor in the bearing of heredity on the question, Mr. Ellis characterizes the conviction of some men that women are not fitted to exercise various social and political duties, and the conviction of some women that men are a morally inferior sex, as absurd, for they both rest on the assumption that women do not inherit from their fathers, nor men from their

descends to the historical factor and observes:

"We are prone to believe that the particular status of the sexes that prevails among ourselves corresponds to a universal and unchangeable order of things. In reality this far from being the case. It may, indeed, be trul said that there is no kind of social position, no sort of avocation, public or domestic, among ourselves, exclusively pertaining to one sex which has not at some time or in some part of the world belonged to the opposite sex, and with the most excellent results.'

He cites several examples, one of which is worth reciting here.

"In some parts of Africa a woman never touches a needle; that is man's work and a wik who can show a neglected rent in her petticon is even considered to have a fair claim fora divorce."

He sums up his conclusions thus:

"When we attempt to survey and sum up al the variegated facts which science and practical life are slowly accumulating with reference to the mental differences between men and women we reach two main conclusions. On the or hand there is a fundamental equality of the sexes. It would certainly appear that women vary within a narrower range than men-that is to say, that the two extremes of genius and idiocy are both more likely to show themselve in men. This implies that the poincers progress are most likely to be men. That inder may be said to be a biological fact. On the other hand, the mental diversity of men and women is equally fundamental. It is rooted 1 organization. The well-intentioned efforts many pioneers in women's movements to treat men and women as identical, and, as it were, force women into masculine moulds are bot mischievous and useless. Women will always different from men, mentally as physically. It is well for both sexes that ! should be so. It is owing to these difference that each sex can bring to the world's world various aptitudes that the other lacks. It owing to these differences also that men at women have their enduring charm for end other. We cannot change them, and we 100 not wish to."

The conclusions arrived at by Mr. Elli who is one of the greatest authorities the question, are so manifestly sound at sensible as to seem conclusive. I acce them for myself and commend them the consideration of my fellow-countryme I have made these lengthy quotation because I want my countrymen to avoid mothers. From the biological factor he mistakes which they are likely to make CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Harlow they are likely to make

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they accept the identicalness of the sexes so often advocated by the champions of woman's rights. That does not imply that I am in any way opposed to the women's right to vote. Yet it is important that social reformers should have a clear grasp of the fundamentals.

Whenever asked about the relative positions of the sexes in India, I have always said that although now and in the centuries immediately preceding the present the position of woman in India has been inferior to man, it was not always so.

REPUBLICAN TRADITION IN INDIAN POLITY

INTRODUCTION.

REPUBLICS in ancient India! How fantastic! 'Indians are par excellence a religious people. They never cared for politics.'
That is the common belief about India. Whereas the official view is that 'Republican or Parliamentary forms of government were neither desired nor known in India till after the British Rule,"* as a matter of fact India had her own political philosophy, political systems and political institutions at a time when the forefathers of modern political philosophers were not yet born.

The Hindus attached very great importance to Political Science. Kautilya divided Science (knowledge) into four groups, assigning the highest place to Political Science which included Varta (economics) and Danda-niti (politics, the Science of Government). The Manavas thought Philosophy, Economics, and Politics exhausted all knowledge. The School of Vrihaspati held that the only thing worth knowing was the Science of Economics and Politics. The School of Usanas went still further and proclaimed that there is only one Science and that is Political

Evidently the Hindus held Political Science in very high estimation. The Mahabharata says: "All the forms of public duty are realised in politics; all the forms of sacraments are united in politics: the whole human race takes part in politics' [Mbh. S. P. 63-29.] And Sukra writes: 'Niti-sastra (political science) is useful to all men and is the means of the preservation of human society. It is the spring of virtue, wealth, happiness, and salvation. By learning Political Science rules. Science rulers can be victorious over foes and loving and conciliatory towards subjects and become concentration of statecraft." become conversant with the art of statecraft." [Sukraniti, Ch. I, sl. 8-13.] Whereas Kamandaka said that all ancient political thinkers agree on this point that political science teaches the ruling-class how to acquire and maintain a

As regards the schools of political thought we

"The Rowlatt "Sedition Committee" Report,

have the most trustworthy opinion of Dr. F. W. Thomas, who says: "It is clear that in, say, the fourth and the fifth century, B. C., the subject of royal policy [rajaniti or statecraft] was a recognised topic. The schools are the Manavas, Barhaspatyas, Ausanasas, Ambhiyas doubt, of Taxila) and Parasaras, and the individuals Bharadvaja, Visalaksa, Pisuna, Kaunapadanta, Vatavyadhi, and Bahudanti-putra." [A Brihaspati Sutra. Le Museon, Mars, 1916.] The opinions and theories of these Political Philosophers are quoted in contrast with Kautilya's own theories, in the Arthasastra, which is the work of Chandragupta's Chancellor belonging to the fourth century B. C. Later on their political ideas were popularised by Manu, Vyasa, Sukra, Yajnavalkya, Kamandaka, Somadeva, Nilakantha, and other mediaeval political thinkers down to the times of the rise of Maharastra power when Ramadasa propounded the political theories and Shivaji and the Peshwas made constitutions, which, in themselves, are mines of information for students of political institutions. Political thinking was in progress up to the last days of the 18th century, in the South Indian States, several of these comparatively modern political treatises having recently been discovered.

About the Political Science of the Hindus, Dr. F. W. Thomas has made a prophetic observation: "This Indian Science may claim no ordinary place in the history of culture." It is our belief, too, that it will enrich Political Science and throw more light on the subject which is of such a vital importance to the hu-

The political ideas of Indian philosophers read in the light of modern political science appear so modern that one might well be reluctant to believe that they were propounded a century before Plato was born, by the thinkers of a race which is considered as entirely devoid of political genius or indifferent to secular knowledge, being absorbed in religious contemplation or metaphysical speculation.

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some of which are indeed very unique. They did not hesitate even to admit that there was once upon a time Anarchy "when the people of this world were, trembling through fear from all sides." [Manu, VII. 3.] And men's sense of justice having been destroyed, "they laid hands on the property of others" and lived "rather in an anarchic manner." The authors of the Mahabharata further add that they had heard of "a people who lived without a king and was perishing because men were devouring each other like fishes." [Mbh. XII. 59. 10ff. & 67. 4ff. That "at first there was neither king nor kingdom nor Law, nor one to enforce the Law....." Therefore "they came together and made a compact (among themselves): to wit, a brawler, a bully, an adulterer and a thief should be made an outcast, declared an out-[Mbh. XII. 65. 67. 17ff.] Thus, in the words of Dr. Thomas "the origin of royalty is the growth of wickedness and the necessity of chastisement, the virtue of which the Indian writers celebrate with real enthusiasm." The growth of wickedness and abhorrence of the "state of nature" which gave rise to the so-called unhistorical "social contract," also lead to Manu's contract theory. It is said that men were soon dissatisfied with the social contract, so they made a political contract with "Manu", the so-called Hindu patriarch. They requested him to be their king; he was very reluctant to take upon himself the responsibility, and consented to take charge of the state affairs on their promising to pay him one tenth of their grain ... and certain other taxes. This contract with Manu was based on the clear understanding of mutual advantage and reciprocity. "That relation is, in a word, trade, as is often candidly said, of so much moveable property for so much protection." [E. W. Hopkins, J. A. O. S. XIII.]

The earliest reference to a political contract between the ruler and the ruled is to be found in Kautilya's Arthasastra which is a work of the first decade of the fourth century B. C. or thereabout. Kautilya says, when people got tired of living in an anarchic state, big fishes devouring smaller, as it were, they made Manu their king, to whom they gave one-sixth of the grain, one-tenth of the merchandise, saying 'this is a tax payable to him who protects us." Living upon this revenue, Manu undertook to protect the people and maintain their safety and security, and to be answerable for their sins whenever the law was violated and the offender not punished. [Artha. Text, Bk. I, Ch.

13, p. 22-23.]

The obligation on the part of the sovereign to protect the person and property of the people was carried so far that "where the goods of a merchant were stolen and the thief was not caught and the goods not recovered, the owner was to be compensated by the king, because according to Manusmriti the sovereign who receives remuneration from the people, as

agreed upon, is bound to fulfil his obligations towards the people. [VIII. 144.] And it was the people who enforced the contract. It is expressly laid down in the Mahabharata that "people ought to kill the rascal of a king who does not protect them." [XIII 69. 32, 33.] As a corollary of this mutual-advantage-compact the indentification between the ruler and the ruled went so far that the king was said to share the sins of the subjects and vice versa. The Mahabharata said yadriso raja tadriso janah "as is the king so are the subjects" [XI. 8. 32]. Even Kautilya, the Indian Machiavelli of the fourth century B. C., admitted: "In the happiness of his subjects lies his happiness, in their welfare, his welfare." [Arthasastra.]

According to the Wage theory or the Vetan theory the sovereign receives wages from the people who tell him "we give you fines, forfeitures and taxes as wages (Vetan) [and they] shall constitute your revenue." [Mbh. S. P. 61. 10.] The king "though master in form (was) the servant of the people getting pay in the form of taxes, and that (was paid) him for the protections. tion (of the people), under all circumstances."

[Sukraniti. I. 88.]

Whereas according to the Trust theory the sovereign is the Vittaraksi (preserver of wealth), the national trustee, to whom the realm is entrusted as a trust, and "if the object of trust is not carried out, the trustee is to be shunned like a leaky ship." [Mbh. S. P. 57. 43.]

Equally remarkable is the Elective theory, according to which the people "with one mind" elect one, from amongst themselves, as the head of the state, in an assembly, adressing him. The whole people want you (to take charge of the state affairs). Do not fail from the stateyou the people elect to rulership." [Ath. V. III. 1. 5.] Carpenters and other manual workers are specially mentioned as taking part

in the election of the king.

The kingship was not confined to particular class or family. There have been Sudra kings also, although ordinarily Ksatriyas are called the ruling caste. An individual was elected for his personal qualities. Kings were elected even for life or one generation or a few generations. Among some peoples personal beauty was considered as the primary or the sole qualification for kingship. The Greek writer Operation writer Onecritus has said that among the Catheans (Ksatriyas) of "the Punjab" and "their neighbours" of the principality Saupati (the region of Gurdaspur and Amritsar personal beauty was held in such estimation that kings were chosen for this quality." This interesting fact is corroborated, also, by the Buddhist writers who mention beauty as the chief quality of the elect. [Rouse's Vol. II, p. 242.—The Uluka Jataka. [Rouse's Jatakas

Mahavastu Avadanam, Vol. I, pp. 347.]

The Hindu conception of the State and its CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Handwarkable. No State could be

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and iti Id be a complete State unless there were seven constituent parts present in it: Sovereign, Ministers, People or Territory, Fort or Capital, Treasury, Army and Allies. The primary duty of the State was the acquisition of wealth and its distribution among the deserving (poor) people. [Kamd. I. 21.] The wealthy were to be taxed first. [Mbh.] The taxes were only taken for use in people's interests' prajanamevabhutyartham sa tebhyo valim agrahit. Articles of luxury and those injurious to the State were to be discouraged. The State was to own mines and factories, [Artha.] because, trade and industry uphold the community and the State exists for the good of the community [Mbh.].

THE DISCOVERY OF REPUBLICS.

It was in 1903 that Professor Rhys Davids wrote, casually: "In those parts of India which came very early under the influence of Buddhism we find, still surviving, a number of small aristocratic republics." And he also added: "The earliest Buddhist records reveal the survival, side by side, with more or less powerful monarchies, of republics with complete or modified independence." [Buddhist India, pp. 19 and 20.]

The same year Mr. Vincent Smith published a paper of immense geographical interest, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, in which, with the help of a map he located the ancient republics of the Punjab: The 'Maloi' republic in the Jhang district and the north-eastern portion of Montgomery; the 'Oxidrakai' republic along the bank of the Bias—the modern districts of Amrtisar, Gurudaspur, Kangra and Hosiarpur; the 'Kathaioi' on the eastern bank of the Ravi, above Lahore.

Ten years later a discussion arose between Drs. Fleet and Thomas, which was carried on for nearly three years, in the J. R. A. S., concerning the significance and exact meaning of the compound word Malava-Gana-Sthitya. In con-cluding the controversy Dr. F. W. Thomas Gana does not mean "tribe" or "corporation" but it refers to the "existence in ancient India of cities and tribes 'not ruled by kings,' but having republican or rather oligarchical constitution." Then he adds: "Precisely the evidence required has been supplied by Mr. Jayaswal....evidence for the use of gana in a definite political sense, which he renders by republic." The evidence relerred to wood and district a constraint of the mr. relerred to was embodied in a paper which Mr. Kasiprasad Jayaswal wrote in Hindi, for the Hindi Sahitya Sammilan, 1912, and I translated it for the Modern Parion, 1913, under the lated it for the Modern Review, 1913, under the title of 'Ar the Modern Review, 1918, under the title of 'An Introduction to Hindu Polity.' The brief yet brief yet extremely important and highly convincing evidence produced by Mr. Jayaswal is a landmark in the produced by Mr. Jayaswal is a landmark in the study of the political institutions of the Hingh the study of the political inspite of

subject has not engaged the attention of oriental scholars and political philosophers, to any serious extent.

THE EVIDENCE OF GREEK WRITERS.

The ancient Greek authorities testify to the existence of Republics, in Northern India, particularly in the Punjab, Sindh, and Malava, immediately before and after Alexander's expedition. The notices of the Greek writers are based on their own observation and firsthand information; and as they were familiar with republican states and democratic institutions in their own country their observations command our serious consideration, and are conclusive evidence to corroborate and support my conclusions, which are mainly based on Sanskrit and Pali authorities, and epigraphic and numismatic records.

Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador in Chandragupta's court (B. C. 302) mentions sin his Frag. 9] that 453 kings had ruled in Magadha during 6042 years from the time of 'Diorius' to that of 'Sandrokottos' (Chandragupta), "and amongst these a republic was thrice establish-And, after many generations, says he, "the monarchy was dissolved and 'democratic' government was established in the cities." Then, he gives some examples of republican peoples of his own day: "Malticorae, Singhae, Marohae, Baseingae, and Marani," says he, "are free, have no kings, and occupy mountain heights where they have built many [free] cities." Referring to Megasthenes, Professor Hopkins remarks: "Megasthenes plainly implies that 'selfruled cities' in distinction from cities governed by kings, were common in his day." [J. A. O. S., XIII, p. 136.]

Arrian writes that the tribes called Abastonoi, Kathroi (Khatris or Ksatriyas), and Arahitai* (presumably Arora Khatris) were quite independent peoples. Evidently they had no kings. About the Nasains he expressly says that they were an independent people whose government was carried on by an aristocracy at the head of which was a president. He refers also to Maloi as "a race of independent Indians," and speaks of the Oxydrakai (Ksudrakas) as passionately in love with freedom which they preserved for a long time, until Alexander's expedition. [McCrindle, "Ancient India", pp. AI-EG, G;—G-A, GLO, C; O., pp. 79-81, 149, 154-156, 167 & 350-1.]

Curtius describes the Oxidrakai as an independent tribe with leaders; Sabarcae as "a powerful Indian tribe whose form of government was 'democratic' and not regal"; Cedrosii as a free people with a council for discussing important matters. [Ibid, pp. 167-9, 262.]

of the Hindus. It is regrettable that inspite of inclined to identify with Arastra—the kingless republics and the evidence of Greek writers, the light in the study of the political institutions

* Arahitai on Adsaistæ of Arrian, Lessen is the copious references in Sanskrit literature to people spoken of in Sanskrit literature, particularly in the widence of Greek writers, the light in the Midnathharata.

Diodorus [CIV] describes the Sambastai as dwelling in cities with a democratic form of government. As an example of a democratic City Stafe he mentions Patala, which he describes as "a city of great note with a political constitution drawn on the same lines as the Spartan; for in this community the command of war was vested in two hereditary scions of two houses, while the council of elders ruled the whole State with paramount authority." [McCrindle, pp. 2, 292, 296, n. 356, 57,4.] He also speaks [XVII. 103, 1] of a Brahmanical Republic: "A city of Brahmanas had to be stormed whilst the operations against the Sambus were going on." This remarkable instance of the City Republic of Brahmanas is also referred to by Arrian [VI. 16, 5]; and stands by itself, as apart from the fact that Alexander was faced by the stubborn opposition of the republics of the Sindh valley, during his retreat. Brahmanas persuaded the Republicans to fight to the last in order to preserve their independence. And Greek writers mention, too, that Brahmanas dissuaded the "free people" from coming to terms with Alexander at the cost of their freedom.

The republican tribes, the Maloi, Kathaioi and Oxidrakai were the most formidable opponents of Alexander [V. Smith, E. H. I. 94]. It is the Maloi republicans who inflicted a severe wound on Alexander [Arrian]. Maloi and Oxydrakai submerged their differences and united (though too late) to offer a national opposition to Alexander. The army of the Oxidrakai (Ksudraka) Republic was estimated as being 80,000 foot, 10,000 horses and 700 chariots, by no means a small unit for that age [400. B. C.] and for so small a republic. However, the isolation and extreme independence of these Republics was their besetting sin, which made them an easy prey to Alexander and

Chandragupta.

MODERN AUTHORITIES.

Mr. Vincent Smith in his Early History of India [1914, Pp. 286] says: "The Punjab, the Eastern Rajputana and Malawa were for the most part in possession of tribes or clans living under repuplican institutions. The Yaudheya tribe occupied both the banks of the Sutlej, while the Madrakas held the central part of the Punjab..... In Alexander's time those regions were similarly occupied by autonomous tribes, Maloi, Kathaioi [Oxidrakai, Xathroi, Sambastai, Cedrosii, and Nasains] and so forth." Then he adds, that other republican states which he calls 'autonomous tribes,' were the Arjunas, Malavas and Abhiras [Ambhiyas?], settled in the Eastern Rajputana and Malawa. Mr. Smith maintains that presumably there were also 'autonomous tribes and nations' in the south, 'beyond the Narvada."

I have had the good fortune of seeing the suggest that they are as far from the real mean proofs of some of the latest investigations of Guilka Randocomondo Handwas Dr. Fleet, who latterly

Mr. Edwyn Bevan into Greek notices about ancient India; and Dr. F. W. Thomas' research concerning the age of Chanakya and Chandra. gupta. And I am able to give here some references, with their kind permission, although their own essays have not yet been published Mr. Bevan says: "The country [the Punjab and North-Eastern Frontier] as we see it, is held before and after Alexander's [immediately expedition, 4th century B.C.] partly by a number of independent tribes, governed by their own headmen and owing authority to no king. But this republican type of community is holding its own with difficulty against another type of government, the monarchic." Since Mr. Bevan has publicly noticed: "In ancient India the village community may have had a more or less democratic character, and perhaps the tribes noticed by the companions of Alexander as being 'without kings' may have been governed by the general will of the tribesmen." New Europe, 11 July, 1918.]
Dr. F. W. Thomas, who to my mind, is the

one of the foremost, acutest and most profound students of Sanskrit literature living, says, in one of the two chapters he has contributed to the forthcoming Cambridge History of India: "The Vedas afford evidence of tribes in which authority was exercised by a family or even by a whole body of nobles who were actually designated kings [rajanah] (Zimmer, Alt: Leb. p. 166-7). Of such ruling oligarchies the age of the Buddha furnishes, as is well known, a number of examples: such as were the Mallas of Kusinara and Licchavis of Vaisali. To these oligarchical communities the growth of the large kingdoms proved destructive. At the time of Alexander's invasion they had largely disappeared from Eastern Hindustan and in the Punjab also Porus was working for their subjugation." Alexander's invasion accelerated their destruction. Kautilya devised a unique method for their overthrow. "Nevertheless," says Dr. Thomas, "a number of them survived through and after the Maurya empire and one of them, that of the Malavas, gave to India its present era, the so-called Vikram era," which dates from the constitution of the Malava Republic,

On the whole Dr. Thomas is inclined to render the word Gana by 'governing body,' 'senate' or a 'council of powerful families.' In holding this view he is in the company of some of the very eminent Oriental scholars, such as Prof. Foy who believed Gana meant a 'village assembly' [Die Koningliche Gewalt p. 20 n. 1] and Prof. Jolly who presumed that the word gana was used for 'local committees' or 'courts'. It is quite likely that these continental savants might be prepared to change their views, in the light of recent research. However, with duty deference to these authorities, I venture to suggest that they are as far from the real means.

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translated Gana by tribe, formerly rendered the compound gana-srestha into 'leader of the assemblage' [Corpus Inscriptionem Indicarum, III, p. 291 n. 3] and even in the last controversy admitted that the Sanskrit word Gana "obviously has to be translated exactly in each particular case according to the context." [J. R. A. S., 1915, p. 138-40.]

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The sense in which Gana is used in the Santi-Parva (107), Sangha in the Arthasastra (Bk. XI) and Ganarayani in the Acaranga-sutta (II. 3. 1. 10) can give no other meaning but a system of government or a political com-munity, that is to say, a community which had no king and in which the government was carried on by the will and the participation of the people themselves, who elected their leaders and officials.

REFERENCES TO REPUBLICS IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE.

In Sanskrit literature Gana and Sangha are two synonyms for Republics. The word sangha seems to have been used largely by Buddhist writers; and it seems the orthodox Brahmanical authors, latterly, came to make less frequent use of the word sangha, which the Buddhists practically monopolised for monastic order, their spiritual republic or fraternity; and the pandits used the word gana more frequently.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal was inclined to suggest that Sangha having been, more or less, exclusively employed by the Buddhists, pandits used, instead, the word Gana for republic. however plausible this explanation might appear, there is not sufficient evidence to prove that the word Sangha was altogether boycotted by Brahmans, because of its association with the Buddhists. As a matter of fact, we find both the words used in Sanskrit, long before the Buddhist period as well as after it. Gana was used by Panini [III. 35.6; IV. 3. 54; IV. 4. 84; JV. 2. 52; V. 4. 73]. So that we cannot say that Gana was invented or exclusivaly used, instead to avoid the use of Sangha. Again, the word sangha itself has often and repeatedly been used by orthodox Brahman writers, even long after by orthodox Brahman writers, even long after it was associated with the Buddhists. It occurs in the Mahabharata [Santi-Parva, 107, 3970, 71, 90] 3970, 71, 88]. Mallinath uses sangha in his comments. commentary on Yajnavalkyasmriti [Ch. 8, sl. 219-20] In short both the words are used in Sanskrit literature often indiscriminately, but as a rule in climate of the indiscriminately but as a rule in slightly different senses. Sometimes gana is used almost technically, for 'political community,' community', a people, and sangha for 'republic', a state C', a people, and sangha for 'republican or a state. Gana is also used for a republican or republicans is also used for a republicans. republicans, just as sangha is used for a republican state or states.

Prof. Buhler translated both these words corporation to my great by corporation and guild. And to my great astonishment and guild. Sanskrit astonishment even a distinguished Sanskrit translater of Arthasastra, accepts Prof. Buhler's

rendering. I wish Pandit Sham Sastri had duly considered the context where and in what connection Kautilya uses the word Sangha which is said to mean corporations. It can conclusively be proved that Kautilya never used it for guilds but for Republics, which he even classified, and located. However, as this is no occasion to enter into a cotroversy, I will simply point out the key which has solved this problem of profound interest and historical importance. In the text of the Acaranga Sutta [II. 3. 1. 10, the Text of the Pali Text-society, 1882] the Jain Saint Kevalin advises Jain monks and nuns, while on pilgrimage, to avoid passing through the countries or territories 'where-there-is-noking' (arayani), 'where-everybody-is-king' (Ganarayani), where 'heir-apparent' is de facto king (juvarayani), where there are 'two-kings' (dorayani), where there is a weak government or sovereignty is disputed (vimaddharayani) and where there is anarchy. (virajjai). This is a list of numerous types of states known to or conceived of by the Jain writers. The word that we are concerned with and that supplies us the key is 'Ganarayani', which is a form of government, a state in which 'every-body-isking' that is to say where the government is carried on by the whole community, every member ruling all and being ruled by all, collectively. And this is true only of one system of government, e. g., Republican. The meaning of the word gana is unmistakable, clearly distinguishable from a kingless country or anarchy. [Ac. S. II. 3. 1.]

Having dealt with the meaning of Gana and Sangha, I return to their use in Sanskrit literature. [Rig Veda (5. 66. 6)—सराजा according to Sayan means ধ্যেৰ 'one's own rule'; 'self-rule'. "May we strive for our own rule," so the Rishis pray.] In the Aitareya Brahmana [VII. 3. 14] where the Great Coronation is described, Bhoja and Svarat (one's-own-state) consitutions are mentioned. In the same connection it is said that Uttara Kurus and Uttara Madras had Vairajya or kingless states, and that among them the whole community was consecrated to rulership. It also adds that the monarchy was to be found only in the Middle Country, in the East, the Doab of the Ganga and the Jamuna.

Patanjali in his Mahabhasya [IV. 1. 84] compares Ganapati, the president of a republic, with Rastrapati, the king. Panini also speaks of Ganapati [IV. 1. 84 and XVII. 5. 167, 39]

and Ganapada. In the Mahabharata the word Gana is distinctly used for a political community, which was autonomous and owed no allegiance to any monarch and managed its own affairs. For instance, the Santi-Parva [Ch. 107, sl. 3956 to 3989) deals with Ganas, Republics. In which scholar like Sham Sastri, the identification of Arthasastra, accepts Prof. Buhler's towards them, is discussed. In the opening

chapter remarkable most lines of this Yudhishthira tells Bhisma, 'you have told me all about the social structure, Law, Economics, Politics (royal policy), kings, their ministers, treasury and army, etc., now tell me something about the ganas (the republicans). What are their chief characteristics? What is the cause of their success and prosperity? Wherin does their strength lay? How do they secure allies and how do they overcome their enemies?" Yudhisthira'was told that unity, collective action, secrecy in the affairs of the state and faith in their leaders were their great virtues. republicans were very cultured, orderly and lawabiding. They were always anxious to render assistance to one another or even to outsiders. Those republicans who were rich, strong, versed in military science and learned in the Sastras were always ready to help those overwhelmed with difficulties or in distress. On account of their unity and strength "even foreigners sought their friendship." And it was suggested to King Yudhisthira by Bhisma that if a monarch wished to destroy a nighbouring republic he should excite jealousy and create differences among the republicans and corrupt their leaders through spies, by offering them bribes and by prying into their secrets.

Kautilya, in his Arthasastra, devotes a chapter [Bk. XI. 160-61] to Sangha (republies). In this most remarkable chapter he suggests the methods how to destroy the Republics, in order to enlarge and consolidate the Maurya Empire. As the Chancellor of Chandragupta he to have carried into practice his Machiavellian policy against the innocent Republics. He employed spies to sow seeds of dissension among the republicans and to misguide their youth. He sent spies to their assembly halls and taverns in the guise of astrologers to win the confidence of a republican leader and foretell his future, that he was destined to be a king. So that he may try to establish a monarchy. And then Kautilya advises his master that "to those (leaders) who are thus prevailed upon (by the spies) he should send men and money for the purpose of winning over other (royal) partisans." He sent agents, provocateurs to become citizens of republics so that they may betray their secrets and provoke wars between different republics and neighbouring monarchies. Kautilya had no scruples to employ harlots, dancers and actresses, in his secret service, who were to "excite love in the minds of the republican leaders," and in the ensuing affray the spies may do their work and declare: "Thus has he been killed in consequence of his love?" It seems Kautilya was convinced that in order consolidate and strengthen the Maurya to consolidate and strengthen the Maurya Empire it was necessary to eliminate the republics of northern India. He was aware of their inability to offer a united national opposition to Alexander. Nevertheless, it appears from tion to Alexander. Nevertheless, it appears from of the republicans and violated their constitute opening lines of his colision rubble Domaint Reurukt Kangri Collection, Haridwar

republics [Bk. XI, Ch. I, p. 376, text] that he did recognise the power of republics, as he expressly says, "The acquisition of the help of republics is better than the acquisition of an army of (a royal) ally." Therefore he advises his master Chandragupta "to secure and utilise the services of those republics which, on account of their union, are invincible to the enemy and are favourably disposed towards

Thus, we gather information about republics. in an indirect manner, from a strictly political treatise, which is the work of a statesman and minister, belonging to the 4th Century B. C.

The Ganas (republicans) are spoken of as independent sovereign people, in literature, even when they are conquered, side by side with the monarchs meeting the same fate [Mbh. II. 1025.] Varahamihira speaks of republican-leaders (gana-pungava) along with kings (nripati) [IV. 24.], and of the president of a republic (ganapa) as against the king (avanipala) [XXXII. 18]. Similarly, Kathasarit sagara speaks of Gana-nayaka, the leader of a Republic.

One very interesting as well as most remarkable fact is that the ancient Indian pandits feared and hated the republicanism almost as much as the governing classes of modern Europe (England included) fear the This fear and hatred of the Bolsheviks. ancients can be gathered from the way in which they refer to republicans. Gautama laid down that a republican as well as an incendiary, a publican, or a criminal, should not be invited to a public feast. [XV. 9. 18.] He would even decline to take food offered by a republican [XV. 18.] Manu, on the other hand, boycots a priest living in a republican country. [III. 154] And Yajnavalkya forbids a student to accept help from a miser, a thief, an usurer, a prostitute and the priest of the republicans. While Varahamihira seems to have believed that Saturn, the evil star, presided over the destiny of old and ugly men, bird hunters, dealers " hogs and leaders of republicans. [Vrihat-Samhita Ch. XVI. 33.] In what curious categories the Republicans of Ancient India have been placed by those whose authority they defied whose prerogatives they did not recognise Their love of freedom and faith equality of men and their inalienable right govern themselves, which was their chief dis tinguishing feature, made them an object hatred and fear both to the monarchs and the priests. On the one hand, like the Europeal Junkers and Jingoes, the Hindu pandits at imperialists tried to a serior them. imperialists tried to suppress and discredit the on the other hand, they were careful not offend the Ancient Hindu Republicans. instance, Yajnavalkya advises the king to punis those of his subjects who embezzled the mon

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NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE.

"Amongst the most interesting monuments of Ancient India are few autonomous coins of peoples, cities and countries." [Cunningham, Archæological Survey of India Report, Vol. XIV, p. 135.] And, Cunningham rightly remarks, "they are of more interest and greater value than the numerous coins of kings and princes." For my thesis these coins are of

paramount importance.

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Coningham divides the "autonomous coins" into ten groups. I propose to deal with seven sets of "autonomous coins" as numismatic evidence in my thesis. The figures, symbols and legends which are on these coins, very clearly set them apart and distinguish them from the dynastic or monarchical coins which are so abundant in Museums. There is a great deal of similarity between the figures and symbols of these republican coins. No royal symbols, crowns or other paraphernalia of royalty appear on these coins, which bear the legends of a whole people, as in the case of the coins of the Yaudheyas or the Malavas, or of a city, as in the case of the coins of Eran and Ujjain, or of a country or territory, as in the case of the Odumbara coins and Janapada coins.

Evidence derived from literature has shown us that there were republics so far back as the fifth century B. C., and numismatic evidence brings them down to the fifth century A. D. Thus, they seem to have had a life of full one thousand years and more, in India, leaving behind them their shadow in the form of Pan-

chayats, the village assemblies.

1. THE YAUDHEYA COINS.

The Yaudheya coins cover two periods and are of two sizes. (i) The older (1st century B. C.) are smaller in size. Their obverse bears an elephant and dharma chakra, the sacred wheel, and the reverse has a bull moving towards a pillar which has a garland pendent. (ii) The later (3rd Century A. D.) are larger and have three different kinds of symbols and slight variations of legends. (a) The first type shows on its obverse, a male figure standing with a spear in the right hand and the left hand on the hip; below the figure is a cock, the legend being "jaya yaudheya ganasya," 'victory to the yaudheya-republic.' (b) The second and (c) third class of yaudheya is a house two ordinal third class of Yaudheya coins have two ordinal numerical adjectives, dwi [tiya] (second) and tri [tiya] (third), respectively.

Thus are the coins of the second and third Yaudheya Republics distinguished from the first. The reverse of all the three varieties shows one common figure: a male figure in long garments (on the left) with the right hand up-raised before his face, and the left hand resting on the hip. Some of them show a vase or a shell with a

2. THE MALAVA COINS.

ed at the ancient city of Nagar (45 miles southeast of Tonk and 15 miles south-west of Univar). All of these coins with the exception of one, have the legend: "Jaya Malayana," "Victory to the Malayas." Out of this colossal number, only on one coin the word Jaya (Victory) does not appear.

There are numerous symbols on the coins of the Malava Republic, the common and most important being: (obverse) a recumbent bull surrounded by a circle of dots, a man's head (to the left) surrounded by circle of dots; a vase surrounded by dots; a lion moving to the left; (reverse) a tall tree and the legend, Jaya Malavana-Victory to the Malayas.

3. THE SIBI COINS.

The Sibis of the Sanskrt literature are the Sobii of Curtius and Sabæ of other Greek writers. They occupied the country between Lahore and Multan.

Only ten specimens of the Sibi coins have so far been discovered. The obverse of these coins bears Swastika (cross symbol), with a small symbol in each angle. On the right is a tree rising from within a rail. The legend is very significant as it distinctly tells us that the coins are issued in the name of the Sibi people (Sibi-Janapada): Majhimikaya Sibi Janapada, "[coins] of the middle Sibi people, or nation."

4. THE ODUMBARA COINS.

The region where Udambara (fiscus glomerata, Indian fig) tree grows is called Odumbara by Sanskrit writers and the people inhabiting that region Audumbaras. Seven coins with word Odumbara, the only word of the legend left, were found at Pathankot (between the valleys of the Bias and the Ravi). And Udumbara tree has been found to grow in this district (Narapur), north-eastern Punjab.

The obverse of these coins shows an elephant approaching a tree, and below is a snake. The reverse bears a pyramidal temple of three storeys. to its left is the mystic symbol, Swastika and on the left is Dharma-chakra, the sacred wheel. The date is the beginning of the first century

5. THE COINS OF THE CITY OF ERAN OR ERAKAINA.

A few copper coins of the ancient city of Eran (Erakaina) on the bank of the Bina, which surrounds it on three sides, have been found amongst its ruins. The site of the city is on the left or south bank of the Bina, 16 miles above its junction with the Betwa (50 miles N-E of Bhilsa and 45 miles W-N-W of Sagar). Its ancient name Erakaina appears on the Toraman inscription, on the coins themselves is Erakanya. On the obverse of the coins there are three concentric circles and two circles into compartments; and above 2. THE MALAVA COINS. divided into competence of the city. These several thousand Mala & edings were several thousand Mala & edings were several thousand Mala & edings will be several thousand will be semicircles evidently represent the city. It appears from the map of the old city (Arch. Sur., Vol. X, pl. 23) that the ground plan of the city was semicircular, enclosed in the bend of the river Bina. The reverse of the coins shows the Bodhi tree with Swastika (cross), a bull to the left and a snake above. A small square copper coin has (on the obverse) a bull, dharmachakra below; and the name of the city above; the reverse showing the Swastika and the bull similar to the one appearing on the coins of the city of Ujjain.

6. THE JANAPADA COINS.

The word janapada is a most appropriate word in Sanskrit for a nation, people, community, the subjects or the masses, as opposed to sovereign or king. The legend on the Janapada coins is in Arian and Indian Pali: "Rajjna Janapadsa". This evidently is equivalent to rajyam janapadasya in Sanskrit and Prakrit; and thus to my mind gives only one possible meaning: "people's State", which must be a republic. Hence the coins "of Republic", and of "Royal country", as Cunningham suggests. The obverse of the coins has a male figure standing with the legend--"rajjna janapadasa", the people's state—arround it. The reverse shows a humped bull surrounded by a radiated circle.

7. THE COINS OF A BRAHMANICAL REPUBLIC.

There are over three hundred coins, most curious and interesting numismatic finds, which to my mind are of great importance for students of Indian History. Cunningham having, apparently, been misled by the presence of the word Yaudheya in the legend of the silver coins, has included them in the list of the Yaudheya coins. I have ventured to extricate them from the parasitic position which they do not, in the least, deserve: and have also some corrections to offer regarding the translations of the legends.

There are three legends on these coins which I think are the coins of a Brahmanical Republic: (1) Bhagavato Swamina Brahmanya Yaudheya (on silver coins). (2) Bhagavato Swamina Brahmanya Devasya (on most of the copper coins). presence of Bhanu Varmma, and introducing Brahma, I fail to see wherefrom Cunningham calls the coins "Brahma Deva coins" and wishes us to believe that this Brahma Deva was"worshipper of Bhagavat", who this particular deity Bhagavat is we do not know. To my mind Bhagavat is the name of the particular leader of the Brahmanic republic just as Bhanu is the name of another leader to whose period the coins belong. And Deva is as much the honorific suffix to a Brahman's name as Varmma is to that of a Ksatriya's. 'Swami in each case rightly means the master or leader, the president. In regard legend, I venture to suggest that the Yaudheya republicans were so well known that yaudheya simply became a synonym for republicans. And even if we were to accept the view taken had Cunningham, that there was also a Brahmam Yaudheya people, my main thesis holds good that these coins are of a kingless people, whe evidently were republicans, having their own coins, an incontestable proof of their sovereignty. Thus the coins bear witness that there were "[coins] of Bhagavat, the leader of the Brahmanic Republic (yaudheya)" or "of Bhagavat, the master of the Brahmanic (republic), or "of Bhanu Varmma,......"

In regard to the description or symbols of these extremely interesting coins, the obverse of the silver coins bears a six-headed male figure with a spear in the right hand, and the left hand as usual, on the hip. The reverse shows a femal figure, with right hand upraised, and the left of the hip: below, on the left, is a vase and on the right the Bodhi tree surrounded by Buddhis railings, and a chaitya surrounded by dharm chakra, the sacred wheel. Round this group of

figures is a circle of dots.

The copper coins are in a bad condition; other wise, probably they would have thrown mor light on the legends. Their workmanship is distinctly inferior. The obverse almost of all othem is the same, except that one of them, at corner, shows a bird perching on the elbow of male figure. All the copper coins do not agre in detail. However, the reverse of all of the has a deer in the centre, which has an "S shaped symbol between the horns. It is one these coins that has the singular incomplete legend, in which Bhanu Varmma occurs, right in the centre, with a chaitya and Swastik above and a snake below.

Some Examples of Republics.

Kautilya in his Arthasastra gives a list twenty-six republics or republican communities known to him. The most important of which were: the republics of Anga, Magadha, Kasi, Ko sala, Vrijis, Kuru, Panchala, Avanti, Gandhara Kamboja, Licchavis and Sakyas. He gives, too in a cursory manner, prominent characteristic of some of them. For instance, he says, the republicans of Kamboja, Surastra and certain other provinces, being Ksatriyas, lived military profession (varta sastra upajivinal Evidently, they belonged to military republic bearing strong resemblance to the Swiss republic cans of the Middle Ages, who were employed soldiers by the warring races of Europe. Al Licchivik, Vrijik, Madrak and Kuru and Park chala republicans were so aristocratic or so extremely democratic that every member the community was called 'king' (rajat [Artha. Bk. XI. text, p. 376.]

the master or leader, the president. In regard monarchies and some, later, reverted to the word yaudheya, which appears in one form of the control of the co

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Mahabharata [100 to 500 A. D.]. Similarly, the ancient renowned kingdom Videha, the kingdom of Janaka, the father-in-law of Rama, was a flourishing republic in the Buddhist age.

The Sakya Republic consisted of one million citizens. They conducted their public business in an assembly where "young and old were alike present in their common Mote-Hall (Santhagara) at Kapilavastu." It was in this Assembly Hall that Ambatha sees them "where the Sakyas were then in session." "It was at such a parliament that King Pasendi's (Prassana-dip's) proposition was discussed." The king of Kosala had proposed marriage alliance with the Sakyas. They discussed the proposition and "held it beneath the dignity of their clan" to form a matrimonial alliance with the royal family of Kosala. [Buddhist India, pp. 19 and 11.] In the next century, in Kautilya's time, Kosal itself was a Republic and not a Monarchy. I wonder if this question of marriage alliance or the contempt of royalty on the part of these republicans had anything to do with this transformation of a monarchy into a republic!

The Sakyas used to elect one of their leaders as executive officer or president. He presided over their sessions, and officiated as the executive head of the state, the republic, bearing the title rajah. We find two Sakya presidents specially mentioned, who, while out of office, were treated as ordinary citizens. Suddhodana, the father of the Buddha, is described as having been elected president. But he is spoken of also as a private citizen, when he is, evidently, out of office. Once, Bhaddiya, a young cousin of the

Buddha, was elected president. [Vin. 2. 181.]
The Republic of Vaisali was a City Republic of an aristocratic people the Licchavis. This City Republic, also, formed part of the Vrijjian Confederacy, along with other seven republics, "which was afterwards defeated but not broken up by [king] Ajatasatru." "It was somewhere in Tirhut (modern Behar). It must have been a very flowidthist a very flourishing place [state]." [Buddhist India, page 48 and the Jataka, I. 389, 504, 3, Vaisali were called raja's. Thus the Licchavis are said to have 7707 are said to have 7707 rajas or leaders.* This sounds Sounds as a mythical number. But Prof. E. W. Hopkins [Journal of American Society, Vol. XIII, p. 136] quotes Lassen (Indische Alterthat the City Republic of Vaisali had a council of five thousand in each member, provided one of five thousand; each member provided one elephant, thank it is each member provided one elephant; they had an uparaja or vice-president as state as state officer, under him was a commander-in-

* In his speech at the Congress of W's S's Countils Harr District must, to

Kuru, Panchala and Gandhara, which were chief of the army; they had a "book of republics up to the time of Kautilya [4th customs": which, I venture to suggest, was century B. C.], are mentioned as republics in the their constitution and dealt also with constitution and dealt also with constitution. tional law. Taking into consideration the laws "already enacted" and "ancient institutions" to which the Buddha pays such a warm tribute, and which I mention below, in the concluding part of this paper, it will be conceded to me, I hope, that my suggestion is not farfetched.

The Yaudheya Republic. The discovery of Yaudheya Coins has supplied us with most reliable evidence regarding the Yaudheya Repub-The legend on their coins, jaya yaudheya ganasya-'victory to the Yaudheya Republic,' is the most conclusive proof of the existence and sovereignty of the Yaudheya Republic. Their coins can be grouped into three classes or periods. The second and third class of coins contain the additional words Dwi [tiya] second and Tri [tiya] third, respectively, in the legend, as qualifying yaudheya. I am inclined to suggest that the Yaudheya-Republic-coins belong to three periods of Yaudheya Republic. That is to say, the continuity of the Republic was disturbed and the Republic was established twice over again; hence the coins of the first, second and third Yaudheya Republics. Cunningham was of opinion that Yaudheyas were divided into three tribes, hence "second yaudheya" and "third yaudheya" coins. He could not produce any plausible evidence in his support. But, on the other hand, history supports my explanation of the "second" and "third" yaudheya gana coins. The Yaudheyas were first attacked by Alexander (326 B. C.), then by Rudradaman (150 A.D.) and for the third time by Samudragupta (350 A.D.). And we know that they still maintained their independence, as is evident from the fact that about the year 395 A.D., Chandragupta II completed his conquest of Western India, "which involved the incorporation in the empire of the territory held by the Malavas and other tribes [the Yaudheyas], who had remained outside the limit of Samudragupta's dominion." [Early History of India, by V. A. Smith, p. 291.] Thus we can clearly see three distinct periods of Yaudheya people's history; and evidently the coins belong to these three periods which are separated by three invasions.

There are copious proofs of their being an essentially military people. According to Panini "ya" is the suffix generally used to form singular and dual of words signifying military or warlike people. Greek writers also regarded them as "one of the most powerful people of India." They are said to have fought against Alexander with an army of 60,000 foot and 6,000 horse. Rudradaman in his Junagarh inscription speaks with a sense of pride that he "rooted out the Yaudheyas," though as a mat-ter of fact he did nothing of the kind, he simply cils Herr Ebert said, "the Republic must, to quote M. Jaures, be a nation of kings." D. led an expedition against them and probably News. 18-12-18. the second break in the continuity of the Yaudheya Republic. They seem to have taken not much time on re-establishing the Republic. Sumudragupta had again to lead an expedition against them (336 and 350 A. D.). And finally Chandragupta incorporated their territory

within his empire.

As regard their correct geographical position is very difficult to be very precise. Cunningham thinks that they must have been occupying "both the banks of the Sutlej along the Bahawalpur frontier...their territory must have extended much further to the north-east, as their coins are found all over the country as far as Ludhiana." [Arch. Sur., Vol. XIV, p. 140.] Their oldest coins have been found at the Behat, to the east of the Jamuna. But the notices of the Greek writers and the references to the Yaudheyas, in the Junagarh inscription (150 A. D.) and the Allahabad Pillar (470 A. D.), indicate that they occupied the country about the mouth of the Indus and were the neighbours of Malavas, Arjunayanas, and Abhiras. And I am of opinion that the Yaudheyas are the descendants of the Yadus (one of the five tribes of the Rigveda) and the Yadavas (of the Mahabharata). We learn from the Epics and the Puranas that Yadavas lived in the Western India, the modern Kathiawar and Gujarat, and that their capital was Dwaraka, in Kutch.

Like the Yaudheyas, Yadavas also were a warlike people. They took a prominent part in the Great War of the Maha bharata. And when the War was over their warlike spirit still remained and finally they exhausted themselves by a civil war. During the Great War the sympathy of their republican leader, the president, Krisna, was with the Pandavas, who, he thought, had the Right (dharma) on their side. Whereas the Yadavas threw all their national forces on the side of the Kauravas. Thus a most curious position arose. The leader, Krisna and his people the Yadavas were found

in the opposite camps.

The Yadavas were a well known republican oligarchy. The presence of their president Krisna was objected to by Sisupala in the assembly of monarchs, on the ground that Krisna was not a king nor was of royal blood.

THE MALAVA REPUBLIC.

The evidence concerning the existence of the Malava Republic is most convincing and satisfactory, coming as it is from two most reliable sources, numismatic and epigraphic.

It has now been fully recognised that the Hindu national era, the so-called Vikrama era, is really the legacy of a people called Malavas, who inhabited the western Rajputana. The find-spots of the coins, described above (p. 22), also indicate that roughly speaking the Malava territory extended between the Sutlej and the Narbada at one time or other.

rritory extended between the Sutlej and the 1913; p.161. J. R. A. S. 1905, p. 233, 1907, g. There are three inscriptions which go to prove CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Rangin & Sletchion, Haridwar

two incontestable facts. (1) That there was a people called Malava who are responsible for the 'Vikrama era'. (2) That Malavas did not live under any monarchical form of government nor owed allegiance to any king but were republicans, ganas. The inscriptions in question are:

(i) Malava-gana-sthitya-'from the republican

constitution of the Malavas.'

(ii) Malava-gana-sthiti-vasat—'on account of (vasat) [from] republican constitution of the Malavas.' [Mandasor inscription.]

(iii) Malava-ganamanata—'handed down traditionally by Malava tribe.' [Dr. Fleet's

translation.]*

Even if Dr. Fleet were to insist on tanslating gana by "tribe" in spite of its obvious and true meaning, which I have already discussed, and which Dr. Thomas has so conclusively proved, in the J. R. A. S. (1914 to 1916), one fact is thoroughly established, namely, there was a people called Malavas who lived in Malawa either giving their name to the country or were themselves called after the name of the country, and that they gave to India their National Era (which dates from 58 B.C.). The significance of a Republican Era in the History of India itself is very great. For the Malavas themselves it is of no less importance. Together with Malava coins, the republican era proves the independence and sovereignty of the Malavas That is why (in the words of Dr. Thomas) "the Malava gana issues official documents in its name," and puts their designation on their coms jaya Malavana, 'victory to the Malavas', which signifies "the actual non-existence of a superior, royal authority," over the Malavas.

A REPUBLICAN CONFEDERATION.

True, the isolation of and lack of co-ordination between the republics made them an easy prey to Alexander and two Chandraguptas, yet there were some confederations of republican states, which, when united, became formidable foes of neighbouring monarchical states. Kautilya was quite cognisant of the fact that union between several republics made them invulner able:—Sanghabhisanghatvat Adhrisyanapare sam [Artha. text, p. 376]. Similarly the Mahabharata also recognises the strength of the confederated republics. [Mbh. S. P. 107.32.]

One typical example of a Republican confederation, which may very well be compared with the Swiss Confederation as it stood before 1848, is given by Beal, in his translation of Hiuen Tsiang's Buddhist Records [Vol. II. The country of the Vrijjis or Same vrijjis [the united Vrijjis], was that of the confederated eight tribes of the people called Vrijjis

* Gupta Inscriptions, Northern List No. 3

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No. 31 itiquar 1907, § R. A. § or Vajjis, one of which, viz., that of the Licchavis, dwelt at Vaisali. They were republicans, they were a confederation of Northern tribes who had at an early date taken possession of this part of India. They were driven back [from modern Behar] by Ajatasatru, king of Magadha." Compare also Cunningham Anc. Geog., p. 449., and Sacred Books of the East, XI. m. ss.]

THE CONCLUSION.

The Buddha founded his Sangha, the monastic order or the spiritual republic, on the model of the republican constitution: and adopted their rules of deliberations and election of office bearers of the order. He had unbounded admiration and reverence for the Republics of his time. Once, he said to his disciple Ananda: "So long as the Vajjians hold full and frequent assemblies, so long may they be expected not to decline but to prosper. So long, Ananda, as the Vajjians meet together in concord, and rise together in concord and carry on their undertakings in concord, so long as they enact nothing not already established, abrogate nothing that has been already enacted, and act in accordance with the ancient institutions of the Vajjians.....so long may Vajjians be expected not to decline but to prosper." [The Dialogues of the Buddha, S. B. E., p. 32.]

Inspite of the prophetic hypothesis of the Buddha, the Republics did, in the course of time, disappear from Northern India, as did the Buddhism. They disappeared partly on account of their obvious inherent shortcomings, and partly owing to historic and political reasons, the rise of the Maurya and Gupta Empires.

The causes of their disappearance will be dwelt with, in detail, in my next paper; where I propose to deal with their constitution, procedure, and the types to which they belonged. However, I cannot help making an observation here that the Republics of India and Greece disappeared almost simultaneously.

The republicanism of India was not a superstructure, above and beyond the life of the people. The people, young and old, even women, took part in the deliberations, legislation and administration. "The State [the Republic] constant stantly exercised the co-operation of the villagers, active part in public affairs." [Buddhist India p. 49.] The people elected their own officebearers, the Executive, the President and the vice-president: in some cases they elected even the Commander-in-chief of the army from amongst the cases they elected even amongst the cases they elected even amongst the cases they elected even are cases they elected even amongst the cases they elected even amongst the cases are cases they elected even according to the cases they elected even amongst the cases are cases they elected even according to the cases they elected even amongst the cases they elected even amongst the cases are cases they elected even according to the cases are cases they elected even amongst the cases are cases and cases are cas amongst themselves or from some particular

The connection between the local and the central government, in every respect, was well established riment, in every respect, was well established; the local governments, the village communities and local governments, the modelled communities and municipalities were modelled after the central government, the Republic.

"Besides the Motor IIII to the metropolis there

important places, as also in every village where the people did their share of government administrative business." [Buddhist India, p. 2.] 'The Maurya emperors adopted this centralisation from the Republics. Kautilya even laid out the plan of the villages, on an imperial basis. group of villages were to be little imperial units. just as the republican villages were little republics in themselves. [Artha. Bk. II, p. 46.] The municipal government of Pataliputra was the model of local government of the Empire. The Maurya Emperors linked the whole realm by excellent highways and made their viceroys answerable to the central government. There were well-arranged provinces, districts and sub-districts through which inspecting officers travelled and made reports to the central government. The opinion of Sir W. W. Hunter expressed in 1883, in the Legislative Council, which has recently been quoted by an Indian publicist, in his dissertation that "it does. not appear that, as a rule, there was anything of the nature of a political institution between the village and the Central Government is absolutely unfounded and is contrary to facts and the evidence of history. In its best days the State in India has always been unitary. The provinces of the Maurya and Gupta Empires were governed by the Viceroys. In Indian History whenever there has been a tendency towards local autonomy and devolution, the results have been disastrous.

Although republics were finally overthrown by the Emperors of the Gupta Dynasty, towards the end of the 4th and early 5th centuries A. D., yet the republican tradition itself has survived until very recent times. The Elective Protectorate of ancient Kerala had up to the eighteenth century autonomous republics within it, which carried on the local government through a Sabha or assembly which sat for the last time in 1743 A.D. The most important and powerful and central republican assembly was called Nad (which literally means country). This Parliament contained the elected representatives of the people from all the Taras (groups of villages), Gramas (villages) and Cheris (wards of villages); and they discussed matters concerning the whole Nada (country).

Besides the large Republics which were independent and sovereign bodies with which I have been dealing so far, there seems to have been in existence local or tribal bodies of men with a certain amount of authority and autonomy within the state. Sukraniti gives an indication of this type of autonomous bodies which were also called Ganas. Sukra advises the king to entrust the Kulas (clans or families), corporations (Srenis) and republican communities (Gana's) to investigate into all cases, except robbery and the Then he says: "The Srenis (corporations) will try cases not tried by the Kulas (clans), the Besides the Mote-Hall at the metropolis there Ganas will try those beyond the juliconstruction were several minor halls in the towns and other Kanga Queec Souths, ideal king's own judicial officers will try the cases not decided by the Ganas." [Sukraniti, Bk. IV, Ch. V, sl. 29 & 30.] It is this type of Ganas that Jolly must have had in his caind when he rendered the word into "local committees" or "courts".

From South Indian inscriptions which are gradualy coming to light, it appears that in the South, Republican tradition has been kept up until comparatively recent times by groups of villages combining together: "A large number of villages in the Chola country had Sabhas or regularly constituted village corporations which watched jealously over the internal affairs of the village. The Uttarmallur inscription of Parantaka I [911-921, A. R. 1904-5, pp. 131-145] lay down rules for the selection of members to the village committees which were apparently controlled by the village assemblies." [Intro. p. 19. South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II, pt. V. 1917.] Under the Chola King Parantaka I, who ruled from 907 to 948 A. D., there was a rural autonomous community referred to above, which had six committees which carried on the government: these committees were: - Annual (Standing) Committee, the Agricultural Com-Sanitation Committee, Committee, Judicial Committee and Executive Council. The committee of justice which I prefer to call Judicial Committee "counted amongst its members a lady named Perungarunaiyatti." [A. S. (Madras) A. R. 1909-10, p. 98.] The inscription also gives a list of qualifications of electors and the method of electing (by a peculiar kind of ballot) the members for the said committees. members for the said committees. [Cf. Archaeological Survey of India, 1904-5, (Calcutta) p. 930. Madras Epigraphy, Annual Report 1898-9, p. 23 (Uttarmallura Inscriptions).] These village assemblies generally managed temples and were trustees of public charities. They had the power of negotiating loans and to alienate lands whenever the liabilities incurred could not be otherwise discharged. (Intro. p. 19. S. I. I., Vol. II, Pt. V, 197.)

Republican tradition which perpetuated in the South, is still carried on by the village assemblies or the Pachayats in some of the out-of-the-way districts where the vandalism of bureaucracy has not yet extended its sway. Up to the early part of the 19th century what Metcalfe said about the "little republica" was true. He said: "They are little republic, having nearly everything they want within themselves and almost independent of any foreign relations ... each one forming a separate state itself In time of trouble they arm them. selves ... They seem to last where nothing else lasts Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down: revolution succeeds revolution,..." (Baden Powell's Land Systems, Vol. I, p. 170.) But popular institutions which are part and parcel of a people's life do not disappear with dynasties nor are they swept away by revolutions; they depend on certain conditions and motive force. Those conditions having changed and motive force having been removed they are bound to dwindle or be come lifeless. An alien government naturally could not trust the "little republics" or afford to let them enjoy the old legislative and judicial authority. Thus the British bureaucracy removed the motive force—the desire to govern them selves—from the village communities. The communal life of the country is rapidly breaking owing to the spread of modern ideas and new conditions of life. So, the conditions and the motive, which made the continuance of the Panchayats possible, having disappeared, the idigenous self-governing institutions cannot help meeting the same fate what the kindred in stitutions of Central Europe did before the rise of the modern State and are meeting today in Russia.

It is futile, in my humble opinion, to talk of reviving the village Panchayats, in the absence of the conditions and the motive force which kept them alive. But they can either be modernised or replaced by similar new popular institutions which will suit modern conditions and will be in harmony with the machinery of the Central Government. The "little republics" cannot be revived and given a new lease of life unless they become feeders to the Great Republic which will not be affected by the convulsions and shocks and falls of dynasties and shocks of revolutions.

MUKANDI LAL.

LABOUR REFORM

PERMANENT proprietory interest in the health and physical efficiency of the labourer as distinguished from a desire to get the maximum kinetic value of the labourer's muscles within the period of 'limited by local and other conditions, and

of the advantages of the slave system labour. But even in the modern system of factory labour, employers may remember that the supply of labour is practically employment terminable atowillub soma ADCurukthatgrii pollegial itaridwa butput and, therefore

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FATIGUE.

Employers of labour should not forget that they are dealing with muscles that get fatigued. The employer cannot by increasing the work of the employee indefinitely get an increased output. Beyond certain limits the method defeats itself. Fatigue diminishes output indirectly as well as directly. It increases accidents and spoiled work, and causes sickness and unexpected absences. It is therefore in the interests of employers as much as in that of the workmen that fatigue should be reduced.

Hours of Work.

Reduction of hours of work is the most important fatigue-reducing reform wanted in Indian labour conditions. It is not only necessary in the interest of the workman and his family and the State of which they are citizens and component parts, but is desirable from the point of view of the employer, as the most obvious method of reducing the element of fatigue. It is a mistaken notion that decreased hours means reduced output. A man cando more work in two hours than in one hour; but it does not necessarily follow that in 12 hours he can do more than in 10, or more in 10 hours than in 8. If the work is of such duration, that we must allow for the element of fatigue, shortening of hours of work actually increases the amount of work done. This may not be so in the first few weeks, but is certain to happen in the long run. Instances are recorded in the Public Health Reports of the United States of America, which prove this beyond doubt.

OVERTIME.

Overtime work should be avoided by employers. If the usual day's work stops just short of undue fatigue, over-time means over-work, and consequent deleterious effect on man as well as on employer's output. It is apt to result in increased spoiled work, and reduction of efficiency during ordinary hours, sickness and absence on Mahalaya Amavasya.

COMPULSORY OVERTIME.

If this, is as regards voluntary overtime, it is obviously much more so as regards overtime work ordered on the penalty of fines to be imposed on default. Most employers think that if they order their men to work overtime, they are bound so to work, and that failure is a breach of discipline justifying fines and dismissal.

A SCANDALOUS CASE.

Holidays for workmen are believed by employers of labour to be a curse on industrial efficiency, and are grudgingly tolerated as one among the many evil customs of the land. Informed opinion, however, accepts periodical holidays as a necessity. Those who have studied the question most carefully acknowledge that workmen should have one day's rest in seven. Continuous work is a profound mistake and does not pay. Yet a case came under public notice recently in Madras, where though the men had worked on several previous Sundays, and at last took a holiday when compelled by a religious ceremony, they were not only not paid for the day, but in addition were fined for absence on that day on which they had been orally ordered to work, though it was a public gazetted holiday for the whole State, and had also been so notified by the authorities of the particular factory,* When the fine was imposed, the men went on strike, but the directors were obdurate and the fine was not remitted! In the highest interest of employer, workman and Nation, it is desirable that overtime and holiday work should be discouraged, or at least made strictly voluntary.

REST PERIODS.

Recess periods during a working spell should be introduced in all cases where hard fatiguing work is exacted. Experience has established the efficacy of such a system.

FURNITURE.

A great deal has to be done by way of providing suitable seats and other furniture during work to save unnecessary strain on the muscles. The Indian workman is

ordinarily not considered worthy of furniture costing capital outlay. Yet an inconvenient posture takes away a great deal of the efficiency of the workman and inprovement in this direction would add to output and profit in the long run.

SANITATION AND COMFORTS.

The provision of good drinking water within easy reach of the workman during work, suitable leisure, place and conveniences for workmen's mid-day meals, clean latrines and urinals and provision for washing after work are all the Indian labourer's fair share in the profits and bonuses earned by directors and shareholders of factories, and would in the long run increase the efficiency of labour.

MONTHLY PAYMENT OR WEEKLY?

The system by which in India wages are paid only once a month, and that, too, very long after they are due, so that the employer has always about two weeks' work done for him in advance of payment for the past month, and has got a firm hold on the workman without any need for allurements by way of Provident Fund, bonus or prospective increase in wages, is an unjust system which should be modified by immediate State intervention. There is no sort of reason or justice in demanding that a daily labourer who has no legal claim on the employer for being kept in service, and who is paid by the day even excluding Sundays and other holidays so that in a month he is paid at a daily rate for only 24 to 27 days, should wait for his wages so long after the work is done, and get into debt for maintaining himself and his family in the meanwhile. An enquiry into the economic conditions of workmen's families would disclose shocking tales. It should be made compulsory in law that all wages should be paid by the week on the Monday following the week, if not on Saturday itself. It is easy to see how a system by which men possessing no property to fall back upon, have to work a

whole month and another fifteen days in the new month to get their wages for the past month, and to know what fines and deductions have been ordered, make these ignorant workmen the slaves of the money lender, as well as of the head-jobber and other tyrants of the labour world. This system of late payment with its consequent loss of freedom, interfering with the operation of the law of supply and demand, is perhaps the most potent factor preventing a natural rise in wages to meet the increasing cost of living.

A STATE BOARD.

Besides greatly improving the Factor Act, Government should seriously take in the formation of a Board of Protection in The duties the interest of factory labour. of such a Board should include revision unjust fines, and general relief of all oppressive conditions, besides arbitration in disputes. In a country where Govern ment protects tenants against their own contracts with landlords, and the State has enacted provisions to govern their mutual relations, it is much more necessary that there should be similar State protect tion for the ignorant factory labourer British Trade Unions are now able to protect themselves effectively and are not therefore inclined towards compulsory arbitration, but such a condition does not and cannot for a long time yet preval in India. Indeed one part of the work the suggested State department would be to protect Child Labour Unions agains the insidious attacks of the all-powering employers, and foster strength independence in them, till the time is reach ed when they may be left to themselves Of course, the danger of too protection, defeating its own end, should be avoided. The department, it is needles to add, is one eminently suited for India popular responsibility, tinguished from the bureaucratic arm the impending diarchy.

C. RAJAGOPALACHAR

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ACHAR.

INDIA REFORM LEGISLATION

(RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE JOINT PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE)

CCORDING to Mr. St. Nihal Singh, Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer pointed out Parliamentary the to Committee in the memorandum submitted to them on behalf of the All India Home Rule League that number of constituencies proposed by the Southborough Committee is far too small." This is pre-eminently the case in Bengal and the United Provinces. In Bengal the average size of a rural electorate is 17000 voters, while it is about 24000 in the United Provinces against some 8000 or 9000 of the Bombay and Madras Presidencies and of the Punjab, the Central Provinces and Assam. In their Report to Parliament the Parliamentary Joint Committee have made the following recommendations which specially affect Bengal:-

(i) Allocations of seats is to be adjusted so as to secure a larger representation of rural population as distinct from urban.

(ii) A better representation of wage-earning classes in urban areas.

(iii) Adjustment of the disparity of the size of electorates in different provinces. This adjustment, however, must in all cases be by increasing and not diminishing the representation or franchise already proposed by the Southborough Report.

(iv) A large share of real representation of the depressed classes by nomination, by increasing and not by diminishing the general electo-

(v) Reconsideration of the special representation of landlords in consultation with Local Governments.

(vi) Franchise for University seats to be extended to all graduates of seven years'

(vii) Adjustment of European consideration. (viii) Maintenance of the Lucknow compact of National Congress and Muslim League.

(ix) Acceptance of the Franchise Committee's

proposals for residential qualification. These recommendations can be given

effect to, if the size of the Bengal Legislative Co. ive Council be doubled as suggested by Mr. Rangaswamy Aiyer in the case of the Madras Presidency, and Took Sthe Powise. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Very much the same number of elected members has been allotted to the United Provinces with a population of 47 millions, to Bengal with a population of 45 millions, and to Madras with a population of 40 millions, as to Bombay with a population of only 19½ millions. If Bombay Legislative Council is to have 120 members, it stands to reason that Madras Council should have at least 200 members as suggested by Mr. Ramaswamy Aiyer and Bengal and the United Provinces Councils 250 members each. The Southborough Franchise Committee have suggested 125 members for the Bengal Council, 75 members being elected by Urban and Rural areas, 10 members by various Indian interests, 15 by industrial, trading, commercial, and other European interests, and 25 by Government (4 ex-officio, 16 officials and 5 non-officials). In order to meet the recommendations made by the Parliamentary Franchise Committee, I beg to submit below a scheme of distribution of seats, side by side with the Southborough Committee's scheme, on the basis of 250 members for the Bengal Council.

Several Interests. Sout	sed by the hborough mmittee.	Suggested by me.
I. Urban (a) Muslim (b) Non-Muslim	6 - 17	6 11 — 17
II. Rural (a) Muslim (b) Non-Muslim	28 30 — 58	62 71 —133
III. Special (Non-European)		
(a) Educational University	2 (i) N	Auslim 1. Hindu 3
(b) Landholding	5 (i) 1 (ii) I	Hindu 6 Muslim 4
(c) Trading & Com- mercial & In-		
dustrial	3 (i)	Hindu 4 Muslim 2
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V.	Special (European)	
	(a) Trading, Com-	
	mercial &c. 12	24
	(b) European Com- mercial 2	4
	(c) Eurasian Com-	My 1 Care
	mercial I	2
	— 15	- 30
V.	Nominated	
	(a) Ex-Officio 4 (b) Officials 16	. 5
4		18
	(c) Non-Officials 5	27
	(i) Depressed 1	
	(ii) Indian Christians 1	
	(iii) (?) I	
	(iv) Others 2	and in sport
	(v) Europeans nil	Louisland
	5	Sales or Sin
	<u>— 25</u>	50
	Grand Total 125	250
	The 27 non officials naming	ted are to

The 27 non-officials nominated are to be distributed thus:

(i) European 5 (iii) Indian Christians 2 (ii) Landholding Magnates 5 (iv) Depressed Classes 15

According to official description the castes called depressed classes are about 37 and number about ten millions. Of these castes the numerically principal ones should have the following representatives:

I.	Namasudras (two millions)	4	Members
2.	Rajbansis (one and a half million)	3	15
3.	Rajbansis (one and a half million) Bagdis (one million)	2	
4.	Chamars and Muchis (two-thirds	Ē	"
	of a million)	I	,,
5.	Jugis and Jolahas (two-thirds		7/ 32 33 be
	of a million)	I	,,
6.	Jaliakaibarta, Malo, \()(two-thirds)	-	
	Keyat of a million)	I	A STATE OF
7· 8.	Pods (two-thirds of a million)	I	"
8.	Domes, Haris &c.	T	"
9.	Baishnabs (two-thirds of a million)	T	"
100	,		

The Census officers and the Southborough Franchise Committee have done the Sonarbaniahs, Shahas and two or three other castes the great injustice of declaring them officially as "depressed", untouchable, &c., &c. I believe these respectable castes resent this official description and classification. They have never sought special representation Legislative Councils either by nomination or by election. The Soharbaniahs of Bengal are more literate than even the Kayasthas and the Brakmans, and the Shahas than the Baruis, Telis and Sadgops.

charitable than, any other Bengali caste They require no special representation and they seek none.

Now how are the recommendations of the Parliamentary Committee satisfied In

my scheme.

(i) The Southborough Committee allow ed 17 out of 75 elected members to urbar areas, that is to say 23 per cent. of the total. According to my scheme the urban members will form only 111/2 per cent. Now the total population of the areas marked ur ban by the Southborough Committee is only 2 millions out of 45 millions or only 44 per cent. The urban population if giver 17 seats against 133 seats for rural areas will have thus more than 2½ times the representation of rural areas. Is this to little?

Now remember that the 36 representative of trade, commerce and industry-both European and Indian,—will be townspeople representing town interests. Representative of the university and the landholding classe mostly reside in Calcutta. Now that the residential qualification of candidates for the rural areas has been removed for Bengal there is no doubt that a very large num ber of representatives for those areas will be persons who habitually, ave, permanently reside in Calcutta and have nearly all then domestic ceremonies performed there. all these considerations be borne in mind 17 seats that I have suggested for urban areas are more than enough against 133 seats for the rural areas.

(ii) Out of the 17 seats allotted to the urban areas a fairly large number, say on half, should be allotted to wage earning classes, employed in mills, factories, docks

presses and railways.

(iii) The size of the rural electorates ! unmanageably large in Bengal. In mendin this evil, the representation or franchis recommended by the Franchise Committee should not be reduced, but enhanced desirable. In Bengal we cannot maintail even the representation or franchise pro posed by the Southborough Committee without making the size of the electorate unmanageable from 13000 to 24000 voter They are both as charitable as, if not more CC-0. In Public Domain. Guruku Reng beautiful Handwer age size of an electoral unless we double the number of Council

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in Bengal is 17000 Voters; by doubling the member of elected members from 75 to 150, we shall make the size of the electorates manageable, otherwise the absentees will be many at voting owing to the great distance that they shall be required to walk to come to polling stations, corrupt practice will be easy to carry on and the difficulty of trying corruptions will be great. The election system will be a great force.

(iv) If we are to have a real representation of the ten millions of people officially discalled as depressed, we cannot allot less than 14 or 15 members, whether they are elected by the literate amongst these classes or be nominated by government until literacy has become very general amongst them and has reached the standard of at least 25 per cent amongst the males.

(v) If the landholders be given ten members to be elected by big landlords (6 Hindus and 4 muslims) and if 5 landholding magnates, one from each Division, be nominated by the Governor, there will be no complaint from that section of the zamindars who feel their dignity or selfrespect considerably compromised if they be asked to seek the suffrage of their fellowcountrymen who are not zamindars. the memorial of the zamindars to Franchise Committee, Raja Kishorilal Goswami laid much importance, on the "ducal" houses being represented nomination and not by election. Twofifths of the elected and nominated zamindars should be muslims, according to the Lucknow compact.

(vi) Of the four members elected by the graduates of the two universities, one should be reserved to be elected by the Muslim graduates. This should be done during the first twelve years or until the time when both the communities have found out the unwisdom of commercial

representation.

(vii) The European merchants, tradesmen and lawyers prayed for 18 per cent of the totally elected members being of their community, and they have got 15 out of a hundred elected members (including Anglo-, Indians). If they get 30 elected and 5 nominated members they shall have 17/2

percent of the total number of elected members. These extra 5 members may be nominated so that the evils of commercial system, of which they are great admirers, may be removed as much as possible. Broadminded Europeans like Mr. Andrews, Mr. Pugh, Mr. Norton and Sir Daniel Hamilton will find great difficulty to be elected by their fellow-countrymen to the Provincial Council.

(viii) My suggestions fully satisfy the Lucknow compact of the National Congress and Muslim League, by which 40 per cent of the Indian elected members should be Muslims. The Muslims will be-

Urban	6 •
Rural	62
Educational	. 1
(University)	
Landholding	4 elected
TATES THE STATE	2 nominated
Trading	2
To	otal 77

The non-muslims will be-

Urban		11
Rural		71
Educational		3
Landholding		6 elected
		3 nominated
Trading		4
Christians	E THOSE	2
Depressed		14
	Total	114

Now 77 members would make 40 per of 191 (77+114) and would thus satisfy the condition of the Lucknow

compact. There is however one flaw in this calculation. Why bring in the representatives of the depressed classes, when making up 60 per cent of Non-Muslim Indian repre-The Mussalmans have no sentatives. caste system; depressed classes are unknown to them. The Brahmans Kayasthas claim the depressed classes as Hindus, when calculating the number of appointments to Government services or of members of Legislative Councils or elected self-governing institutions. cannot have therefore the full measure of representation first through election and have a supplementary number of members as representatives of their a supplementary number

depressed castes by nomination. This will be very much, though not exactly, like "Heads I win, tails you lose." This question was raised by Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu in their joint report, when they considered the proposal of abiding by the Lucknow compact. utmost that the Hindus may claim is that the representatives of the depressed classes, nominated by Government, should be Hindus, whether they are officials or nonofficials or retired officials or whether they belong to uplifted or depressed classes.

(ix) The Southborough franchise committee recommended that there should be no residential qualification for the candidates in the case of the Bengal Presidency and that has been approved of by the Parliamentary Committee. I am rather glad of this. The residential qualification might be so easily evaded. Besides this most of the best men of a district in Bengal are found to habitually reside elsewhere; if the electors of a district have faith in their fellow districtmen who live most of their time in Calcutta, why should they be deprived of the right of electing them against their stay-at-home friends? Let these voters have free choice.

I have said nothing about the justice

or otherwise of the recommendations made by the Parliamentary committee after listening to almost anybody and every. body-English or Indian-who managed to secure a passage to England and was forti. fied by a certificate of some association. especially after the declaration that the English Government have accepted the India Reform Bill based on it.

If there be 133 seats for rural areas, 71 for the Hindus and 62 for the Muslims, we may then have 40 Muslim members and 58 Hindu members for single sub-divisions. where the Muslims and the Hindus may be respectively most numerous. In the remaining 44 and 26 sub-divisions, two sub-divisions shall have to be joined together for a single constituency. Out of 84 subdivisions we shall have then a Muslim member for each of 40 sub-divisions in East Bengal and 22 members for 44 subdivisions in West Bengal. This will be a more hope ful arrangement than the one necessitated by requiring 3 or 4 sub-divisions to be clubbed together to form a single constituency. The voters shall not have to travel out of the limits of their sub-divisions in 40 sub-divisions for the Musalmans and 58 sub-divisions for the Hindus.

SRINATH DUTT:

ARE INDIANS DEGENERATING PHYSICALLY?

By PRAMATHA NATH BOSE, B.Sc. (LONDON).

OMPARING present day India with India half a century or so ago, one of the facts that strikes us most forcibly is physical degeneration and diminution of vitality evidenced by the enormous growth in the number, malignity and destructiveness of disease. Plague* and Influenza of the deadly type which has exacted such a

* History records occasional epidemics which were probably of plague. But they were very infrequent and incomparably less fatal than they are now. One such occurred in A. D. 1729 and is described in the Seir-Mutagherrin (Vol. I, says the author, "none of the sick died; they a p. 265). It commenced at Patna and extended

heavy toll of late were then unknown; and tuberculosis, diabetes, rheumatism, heart disease, pneumonia, malarial fever, dysper sia, diseased teeth and defective eyes were as uncommon then as they are common now. Life was as generally a thing of jo then as it is of misery now. This is a mar ter of grave apprehension to all well-wisher of India. Health is the first requisite of happiness. Its importance is pithily ex

ped. "But by favour of divine Providence, through Agra and Delhi to Labord White Dinsto Suruku Kangra Collection, Hardwar whose last hour had a mad is o forc "Th hea serv

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pressed in the Sanskrit aphorism—Sariramadyam khalu dharma-sadhanam (Health is one's first duty). The same idea is also forcibly expressed by the sages of the West. "The first wealth," says Emerson, "is health." "The wealth of a nation," observes Ruskin, "is the health of its people."

Writing about Hindusthan in the beginning of the seventeenth century Abul Fazl

says in the Ain-i-Akbari :-

"The whole extent of this vast empire is unequalled for the excellence of its waters, salubrity of air, mildness of climate, and the temperate constitutions of the natives. Every part is cultivated and full of inhabitants, so that you cannot travel the distance of a Cos (two miles) without seeing towns, and villages, and meeting with good water. Even in the depth of winter, the earth and trees are covered with verdure; and in the rainy season, which in many parts of Hindusthan commences in June, and continues till September, the air is so delightfully pleasant that it gives youthful vigour to old age."

The only exception to this general statement noticed by the writer is Bengal. But even there considerable improvement would appear to have been effected during Abul Fazl's time. He says that "for a long time past the air of Bengal had been unhealthy at the leaving off of the rains, afflicting both man and cattle; but under the auspices of his present Majesty this

calamity has ceased."

That until lately the people of the United Provinces and the Punjab enjoyed good health is a well known fact. Allahabad, Agra, Delhi and Lahore were looked upon as sanitaria. Even Bengal was, on the whole, not so fever-stricken, as a large part of it has been since the middle of the last century. "The Dutch Admiral Stavorinus in his Memoirs", says Dr. Bentley, "gives a list of the diseases prevalent in the neighbourhood of Hooghly, but whilst alluding to dysentery and other tropical disorders, he makes no mention of fever or ague. In Valentia's 'Travels' there is no mention of Murshidabad or Berhampore being specifically unhealthy, and some of the early records speak of this part as having once possessed a reputation for salubriousness."* Towns like Hooghly,

Bandel, Chinsura, Baraset, Krishnagar, history of Bengal malaria," says Dr. Report on Malaria in Bengal part I Bentley, "and the question as to whether page 28.

Burdwan, Midnapur, Pabna, Malda and Birbhum, now hot-beds of malaria, were until about the middle of the last 'century considered to be healthy, and some of them were regarded as sanitaria. "Hooghly, Bandel and Chinsura were once looked upon as healthy suburban retreats by the Europeans in Bengal. Bandel, for example, was referred to as "sweet Bandel," "the pleasant and healthy settlement of Bandel." In the beginning of the nineteenth century there was a college at Baraset for cadets on their first arrival from England, which would not have been the case if it had been as intensely malarious as it has been for sometime past. Vansittart had a country residence there. In regard. to Nadiya, which is now being depopulated by malaria, the Census Report of 1901 observes, that "it was once famous as a health resort, and it is said that Warren Hastings had a country house at Krishnagar." Midnapur was practically free of malaria in the beginning of the last century. Even as late as 1851-52, of the total admissions for treatment at the dispensary there, only 4.0 per cent. were cases of intermittent fever. As regards Burdwan, the District Gazetteer observes that "before 1862 the district was noted for its healthiness, and the town of Burdwan particularly was regarded as a sanitarium. In fact it was customary for persons suffering from chronic malarial fever to come to Burdwan where cures from the disease were common." Dr. A. J. Payne, in a report on the Burdwan division submitted in 1871, remarks that, "a fatal fever has of late years become epidemic, with seasonal outbreaks of extreme severity over a large tract of country which includes districts formerly among the healthiest in the province." Dr. R. F. Thomson says of the Hooghly district in his sanitary report of 1868 that, "if a common belief or impression among natives is of any value, the Hooghly district would seem to have undergone a vast change for the worse in respect of the health of the people." "In regard to the history of Bengal malaria," says Dr. the disease in comparatively recent times, an examination of existing records seems to afford overwhelming proof that many areas now suffering intensely from malaria enjoyed a relative immunity some 50 to 60 years ago. Recent investigation has shewn also that in certain localities a rapid increase of infection has occurred within the course of the last 10 years."*

What a sad change since the beginning of the seventeenth century when Abul Fazl wrote his Ain-i-Akbari. It would be extremely difficult to point out now any large tract of the country, the climate of which might be truthfully described to be salubrious and where the people might be said to enjoy the modicum of health essential for their well-being.

The following table shows the variations in the numerical strengh of the two most important sections of the Indian population within thirty years (1881-

1911):

Actual number Variation per cent. in 1911. (increase or decrease.) 1901-1911 1891-1901 1881-1891 Hindu (217,586,892)+5.04 -3 +11.8

man (66,6,47,299)+6·7 +8·9 +14·3 "Census of India, 1911, Vol. I. part I." p.141.

There has been a considerable falling off in the rate of increase of both the Hindus and the Musalmans since 1881. But the reduction in the case of the former is much more serious than in that of the latter. In regard to the major provinces, Bengal, Bombay, the Punjab and the United Provinces, Sir. E. A. Gait observes that the material conditions during the decade 1901-11, were "favourable to continued rapid growth of the population." That such was not the case is attributed by him to the deterioration of public health. Malaria has long been the special scourge of Bengal. "It is not only responsible for a heavy mortality, but it saps the vitality of the survivors and reduces the birth rate. Except in the neighbourhood of Calcutta where industrial developments are the most important factor, it may be said that the growth of the population is determined mainly by the prevalence of malarial

"during the affections." In Bombay greater part of the decade, plague continued to be very prevalent causing a registered mortality of 1.4 millions. Owing to this scourge the net increase in the popula. tion was only 6:3 per cent." In the Punjab, plague which first appeared there in 1896, "prevailed throughout the decade. and in British territory alone was respon. sible in all for about two million deaths. of which nearly one-third occurred in 1907. Malaria also has been terribly prevalent, especially in the irrigated tracts in the eastern and central districts. worst in 1908 and the three first years of the decade. Altogether in the British districts alone, four and a half million deaths were recorded, or more than onefifth of the total population of 1901. The result of these virulent epidemics is that, in spite of a marked advance in material prosperity, the population of the province (British territory) shows decline of 1.7 per cent." In the United Provinces, the state of the public health "was extremely unsatisfactory. There were virulent outbreaks of plague, which were responsible for 1.3 million deaths. The mortality from malaria was even more serious, and in 1908 alone, nearly two million deaths from fever were recorded, of which more than half occurred during the last four months of the year when the epidemic was at its height. An indirect consequence of this epidemic was an abnormally low birth-rate in 1909. The prevalence of plague and malaria resulted in a decrease of one per cent. during the decade."*

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Owing to the havor recently committed by the influenza epidemic the next census is expected to reveal a much more disastrous state of things than the last one. The official estimate of the number of deaths ascribed to it is some six millions during the concluding quarter of 1918.

"The birth-rate," observes Mr. Bain in his Census Report of the decade 1891-1901, "is indeed very far above that of any European country, if we except Russia and reaches nearly 48 per mile in the

^{*} Op. cit. p. 74.

CC-0. In Public Domain, Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar P. Cit. pp. 62, 66, 73, 75.

whole country. But the death-rate per mile is equally abnormal, even if we omit the more frequent occurrence of famine and epidemic diseases in India, and may be taken to reach, on an average, 41 per

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mile." The physical degeneration which is proved alike by the experience of elderly people and the evidence of statistics is shared by all classes everywhere except in very fertile and comparatively healthy tracts like Eastern Bengal, but by the middle class more than by the others. Constituting as they do the brain of the community this is a matter for serious concern. In Bengal the western and central districts, where they were most numerous and influential, "are all nearly stationary. The largest increase is less than 4 per cent., while two districts, Nadiya and Jessore, show a decrease."* The Census Report of 1891-1901 shows that the Brahmans of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa who increased from 1872 to 1881 by about thirteen per cent., had their rate of increase reduced to about two per cent. during the succeeding two decades and to four and a half per cent. in 1901-11. The Kayasthas of Bengal Bihar and Orissa who increased by 3:41 per cent. in the decade 1871-1881, had their rate of growth reduced to 1.09 per cent. during 1881-1891; and the next census showed an actual decrease by so much as 8.1 per cent. The last census shows an increase of 8.4 per cent., which would make up the loss they had suffered during the previous decade. increase occurred chiefly in the Dacca and Chittagong divisions, and Mr. O'Malley observes that "in the former division there is an increase of 55,000, over half of which may be accounted for by Sudras entering themselves as Kayasthas; the number of Sudras has fallen by 29,000. In the Chittagong division, where there has been an increase of 48,000 Kayasthas, we find a decrease of 9,000 Sudras.";

Lord Minto who was Governor-General in the beginning of the last century, describing the physique of the Bengalis in a

letter, said, he "never saw so handsome a race. They are much superior to the Madras people whose form I admired also. Those were slender. These are tall muscular athletic figures, perfectly shaped and with the finest cast of countenance and features. Their features are of the most classical European models with great variety at the same time." Alas! As a general description of the Bengalis the reverse of this would be true now.

If there were improvement in the quality of life, it would to a great extent compensate for the diminution of quantity. But such is not the case, especially in the more advanced parts and among the cultured middle classes. "An educated youth in India," observes Lieut. Col. Kanta Prasad I.M.s., "instead of being in a better position to maintain his health by virtue of his knowledge and education, breaks down far too early and does not enjoy life even to that extent which an ordinary illiterate workman does. Those who have made a special study of the subject are of opinion that more than 50 per cent. of our educated youths are potentially tuberculous and die before their time. Others, who escape this evil, contract diabetes before they are forty and are carried off before they are sixty." "Those who know best about India and its people," says the same writer, "are of opinion that even the fighting races of India are deteriorating. It is said that every race in India has within the last fifty years become an inch shorter in stature." * With a view to arrest the physical degeneration of the Parsis, an honorary staff of thirty-five doctors including eight lady doctors, under the auspices of the Zoroastrian Conference lately examined 1265 school children. The result of the examination showed that there were 194 cases of enlarged spleen, the effect of malaria, while there were 391 cases of defective eye-sight. The proportion of children suffering from ear, throat and nose diseases is very large being about 50 per cent. but the percentage of children with bad teeth is the largest, some 896 being

^{*} E. A. Gait op. cit. p. 56c-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri & Bredtin, Handwa Mortality Census of India Vol. V. Pt. I, p. 512. Indians," pp. 4 and 159. among Educated

found suffering from such teeth. This is in the case of a community in which Western education has made the greatest advance, among men as well as women, and which is materially better off than any other community. I have no doubt that an examination of the children of other classes, even when they are fairly prosperous, would reveal similar results.

A fact so patent as physical degradation could not have escaped observation. It has been noticed by various writers. The late Raj Narayan Bose noticed it as a conspicuous fact of his experience. Among more recent writers may be mentioned Lieut. Col. U. N. Mukherji, Babu Kisharilal Sarkar, Lieut. Col. Kanta Prasad, Rai Bahadur Chunilal Bose and Dr. Indu Madhab Mallik.

I have to endorse every word of the following description of the physique of our middle class people which appeared in an article in the Modern Review sometime ago entitled "Can we save ourselves yet?"

"Take your stand in any of the busy main thoroughfares of Calcutta Having stationed yourself, watch now the streams of people that are passing up and down the street. Look at the boys and youths that are going to their schools and colleges, and please observe them closely and well. Now do they look strong, full of life and animation, and overflowing with health and energy, as they should at this time of their life, or do they look ill grown, lifeless and poorly?..... The very appearance of the Indian boy would seem to indicate as if his body has not had a normal healthy growth. The impression that will remain with you as the result of your observation would be that what-

ever may be the state of his mental equipment his body is sadly in need of looking after.

Setting aside now the student class, observe the other citizens constantly passing up and down the street. Look at the streams of young and middle-aged men, clerks and others, who evidently make up the gentry or middle class proceeding to their places of business between 8 and 11 o'clock. Does their appearance show them to be possessors of a good physique, with strong and well developed muscles and bones or do they give you the idea that, instead of life being regarded as a gift to enjoy and be thankful for, life to them is a burden which ther are evidently finding it rather irksome to carry you may perchance find one strong, healthy energetic person in a hundred, while the re maining ninetynine will present a very poor appearance indeed, weak in limbs, and wanting in spirits. If you now transfer your attention to the remainder of the passers-by, the same thing will strike you, only perhaps in a greater degree, namely, that they are a sorry lot, with a very poor physique and with very little like in their bodies.....

The people you have seen..... may be take as typical not only of the inhabitants of Bengal but fairly also of almost the whole of India.

Now after a careful scrutiny of the general appearance and physique of the vast mass of people that are seen crowding in Calcutta from the shrunken bent old men down to the little ones playing about in the streets and bye-lanes does it strike an observer that this people below to a race that is thriving physically and materially, or does it look as if the race was rather going down and going down at a pretty fast rate, along the broad road of physical decar degradation?..... There can be 10 question that the Bengali is no longer what he was before, that he has degenerated considerably. That the degeneration has been very marked and rapid within the last fifty year will also be apparent to many."

christened their organisation as the National

Indian Liberal Federation—a title in which som

INDIAN DEPUTATIONS AND THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE

III. THE MODERATES DEPUTATION.

By ST. NIHAL SINGH.

HEN the memorandum submitted by the Deputation of the All-India Conference of the Moderate Party to the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill was indited, its signatories* apparently had not

Mr. W. A. Chambers, Mr. M. G. Chitnavis, Sir K. G. Gupta,

* The names of the signatories (in the order in which they apended their signatures battain Gurukul Kang Ho Neckon Handwar The Hon. Surendra Nath Banerjea (President), Sir B. C. Mitter,

The Hon. B. S. Kamat,

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INDIAN DEPUTATION AND THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE

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of them afterwards delighted. They had, however, brought authority with them from that Conference, held in Bombay on November 1-2, 1918, "to urge on British statesmen, members of both Houses of Parliament, political associations, the Press, and the British public generally, the wisdom and necessity of supporting the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform scheme, and giving legislative effect to it at an early date, with such modifications and improvements as have been formulated or suggested" in the Resolutions of the Conference. Perhaps to avoid misunderstanding they took care to add, under the heading "General attitude," that they "supported in the main" the joint report of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy, and that they "would regard it as a substantial first step towards the progressive realization of responsible Government in India, if its proposals be adopted without curtailment. At the same time, they advocated certain modifications and improvements in the scheme which "seemed to them 'desirable' and in certain cases, necessary to make it yield the utmost results of which it is capable."

ADVANTAGES-AND DISADVANTAGES.

I have made these quotations, because they explain, in the words used by the moderates themselves, the general line of policy which they have chosen to pursue in Britain, and which, in spite of all the advantages it gave, has not proved entirely a blessing.

The advantages are apparent on the surface. The open manner in which they established an alliance with the author of the Government of India Bill gave the Moderates access to the Secretary of State and to persons co-operating with him, which members of no other deputa-tion could have had. I do not make that statement in a spirit of cynicism. On the contrary, I know that such access to the powers that be enabled the more able among the Moderate leaders to learn from the inside what was happening, long before those not in the inner ring heard of it, and what was still more important, enabled them to give counsel at a time when the entire Bill was (supposed to be) in the melting-pot and when subsidiary matters arising out of it, were in the formative stage and, therefore, when it was easier to adjust details according to Indian ideals and desires, than it would be to the stage when than it would have been at a later stage when

they had assumed a more rigid form. Mr. Sastri and Mr. Ramachandra Rao particularly have enjoyed the confidence of the Secretary Secretary of State, and those closely associated

The Hon. Ramchandra Rao, Mr. Prithwis Chandra Ray, Mr. K. C. Roy,

with him. While I cannot divulge any details, I have good cause to know that they have used that opportunity to the advantage, not of themselves, but of their countrymen, who, in my opinion, cannot be sufficiently grateful to them for what they have been able to do to safeguard Indian interests.

So much for the creditor side of the account.

Now for the other side.

The policy adopted by the Moderates meant the subordination of their demand for the liberalization of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, which was particularly deficient in regard to the Central Government, to giving support to that scheme. That policy, I am sure, will prove a tactical blunder that will cost India dear, It will have to share with personal ambition and jeolousy; the responsibility of preventing Indians from conjointly striking the iron when it was hot. In the face of such attitude, moreover, if any important part of the Central Government is made directly responsible to Indians, it will be little short of a miracle.

BREACH IN CENTRAL BUREAUCRACY.

To show the reason why I take that view, it is necessary carefully to examine the Moderate attitude towards the immediate application of the principle of responsibility to the Central Government.

Let me note that no statement regarding that subject indited by any Indian organisation makes more impressive reading than the section entitled "Diarchy in the Central Government" which occupies a considerable portion of the memorandum to which I have referred: but only if that section is read without bearing in mind the introductory sentences that I have reproduced from that memorandum at the beginning of this article.

"We urge," write the moderate leaders, "that an element of responsibility should be introduced into the Government of India by placing some departments under a Minister who will amenable to the control of the Legislature." They add that "Salt, Income Tax and General Stamps' suggest themselves readily to the mind in this connection," while "subject to conditions imposed by military considerations, Railways and Posts and Telegraphs may also be dealt with in the same way." Since they are essentially departments which render services to the public, "no political consideration operates against their transfer to popular control, subject to the conditions above mentioned."

The signatories state that the reason why diarchy must be introduced in the Central Government is, "that the power of the goverment of India to supervise the administration of transferred subjects in the Provinces is obviously The Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, responsible to the Legislative Assembly. The Hon. C. Y. Chintamani (Loint Hornes Secretary) that the Hon. N. M. Samarth (Joint Hon. Secretary). 18 of the statement by Sir James Brunyate appended to the Crewe Committee Report, p. 24, in which he outlines a grouping of all-India subjects 'into the categories of 'controlled' and popular' though with a more limited object." They add later, that "the progress of responsible Government in the provinces will be injuriously affected by the limited vision of an unreformed Government of India, which is to have not only over-riding and concurrent power of legislation, but also the power of acting as an arbiter between the Governor and his Council, and of sanctioning the removal of services from the

reserved to the transferred group."

The moderate leaders find fault with the third formula enunciated in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report "which lays down that the authority of the Government of India shall not be impaired in any way," in other words "that whatever means might be adopted to make it increasingly amenable to popular influence, it shall remain independent of popular control," and "that the elected representatives of the people are to have greater opportunities of criticising and embar-rassing the Government without the check, as in the case of the Members of the Provincial Legislative Councils, imposed by a sense of responsibility."

Having said that much, the signatories of the memorandum remind the Committee that the authors of the Report did not hesitate to point out in that report that the fundamental defect that vitiates the existing system of Government and the Congress-League Scheme "was the absence of this element of responsibility, and further, that it is the introduction of this clament into the Previous II. of this element into the Provincial Legislatures that constitutes the chief value of the declaration of August, 1917." They naturally ask, "how can the application of the principle which is to be the keystone of the new fabric, be withheld from the most important sphere, viz., the Government of India, where it is needed at least as much as anywhere else."

The moderate leaders recall the fact that "the Report does not contemplate, nor is it compatible with the line of argument adopted therein, that at any particular time when the people may be supposed to be ripe for it, the entire Government of India should at one stroke be brought under the control of the popular representatives." The scheme being based upon the principle of 'successive stages' and 'progressive realization' applies to the Government of India as much as to the Provincial Governments, and the signatories add rightly that those who are capable of managing education, local self-government, and industries in the Provinces will surely be able to administer the Salt and Income Tax Departments. Merely to extend the range of jurisdiction "can create no new problems, and should, therefore, give rise to no feeling of hesitation or anxiety."

The moderate leaders complain that the Bill even does not clearly Corolland Hamain Gurukul Kangri Collection of 1917 will not have been

Commissions periodically appointed under the authority of Parliament with the express purpose of recommending suitable stages of progress in the provincial sphere, will concern themselves with investigating into the desirabi lity of progressively popularizing the Government of India." They admit that some comfor may be derived from the language of paragraph 288 which says that one of the duties of the periodic Commissions will be to examine and report upon the new Constitution of the Govern ment of India, but the hope is rendered almost illusory by the words "with particular reference to the working of the machinery for representation, the procedure by certificate, and the results of joint sessions." They say that that proviso shows "that the Commissions will have power to recommend not constitutional changes with a view to the establishment of popular government, but small improvements in the constitutional machinery which experience may render necessary or desirable.

The Moderate leaders say that "the Indian people will not rest content with authority in provincial matters, when their destinies and largely in the hands of the Government of India! For this reason, they think that "to taken steps to bring some part of it under the authority of the people argues an inability to appreciate the dominating factor in the India political situation, viz., the desire of the people to have a hand in the shaping of their destinies.

The signatories are unable to see why the process of making government in the Province responsible "must be completed before a similar process is begun in the Government of India. The doctrine of Hanoz Delhi dur ast (Delhi i yet far) laid down in the Report fails to convince them.

The Moderate leaders further contend that every care must be taken to guard against the inevitable danger that if the bureaucracy taught to regard any part of the Government as specially its own, it will bitterly resistal attempts to transfer it into other hands. the contrary, the bureaucracy has to be taught at least as much the virtue of subordinating the self-interest to the good of the country as the

people of India the art of governing themselves.

After declaring that "the only justification in the only justification i urged for this glaring omission to provide for the popularisation of the Government of Ind is found in para. 190," namely, that without experience of the results of diarchy in Provinces it is impossible to affect similar changes in the Government of India, and furth declaring that the attitude adopted is die excessive caution and is utterly inconsistent with the spirit which animates the Report, signatories of the memorandum urge "the extension of nonular accute of the extension of sion of popular control to the national sphere They say that unless this is done "the schell

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carried out and England will not be able to claim justly that she has set India firmly on the road to self-government."

Who can make out a stronger case against the preservation, for the time being, of the "irresponsible" character of the Central Government, than that made by the

leaders?

As I have already written, much of the force of this argument-sound as that argument certainly is—is lost by the general attitude of these leaders, who, in the beginning of the memorandum, indicate that they are quite prepared to accept and to work an Act passed along the lines laid down in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, which of course, refuses point blank, to make the Central Government responsible in any manner or to any degree. To show how this general attitude crept out of all that nearly all the Moderate witnesses said, before the Joint Committee, let me refer to their evidence relating to the Central Government.

MR. BANERJEA'S EVIDENCE.

Mr. Banerjea, the first Moderate (in fact the first Indian) to appear, began exceedingly well. He said that the preamble of the Bill should be altered to indicate that the object of that measure was to provide for responsibility in the Central Government, simultaneously with its introduction in the Provinces, though to begin with, not, perhaps, to the same extent. The clause relating to the statutory commission, he added, should make it clear, that the next Commission would enquire into the means of extending responsible Government in the Central as well as in the Provincial sphere. He indicated that the subjects marked popular by Sir James Brunyate, should be placed under a Minister or Ministers, and in this connection, called particular attention to the Income Tax and Salt Departments. The reason why he urged that the that the process of diarchy in Central Government should begin now, was partly to prevent the evil of criticism without responsibility, and partly because an unreformed Central Government was not suitable for supervising reformed Provincial Governments. His question "Is the lion the best person to look after the lamb?" made even the members of the Committee

When, however, the time for cross-examinathat have Mr. Banerjea, true to the instructions that he and his colleagues had brought from the Moderates Conference indicated to the Committee that while he should like to have diarchy in the Central Government, he was not prepared to say the Bill was unacceptable, or that he and his friends his friends would not be prepared to look at it if that demand was not conceded. On the conford selection was not conceded. On the ford selection was not conceded. On the ford selection was not conceded. ford scheme, without attenuation of any kind, was given, without attenuation of any kind,

popularisation of the Central Government would have to wait.

This Mr. Banerjea said, in effect, to Mr. Ben Spoor who, as the sole representative of Labour on the Committee, would no doubt have liked to elicit a reply far different to the one that he received. At any rate, after the Moderate Leader had committed himself in that manner, Mr. Spoor was able to get him to say that the bulk of opinion in India desired that a measure of control and responsibility in the Central Government should immediately be conceded, and that Lord Southborough was wrong, when, at a previous session, he stated that no such demand existed in India.

MR. SAMARTH VS. MR. ROY.

The next Moderate witness to be examined was Mr. N. M. Samarth. Beside him, sat Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Mr. K. C. Roy, and Mr. P. C. Ray, each of whom was allowed to supplement. Mr. Samarth's statement. Mr. Samarth greatly shocked Lord Sydenham when he told the Committee that if the Central Government was left irresponsible as it is, "within three years agitation of such a character would be set up in the Provinces that it may stagger the imagination." I noticed that Mr. Bennet made an attempt to get the witness to withdraw, or at any rate, to modify that statement, but he held firm.

Nor did Mr. Samarth hesitate to tell the Committee that if the Central Government was left irresponsible, and therefore the Legislative Assembly was no more than a "glorified Debating Society", that Assembly would fail to attract capable Indians who would prefer to stay in the Provinces where they would find great opportunities waiting for them. With dramatic effect, he added that "men with more money than brains" would fill that body.

What more full-blooded advocacy of the Indian wish for the partial democratisation of the Central Government, could have been pos-

sible?

But shortly after Mr. K. C. Roy began his statement, he took care to tell the Committee that the remarks that "his leader", Mr. Samarth, had made about the imperative necessity of diarchising the Central Government was not the considered opinion of his party. He added that the control of the Government of India had always been for the good of India and that he, for one, would prefer central bureaucracy over provincial bureaucracy.

Mr. Roy declared that in his opinion customs, tariff, and cotton excise should not be treated as popular subjects. The reason he gave for tendering that advice was, that he would not like to offend the Britishindustrialists Railways and Post, he and commercialists. added, were indissolubly bound up with military was given, the Moderates would accept it affairs and whatever his colleagues had although that would mean that the partial said of the partial said of the memorandum,

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they should not be treated as popular. Mr. Roy would, however, not object to such treat-ment being accorded to salt, income tax, and

"General Stamps:"

When Mr. Samarth came up for cross-examination, and was given the opportunity by the Duke of Northumberland to restate his position India, and more particularly, the demands may in regard to the Central Government, he took for the institution of the "separate purse" care to emphasize the necessity for immediately beginning the process of partially popularis-ing that Government, everyone desirous of seeing a breach made in the Central Government felt relieved, but alas! that relief lasted but a few moments.

Almost immediately after Lord Sinha began to cross-examine him, and asked a series of questions that made Mr. Samarth acknowledge that the demands made by him in respect of the Central Government were not part of his party's programme. What was more damaging still, Lord Sinha made Mr. Samarth add that his party would be quite willing to take up a Bill that refused to introduce the element of responsibility in that Government, and work it for all it was worth.

MR. SASTRI TO THE RESCUE.

The impression that these questions and answers produced upon the minds of persons anxious that a breach be made in the Central

Bureaucracy, can be imagined.
It would have been extremely unfortunate, had Mr. Sastri not appeared before the Committee some time later, and made it clear that he was very strongly in favour of immediately beginning the process of liberalising the Central Government.

Some Departments, such as Income Tax, and General Stamps, he declared, should be placed under a Minister or Ministers. Liberalisation, he added, should also mean increasing the power

of the Legislative Assembly in Finance.

Let us hope that these words of Mr. Sastri removed the unfortunate impression left upon the Committee by his colleagues who appeared earlier, otherwise the Committee will be justified in feeling that since Mr. Banerjea and his Party are willing to accept a measure which refuses, for the present, to confer upon Indians any control over Central Government, that Government may continue, for the time being, to remain irresponsible.

RECONSTRUCTION OF PROVINCIAL AD-MINISTRATION.

The attitude of the Moderates Deputation towards the reconstruction of the Provincial administration did not materially differ from that of the other Indian bodies, which had accepted diarchy. Perhaps the main difference lies in the fact that the Moderates placed greater emcarried into effect, whereas, the others merel resigned themselves to that system as an w

avoidable transitional measure.

The Moderates, like all the other Indian nesses, objected to the modifications of the archical system suggested by the Government the nicely-balance upsetting all arrangements proposed in the Chelmsford Report for the reconstruction of the Provincial Executive Council, and also of the system of Grand Committee proposed in that Report. The Moderate witnesses who appeared before the Committee, especially Mr. Sasta rendered great service in showing up the hollowness of the contentions advanced by the spokesman of the Government of India, and in subjecting to critical analysis certain provisions of the Bill which whittled away provisions laid down in the Montagu-Chelmsford While it is unnecessary to enter into a detailed discussion of the modifications of the part of the Bill pertaining to Provincial Governments asked for by the Moderates, attention may be called to two or three points.

Firstly one after another Moderate leader resisted the suggestion thrown out that the power of ordinance may be given to the Governor to carry out his responsibility in regard to reserved subjects, since objection had been taken by the Government of India, to the institution of the Montagu-Chelmsford type of the Grand Committee, whereas the type proposed by that Government had been objected to by Indians. In this matter their attitude differed cardinally from such witnesses as Mr. Ramaswami Aiyer and Lord Carmichael, neither of whom was prepared to permit the adoption of a device that would enable a Governor to throw the burden of executive action upon a

body of his nominees.

DISCORDANT NOTES.

. Secondly, while the Moderate leaders had emphasized in the memorandum the necessity of sending Governors from Britain, and some of them who appeared before the Committee, took particular pains to lay stress upon that point, one of the moderates (Mr. K. C. Roy) took pains to say that he would not like to see men belonging to the permanent services in India debarred from holding that office.

Thirdly, another Moderate witness (Mr. P. C. Ray) took the occasion to tell the Committee that he disliked diarchy, considered it cum brous and uncalled for, and urged that it be replaced with a system of double chambers in the Provinces. He added that the number of seats allotted to Bengal Zemindars, whom he described phasis upon the fact that, without resort to a dual form of government, the pronouncement growing intelligence. He also asked the Conformation of August 20th, 1917, could not have been cc-0. In Public Domain! Gurillet Kengt Consolin the whole question of the

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INDIAN DEPUTATIONS AND THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE

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representation of minorities These notes appeared to me at the time to be discordant, and I remember that they called

forth a good deal of criticism from Indians belonging to the Moderate Deputation, as well as outsiders.

Three members of the Moderates Deputation, namely, Mr. Sastri, Mr. Ramachandra Rao, and Dr. Sapru, deserve to be singled out for the valuable work that they did while in Britain.

Mr. Sastri's analysis of the financial clauses of the Bill was masterly, and I hope that the defects that he pointed out, will be removed. He also submitted a momorandum, asking for the extension of the application of a conscience clause to Indian children, and also urged that point in the evidence that he gave.

Mr. Ramachandra Rao smashed the argument that non-Brahman separatists had put forward for separate communal represetation. He, moreover, gave oral and written statements on budgetary procedure and legislative rules and regulations, which, if followed, should make the new Provincial legislatures far superior to those that exist at present in India.

Dr. Sapru delivered a withering attack upon the witnesses who had asked the Committee to reserve higher education in the povinces. He proved, that the very officials who now showed great concern for education had starved it.

HOME ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA N AFFAIRS.

The Moderate position in regard to the re-organisation of "Home Administration of Indian affairs" does not call for much comment. As Mr. Samarth told the Joint Select Committee, the Crewe Committee had given effect to most of the suggestions that he had submitted to the latter Committee, particularly in regard to

non-intervention by superior authority where the Central and Provincial executives were in agreement with their respective legislature. That canon, together with the use that Sir James Brunyate has made of it in his minority minute, and Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu's note, appear to have coloured the recommendations made by the Moderates in regard to the reorganisation of the India Council and of the India Office. I may add that the Moderates seemed to me to give the Committee the impression that they looked forward to the concession of fiscal autonomy through the Samarth-Brunyate canon.

Mr. Sastri appeared to me to be the one Moderate witness who rose superior to his surroundings, when he bluntly told the Committee that the India Council had proved to be a reactionary body, and must go.

The Moderates, like the other Indians (Sir Sankaran Nair alone excepted) who took the trouble to say anything about the constitution of a standing Committee of Parliament, recommended the limitation of such a Committee to members of the House of Commons.

TO SUM UP:

The Moderates Deputation, numerically the largest, and, because of the attitude it adopted towards the Bill, and the author of the Bill, favoured above all other Indian deputations, has had unique opportunities to get at many of the persons who have been moulding the destiny of India. In my opinion, so far as pressing for the reconstitution of Provincial administration is concerned, that Deputation used these opportunities to the immense advantage of India, but I regret to say, that so far as demanding the reorganisation of the Central Government is concerned, their attitude proved to be hopelessly weak.

INDIAN DEPUTATIONS AND THE JOINT PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE

IV. EVIDENCE GIVEN BY SPOKESMEN OF THE DEPUTATIONS.

(PART I.)

N the preceding article, I found it convenient to deal simultaneously with the memorandum submitted by the Moderate Deputation, and the evidence given by eight members of that Deputation. Now I propose to make a rapid survey of the rapid survey of the statements made by Indian witnesses

for the simple reason that they had not then appeared before the committee.

THE CONGRESS DEPUTATION: THE CONGRESS WITNESSES.

It is unnecessary to deal at length with Mr. witnesses in behalf of those deputations to Patel's evidence, because he followed generally whose memoranda I called attention in the the lines laid down by the last Congress at Delhi, first and second article attention in the the lines laid down by the last Congress at Delhi, first and second article attention in the which, it may be remembered, the memorandal second article attention at the lines laid down by the last Congress Deputation adhered. first and second articles of this satisformand in the the lines laid down by the last Congress are was unable, at that time, to refer their evidence, dum sent in by the Congress Deputation adhered. The only point on which he expressed his personal opinion was in regard to diarchy. Making it patent that he was speaking for himself, and not for the Congress, he told Mr. Mantagu, who pressed him hard for his personal opinion, that if at this stage full Provincial autonomy was not to be granted, he would be willing to accept a reorganization of Provincial affairs in which such objects as law, police, and justice would be reserved for administration by the bureaucracy, while all the other subjects were handed over to the popular branch of the Government.

When Mr. Patel began to say that the latter part of the declaration of August 20, 1917, was not an integral part of the statement authorized by His Majesty's Government, but had been tacked on by Mr. Montagu, the Chairman (the Earl of Selborne) told him that the contrary was the fact. Later, when he commenced to lay emphasis upon the Congress demand for the inclusion of a Bill of Rights in the new Government of India Act, Lord Selborne again interrupted him. He sought to show how the point that he was making was germane to the general subject of constitutional reform. But the Chairman would not give him the opportunity to go on. Later, however, Mr. Ben Spoor, M. P., asked him a question, in reply to which he was able to tell the Committee that the forthcoming reforms would be of little avail if the primary rights of citizenship were not guaranteed to Indians by a specific provision in the Act.

To Mr. Spoor the witness also said that without fiscal autonomy India's industrial regeneration would be impossible. He and his colleagues, therefore, considered fiscal autonomy as the most essential part of the

reforms to be granted to India.

Mr. Patel was subjected to a hot crossexamination from almost all the members of the Committee who were present, perhaps by none more severely than by Mr. Montagu. Being a practiced lawyer and an experienced legislator, he fenced off the thrusts made at him, giving as good blows as he received.

The duel that he had with Mr. Montagu was particularly interesting inasmuch as he refused to budge from the position he had assumed that the Bill-and, indeed, the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme-was ungenerous and disappointing. Naturally the Secretary of State did not like it that the spokesman for the Congress should speak of his Chef d'oeuvre as "a little thing." He said that he (Mr. Montagu) could understand that it would be disappointing to him, seemingly implying that Mr. Patel had formed expectations that were impossible to satisfy, but he could not understand why he should call it a little thing."

Since the witness kept saying that in view of the announcement of the August 20th, 1917, the mere transfer of a few departments in the

Central Government, was little, Mr. Montagi asked him if the Congress-League scheme, which he (Mr. Patel) was a part author, aske for any department to be placed under India responsibility. Mr. Patel answered by saying that if the dual demands made in that scheme namely, that the control over the budget ar the power of legislation should rest in people's representatives—he, for one, would in

Mr. Montagu and Mr. Patel also had a tuss over the question of electorates. The latte flatly contradicted the former when he declare that at the present moment no electorate existe to which control over administration coul be transferred. Mr. Patel, on the contrary contended that if the Southborough (Franchise Committee had merely taken the trouble to draw upon persons who at present possessed the municipal vote, a very good and very strong electorate could have been formed. In the Bombay Presidency alone between 300,000 to 400,000 voters had been enjoying the love franchise for something like 40 years. The material for superior electorates was, therefore ready at hand and only needed to be developed

When Mr. Montagu reminded Mr. Patel that earlier in the day he (the witness) had told Lor. Islington that if persons in Bombay, earning Rs. 250 per annum and over were to be give the vote, the number of voters in that President would amount to 1,000,000-or 400,000 in excess of the number of persons whom the Southborough Committee would enfranchise Mr. Patel told him that he personally believed in universal suffrage, and that Lord South borough's Committee should have aimed at that ideal.

Mr. Patel's pasage-at-arms with Sir John Rees was as interesting as his bout with Mr Montagu. Sir John was anxious to have the Congress witness withdraw the reflection h had made upon the character of British rule in India. He only succeeded in getting him to emphasize his original statement, namel that he considered that the existing system of government by the bureaucracy was "bad".

Ex-Dewan V. P. Madhava Rao, who followed Mr. Patel, was subjected to a still hottel cross-examination because the Indian adminis tration had been even more uncompromising his statements. First, the ex-Prime Minister Baroda, Mysore, and Tranvancore, refused yield on the matter of provincial autonomy even to the extent of saying that he would personally consent to the reservation of certain departments. He was the only Indian who took that stand. On the contrary, he affirmed that Indians, at this very moment, could easily bear the burden of administering the province without the aid of the bureaucracy, and since that statement was backed up by long and Provinces, without any real reform Doinant Burukukukuanghadunithint Harifwe experience—experience the

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INDIAN DEPUTATIONS AND THE JOINT PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE

had received the highest commendation from the most competent British authorities—it could not be dismissed lightly. Secondly, he told the Committee that the Indian Civil Servants were hostile towards constitutional reforms and that, in any case, the time had come for them

to make their bow and retire.

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Relating his experiences of the time when Mysore was rendered back by the British to the father of the present Maharaja, ex-Dewan Madhava Rao declared that the British officials employed in Mysore felt so sure that the Indian administrators who had taken their places would make a failure, that they actually sat on the fence expecting to be recalled to evolve cosmos out of the chaos that would certainly be created by incompetent Indians. That call, however, never came. To shew how completely the table was turned, he cited the case of a non-Indian ex-official who, in the days of the Commission, had lorded it over the people of Mysore, but who did not hesitate to return to Mysore knowing that he would have to serve under an Indian Administrator, who not so very long before had been working under him in a subordinate position, and who had been receiving a small salary and had been denied any direct opportunity to initiate policy.

The ex-Prime Minister added that British industrialists and commercialists in Mysore found the Indian Administrators so pleasant to deal with, and so progressive, that the much talked of exodus never took place. And the Indian administrators had initiated industrial schemes of a magnitude undreamt of in any part

of India-British or Indian.

To a man who had spent the best part of his life at Indian Courts and who is the soul of courtesy, it could not have been a pleasure to make statements which he could not help knowing would prove unpalatable to persons with vested interests in the Indian public services, and their partisans. But some one had to tell the truth. No living Indian was more fitted to undertake their truth. fitted to undertake that task than ex-Dewan Madhava Rao. All honour to him for discharging the highly unpleasant duty of tearing away the network of fiction about Indian unfitness that interested parties had

Being a man of action rather than of words and employing, as he did, a foreign tongue, ex-Deway Mary, as he did, a foreign tongue, ex-Dewan Madhava Rao used certain expressions in his realistications in his replies to questions asked in tense tones by members of the Committee, that have been used by original the committee, that have been used by original the committee or th used by critics to prejudice his position. To any one who heard him, as I did, however, or who, at any one who heard him, as I did, however, or who, at any rate, took the trouble to read his evidence evidence, it is clear that under cross-examination he not only refused to yield ground, but even street the continueven strengthened the case against the continuance of the the that he had ance of the bureaucratic system that he had made out originally.

against bureaucracy was clear from the questions that various members of the Committee put to witnesses who appeared subsequently. But tributes to the Indian Civil Service that such efforts secured from members and exmembers of that service could hardly affect the position taken by the distinguished Indian administrator, that India could very well get along without them.

HOME RULE WITNESSES.

Mr. Tilak, who followed the ex-Dewan, emphasized in his statement most of the points that Mr. Patel had already made. It was a good thing that he had traversed fully the ground, because, as already noted, he was not cross-examined.

There are just two points in Mr. Tilak's

evidence that need to be emphasized.

Firstly, he stated in the clearest possible. terms that he did not believe that all the declaration of British policy in India made on August 20th, 1917, was made in behalf of His Majesty's Government, but he was of opinion that the latter part of it had been added by Mr. Montagu of his own motion. Strange to say, the Chairman who had peremptorily told Mr. Patel that his explanation was unwarranted, let Mr. Tilak repeat it without challenging it.
Secondly, Mr. Tilak laid emphasis upon the

necessity of making definite and unambiguous provision in the forthcoming statute, to guarantee liberty of person, movement, speech, and

Press. Again he was not interrupted.

MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

Mrs. Besant made a comprehensive survey of Indian Constitutional Reform and put the case of India with great vigour and ability.

This friend of India was unhappy that no provision had been made for even a partial liberalisation of the Central Government, and insisted that a beginning, no matter how small towards that end, must be made immediately. Customs and tariffs, she declared, must no longer remain with the bureaucracy. It was felt—and not without reason—that Indian industries had been destroyed, and India had been converted from an industrial nation into a nation that merely produced raw materials for the use of other industrial nations.

Cotton excise, Mrs. Besant added, had been imposed in the interests of Lancashire. - That English County was now trying to compel India to raise cotton that would be suitable for Lancashire, but not for the Indian textile manufacturers. That sort of thing must stop, and could only stop if Indians were given control over their fiscal affairs.

Mrs. Besant told the Committee that she was anxious to have central subjects other than fiscal autonomy placed under Indian That ex-Dewan Madhava Rao scored heavily be transferred. She added later, that if higher

education were reserved, she demanded that all superior control exercised by the Central Government must be entrusted to a Minister. At another point, she declared that she wished all the Central subjects, save those relating to the defence of the country and external relations, should be transferred within 10 to 12 years, and even those subjects should be handed over to Indians within 15 to 20 years.

When she came to talk of the Council of State, Mrs. Besant very soon told the Committee that it had better abandon that idea. The conservative forces in India were already very strong. To fortify them by creating a second chamber,

would greatly retard Indian progress.

It was clear from Mrs. Besant's opening statement, and her replies to certain questions asked by the Committee, that if she could have had her way she would have liked India to follow the Dominion pattern of Government, but since the powers that be had determined otherwise, she had had to reconcile herself to diarchy. She was, however, emphatically of opinion that diarchy in the Provinces should not last more than five years. At the end of the second Council, she would have all the subjects transferred to the popular wing of the Government, and the rule of the bureaucracy brought to an end.

And Mrs. Besant told the Committee that the drag of periodical examinations must not be imposed upon India. She reminded the Earl of Selborne and his colleagues that the national sense in Indians had so grown during recent years that they would resent revisions by an outside authority. She suggested that further provincial subjects should be transferred not because an outside body recommended their transfer, but because the legislatures of the

Provinces asked for such transfer.

Asked about the future evolution of India, Mrs. Besant told the Committee that if India was left alone to work out her salvation, she would perfect a type of self-government based upon her traditions, and suited to her wants. She went so far as to tell the Chairman that a system evolved by India herself would certainly be more successful than one imposed upon Indians, with the best of intentions, by Westerners.

Mrs. Besant was equally frank when asked about the representation accorded to Europeans. She said that they had been unduly favoured. When Lord Crewe asked her about the future of the British race in India, she told him point blank that as soon as Britons in that country became fellow citizens instead of rulers, they would begin to have the pleasantest relations with Indians, and the tie between India and Great Britain would be strengthened.

The President of the National Home Rule League was frankly in favour of the abolition

ally upon a Committee that may or may noth consulted by the Secretary of State. Nor would she hear of the creation of a Select Committee of Parliament, upon which would serve Lords of whom some would have accumulated prejudices in their Indian careers. On the contrary if the Committee was limited to the House Commons, it may serve a useful purpose and inspire a new trust in British integrity.

MR. C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYER.

Mr. Ramaswami Aiyer was very emphatici telling the Committee that he represented the minority view of the League for which he was acting as spokesman, and his honesty of purpose won the regard of every right-minded person The chief difference between him and those who held the majority view lay in their attitude to wards diarchy. While he had resigned himself to a system of reserved and transferred subjects as a transitional measure, the others opposed in The Vice-President of the All-India Home Rule League, like other prominent Indian who accepted diarchy, combated vigorously the modifications proposed by the Government India. He insisted that each Province should have a joint purse, that the budget should be treated as a whole, the Governor having the right to interfere if he found it necessary the interests of his responsibility for the all ministration of reserved subjects, that taxation should be a transferred subject, that Minister alone should have the power to ask for further taxation, that the same status and salary should be given to the Minister as to the Executive Councillor, and that the relations between the Governor and the Minister should be, as far a possible, those subsisting between a constitu tional ruler and his Minister.

The Governor, as Mr. Ramaswami visualized him, would occupy the position of an impartial mediator in relation to the Executive Coul cillors and the Ministers, with this essentia difference, that, unlike most mediators, he would generally have to carry out the result of his mediation. He plainly told the Committee that the Governor should not be the Speaker of the new legislature, nor should he appoint the Speaker. On the contrary the Minister should occupy the position of the Leader of the House the legislature should elect its own Speak and Deputy-Speaker, and have power to make

and to vary the standing orders.

Mr. Ramaswami told the Committee that it and action did not believe in camouflaging executive action by the institution of a Grand Committee. for one, would gladly accept a system of or nance, which was much more straightforward

In regard to the Central Government, Aiyer took the view that the replacement some power and responsibility in that Government was "of the ment was "of the essence of the Pronouncement itself?" He calcal in the Pronouncement itself?" He calcal in the Pronouncement is self." of the India Council. She would not permit a considerable sum of money to be wasted annu- Government. Mr. Ramaswami favoured

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system of double chambers, but he was against the institution of a mere registering body, such as the projected Council of State would be, contending that if a Second Chamber was constituted, it should be a revising body and should be composed of members who represented interests that had been unrepresented in the Lower House.

The Madrasi leader also pleaded for the grant of fiscal autonomy to India. That could be done, he said, either directly, as suggested by Professor Keith, or, indirectly, as suggested by

Sir James Brunyate.

In regard to Home Administration, Mr. Ramaswami advocated the abolition of the India Council. If, however, it was not to be abolished, he would insist upon effect being given to Sir James Brunyate's proviso, namely, that that body would automatically lapse at the end of 10 or 12 years, unless a Parliamentary Commission expressly advised otherwise.

Mr. Ramaswami Aiyer's evidence on questions pertaining to franchise, especially in regard to the representation of the non-Brahmans of Madras, was most valuable. He showed that the agitation set up by the late Dr. Nair, and carried on by his lieutenants, was artificial and mischievous. Being a practical man, however, he was quite prepared to accept a system of reservation of seats as a matter of compromise, to enable the non-Brahmans to come into the

The manner in which Mr. Ramaswami made his opening statement, and in which he answered questions, appeared to make a deep impression upon the Committee. He spoke without hesitation in terse, crisp sentences, often sparkling with humour. His rejoinders to questions put by Lord Sydenham who seemed to insinuate that the witness and his fellow Home Rulers had been carrying on a noisy agitation to worry the authorities when they should have been devoting themselves to helping in the prosecution. of the war, very effectively silenced that Peer.

MUSLIM LEAGUE WITNESSES. Mr. Jinnah had also to state to the Committee that he and his colleagues on the deputation had accepted diarchy, while the Muslim League, in behalf of which he was speaking, had asked for full Provincial autonomy. He had not done so because he considered that Indians were not fit to fit to carry on full Provincial administration, but solely because the Pronouncement had laid down that progress towards responsible selfgovernment was to be gradual and by stages. By marshalling a series of facts and figures
Mr. Jinnah showed that India was better prepared for the parent than the pared for responsible government than the United Kingdom pared to the time United Kingdom and Canada were at the time when transformed changes when great electoral and constitutional changes were inaugurated in those countries. Speaking with great fervour, he demolished arguments out forward her bot Indians were put forward by bureaucrats that Indians were hopelessly divide bureaucrats that Indians Guruku

Inasmuch as the points in regard to the reorganisation of the Provincial government urged by Mr. Jinnah were much the same as those emphasised by Mr. Ramaswami Aiyer, it is unnecessary for me to deal with them in detail. Perhaps attention may be called to his suggestion -also made by Mr. Patel-that the advanced Provinces should be given preferential treatment in regard to the number of subjects transferredin fact, that only peace, law, and order should be reserved in the Presidencies.

The chief spokesman in behalf of the Muslim League was impassioned in his appeal for the introduction of the responsible element in the Central Government. He told the Committee that it would be most dangerous to permit the continuance of irresponsible criticism in the Legislative Assembly, or to give Indians the impression that there was no central subject

that could be placed under their control.

So effectively did Mr. Jinnah plead that-cause that later one of the Members of the Committee (Lord Islington) asked him what departments in the Central Government he should like to see transferred. He did not give him a very definite answer, though some hours later Mr. Sastri was able to mention specifically a number of departments that could be transferred.

In regard to the reorganisation of affairs at the India Office, Mr. Jinnah insisted that the India Council must be abolished. Later, under cross-examination by Lord Crewe, he gave a half-hearted support to the replacement of that Council by the advisory committee, recommended by that noble lord and his colleagues.

Mr. Yakub Hasan, who followed Mr. Jinnah, spoke more in behalf of the Indian merchants than of the Muslim League. He, too, accepted diarchy, though for a different reason, namely, that diarchy would give the "Europeans" in the public services the time to readjust their affairs. He did not mince words when he spoke of the mischief that the bureaucrats had wrought by creating factions among Indians, and even by setting Indians and Europeans by the

This Indian Muslim leader contended that European commerce was favoured in the matter of representation, while the Indian merchants were not given their due proportion. Indian merchants, he added, were no longer the dupes of British merchants, and the latter were beginning to realize the necessity of respecting the Indian Chambers of Commerce. The British merchants had nothing to fear, however, because Indians would not differentiate against them, even though Indians had been defferentiated against in South Africa and elsewhere in the British Empire.

Mr. Yakub Hasan urged the transfer of industrial matters included under the following heads:—Factories, settlement of labour disputes, electricity, boilers, gas, smoke nuisance, hopelessly divided by race and reflection pomain. Gurukul Kannd Complete parity pour including provident funds, industrial insurance (general, health, accident),

The witness was very strong in urging the liberlisation of the Central Government, and particularly in urging the grant of fiscal autonomy for India. In this connection, the following passage may be quoted from his statement:

"The mercantile communty particularly, desire an element of responsibility to be introduced in the Central Government, for the following

(1) The Industrial Commission has recommended that the Government of India should in future pay more attention to the industrial development of the country, that there should be an Imperial Department of Industries in charge of a Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, who should be assisted by a Board to be called the Indian Industries Board, consisting of three members with separate charges.

(2) In the list of the all-India subjects are included (18) commerce, including banking and insurance; (19) trading companies and other

associations.

(3) The Government of India will have the power to supervise the administration of transferred subjects in the Provinces, including

the subject of industries.

(4) The ruthless destruction that Indian industries have suffered at the hands of the East India Company and the British Parliament and their agents in India does not entitle Parliament to control this subject any longer. As a transferred subject in the Provinces, the Minister in charge of it will be responsible to the electorate. It is not reasonable that the member of the

Viceroy's Executive Council in charge of the same subject should be responsible to Parliament.

(5) Fiscal matters, for autonomy in which there is persistent and unanimous demand should also be in charge of a Minister responsible to the peoples of India. There can be no autonomy if he is responsible to the Parliament

through the Secretary of State ... "

"As to fiscal autonomy, I, lay special stress on the grant of fiscal independence to India, Without it the industrial development of India is altogether impossible. It is also necessary, in the combined interest of the British Empire, that each component part of it should have the power to develop its resources to the best advantage without outside interference. England cannot supply India certain manufactured goods at certain prices, and if German goods are cut out by artificial or accidental means-by war, for example-their place is taken, not by British goods, but by Japanese goods. Everything that Japan manufactures, mostly from the raw materials supplied by India, India can manufac ture if the Government of India is not restrained from affording encouragement for fear of British voters. At present India is also placed at great disadvantage in its commercial dealings with the British Dominions. For example, England buys tanned skins and hides from India, but Australia has shut them out by a tariff of 15 per cent. On the other hand, Australia imports raw skins freely from India, for her own product is not sufficient for her requirements."

Perhaps because I am a believer in straight talk, I appreciate such a statement as this.

13 Nov., 1919. ST. NIHAL SINGH.

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INDIAN DEPUTATIONS AND THE JOINT PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE

IV. EVIDENCE GIVEN BY SPOKESMEN OF THE DEPUTATIONS.

(PART II.)

PROPOSE to examine in this article, the statements made by the remaining nesses belonging to the various Indian Deputations. It so happens that every one of them concerned himself (or herself) with issues pertaining either to a section of the Indian population, or to a part of India.

For the sake of convenience, these 18

witnesses may thus be classified :-

• 1. For Indian Women: Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. 2. For Labour: Mr. B. P. Wadia, who did Reform League); a not make any statement when he appeared (Karen Association). later with Mr. V. Chakkarai Chetty, and Mr. 8. For Assam:

3. For Non-Brahmans: Rai Bahadur K. Reddi; Mr. K. Appa Rao Naidu; Mr. L. K. Tulasiram; Mr. G. Ramaswami Mudaliar; Mr. V. Chakkarai Chetty; Mr. P. Chenchiah; Mr. B. P. Wadia; and Mr. B. V. Jadhav.

4. For Indian Christians: Mr. A. Chowrryappah; Rev. Dr. S. D. Bhabha; and

Mr. K. T. Paul.

5. For Sikhs: Sardar Thakur Singh.

6. For Landlords: Mr. Rama Rayaningar 7. For Burmese: Mr. Maung Pu (Burms Reform League); and Mr. Sydney Loo-No.

P. Chenchiah. (See group 3) Cc-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Rangin Cellection, Haridwar Mr. Bardaloi, and Mr. Bardaloi,

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MRS. NAIDU'S PLEA FOR WOMEN.

When her name was called, Mrs. Naidu rose shyly from the chair she was occupying, facing the Chairman of the Committee, who, with marked deference, asked her if she would care to make a statement to supplement the memorandum that she had already sent in, which he said, enlivened the prosaic literature of the Committee with a truly poetic touch.
She began somewhat timidly, telling the
Committee that she had come on the All-India Home Rule Deputation, but had decided to devote her efforts to the women's cause. Before she had spoken a couple of sentences, her voice rose, and everyone in Room "A" of the House of Lords, in which the Committee was held, became spell-bound with her eloquence.

Mrs. Naidu took Lord Selborne and his colleagues for a mental pilgrimage through India. First came Conjeveram, than which there is "no greater centre of orthodox Hindu feeling unbroken for centuries," then came Benares, the Rome of India, and later Aligarh, "the centre of the modern Islamic aspiration and literature." The Members of the Committee could not but have been impressed with the fact that neither Hindu nor Muslim orthodoxy would be shocked at the enfranchisement of Indian women, but, on the contrary, that it would welcome Indian women coming forward to take part in the national life of India. Immediately afterwards she took the Committee to Hyderabad-the premier Muslim city of Indiawhere she drew their attention to a Hindu woman, her own mother, "one who was born in far off Bengal, one who never to the end of her days, learned even to speak correctly the Urdu language," yet who became the centre of Muslim life, to such an extent, "that her face was the first shown to the Muslim bride, and the newborn Muslim babes were put into her arms; and when she died, a Hindu widow, who had never heard of political problems, her corpse was carried to the burning-ghat by the sons and grandsons of Musalmans whom she had counselled and helped." Finally, she came to Delhi—"the great custodian of conservative and social traditions, in the north"—where the Indian National Congress unanimously passed a resolution in

favour of the enfranchisement of Indian women. With a toss of her head, Mrs. Naidu dismissed arguments that had been advanced by officials, against giving the vote to members of her say had not her sex. These officials, she declared, had not come intimeses officials, she declared, had not come intimately into contact with the social feeling of the contact with the social feeling of the Indian people, and therefore, objections but formula not carry tions put forward by them, should not carry any weight any weight. As for her friend, Mr. Banerjea, the only to d. As for her friend, Mr. Banerjea, the only Indian who, that far, had spoken against the enfranchin who, that far, had spoken against the enfranchisement of Indian women—his own deputation means of Indian women.

deputation was supporting her demand. Opponents of Woman Suffrage made altogether too much of the difficulties that would be encountered of the difficulties that would be

ing women's votes. Mrs. Naidu asked why the provinces could not be left free to decide whether or not special arrangements were needed for that purpose, since purdah existed in some provinces, while it did not exist, or, at any rate, did not exist in a rigid form, in others.

Because the Indian woman was a unifying force in Indian life-a force making for solidarity in spite of racial, religious, and caste differences, because the Indian woman had always cared for service and had not been ambitious for power as power-because the Indian home, over which the Indian woman presides, would always remain the unit of Central Government in India. Mrs. Naidu pleaded that the Indian woman should be given a voice in the national affairs of India, and called upon the British sense of chivalry to give the Indian woman the opportunity to stand beside the Indian man, in the new era that was now dawning in India.

MR. WADIA ON LABOUR.

Speaking in behalf of the three Labour unions which had elected him their -President, and which were the first Labour unions formed in India, Mr. B. P. Wadia gave the Committee a graphic description of the conditions in which industrial labourers in our land lived and worked, in order to persuade that Committee to do justice to those workers-justice that the Franchise Committee, presided over by Lord Southborough, had refused them. Men and women, he related, came from the countryside filled with the desire to make or to retrieve their fortunes, but they were forced to work such long hours without proper intermissions of rest, and were paid such low wages, and the environment in which they worked and lived were so foul, that, in the course of a few years, they returned to the country, entirely broken down. Although there was no other community that needed the vote more urgently to protect its interests, and although the industrialists had been given over-representation, yet the Southborough Committee refused to enfranchise the industrial workers, as such, and he was afraid that the number of industrial workers who may acquire a vote through the rural qualification, would not be large. Mr. Wadia submitted two alternative schemes, for enfranchising the workers, namely,-

1. To give votes to men earning Rs. 15 per month in Madras-a little higher in Bombay and

Calcutta; and 2. To inaugurate a system of indirect voting, by permitting each factory with 1,000 employees to elect a representative, these representatives to form a panel from which the provincial Goyernment may select one or more representatives.

While being cross-examined by Mr. Ben-Spoor, the Labour representative on the Committee, Mr. Wadia seemed to indicate willingness to accept a promise, provided it was a encountered in providing Machinery of the difficulties that would be ness to accept a promise, providing machinery of the effect that the case of

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industrial workers would be considered in time to ensure the election of workers' representatives to the second councils to be elected under the

forthcoming Act.

Mr. Wadia told the Committee that he was not pleased with the recommendations made by the Feetham Sub-Committee for the transfer of certain industrial subjects and the reservation of others. He desired that the welfare of labour, industrial insurance, and provident funds, housing should be transferred. Government, he said, should limit its work to the creation of a permanent board of arbitration, to which labour disputes could be referred. In a very short time, he indicated, the legislation for the recognition of trade unions and other labour organisations would be needed.

When Sir J. D. Rees suggested to him that radical labour agitation might prevent British capital from coming into India, Mr. Wadia sharply retorted that he would much rather not have British capital, if it was not to be employed

under decent conditions.

NON-BRAHMAN WITNESSES.

The non-Brahman witnesses fall into two categories:

(1) Those who asked for separate communal

electorates: and

(2) Those who would be contented to have a certain percentage of seats reserved for non-

Brahmans in the general electorates.

Thus classified, Rai Bahadur K. V. Reddi, Mr. Appa Rao Naidu, Mr. L. K. Tulasiram and Mr. G. Ramaswani Mudaliar fall into the first group; while Mr. V. Chakkarai Chetty, Mr. P. Chinchiah, Mr. B. P. Wadia, and Mr. B. V. Jadhav fall into the second eategory.

The witnesses belonging to the first group, all Madrasis, showed deep and concentrated hostility towards the Brahmans, who, they contended, wielded not only the power derived through the exercise of priestly functions, but also power due to their monopoly of higher education, of government posts-especially in the revenue, judicial, and educational departments, and who used the tremendous advantages possessed by them to keep down and to oppress the non-Brahmans, more particularly the depressed classes. They further contended that the Brahman interest in the upliftment of the submerged classes did not extend very far, and that, in any case, it was not at

Because the Brahmans were so powerful, and because the non-Brahmans, and more especially the depressed classes, were so cowed by Brahman oppression, these witnesses claim that it would be impossible for the non-Brahmans to win any seats through the general electorates, while those non-Brahmans who might be elected through the device of reservation of seats, would be persons who would be subservient

stating that if they were not to be given separ. ate electorates, they would rather not have any constitutional reforms in which non-Brah mans, in any case, were not keenly interested and which, without the safeguards they asked for, would only add to the power of those who tyrannised over them, while they would lessen the ability of the non-Indian Civilians to shield them from that oppression.

Under cross-examination one of these witness es-Rai Bahadur K. V. Reddi-half-heartedly assented to the proposition that next to separate communal representation, reservation of seats in plural constituencies offered the best method of safeguarding non-Brahman interests. But earlier in his evidence he had stated that he did not like the method of reserving seats proposed either by Lord Southborough's Committee or by the Government of India, the reason, so far as I could gather, being that the Brahmans, who numbered merely 1,250,000 persons, would be given the opportunity of capturing most of the 30 seats left open to general election, and would more than likely capture 27 or 28 of those seats, while non-Brahmans, numbering 27,000,000 persons, could be sure of only 31 seats.

Mr. Chakkarai, supported by Mr. Chenchial and by Mr. Wadia, controverted—and I thought, effectively controverted—the allegations made by the non-Brahman witnesses who were hostile to the Brahmans. He said that it was wrong to maintain that the Brahman is a tyrant The present generation was not entirely to blame for the social conditions that had their origin in ancient times. If responsibility for the state of the panchamas were to be fastened on any community, it must be on both the Brahmans and non-Brahmans.

As a social worker himself, Mr. Chakkara asserted that in the last ten years the Brahmans of Madras had become fully alive to their responsibilities and had rendered meritorious The statement services to the panchamas. that caste prejudices were on the increase in the Presidency, he asserted, was contrary to the impartial testimony of Europeans (British) and Indians alike. The Varnashrama movement to which pointed reference had been made in the proceedings of the Committee, was no doubt reactionary, but he maintained that not a single Brahman had appeared upon the With regard to elections he gave platform. instances to shew that the question of Brahman and non-Brahman was not the decisive factor

Nevertheless Mr. Chrkkarai admitted meed for safeguarding the non-Brahmans of Madras. They wished to avoid putting any barriers in the world by the safeguarding the model of the safeguarding the barriers in the way of the solidarity of national feeling, and, therefore, did not take the side either of those who wanted communal represent ation altogether or those who wanted communal electorates. They arrived at a compromise to Brahmans. They even went to Fultoclongth. Ofrukthokanga Collection, Hardwards 12 general territorial

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electorates with nine members each, no more than two to be Brahmans in any constituency. Mr. Jadhav was the only non-Brahman

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witness who confined his evidence to championing the cause of the non-Brahmans outside Madras. If he was hostile to the Brahmans, he possessed the ability effectively to keep such hostility out of his statement to the Committee. The plea that Mr. Jadhav made on behalf of the

Mahratta League and Deccan Ryots Association was that they should have reserved to them certain seats in the general electorates, say 30 per cent so that even though the canditates did not secure the maximum number of votes they should be considered as elected. Such a protective device, he declared, would be needed only for a few years—perhaps for one or two elections, and not for any long period.

This Maratha champion of the Marathas and Kunbis (he regarded the latter as Marathas and said that in that contention he was supported by Mr. Carmichael of the Bombay Executive Council) did not desire separate electorates for them. On the contrary, he asked that all the backward communities be taken together, meaning those who had less than 10 per cent literacy among them, more than 80 per cent were agriculturists.

INDIAN CHRISTIAN WITNESSES.

Of the three Indian Christian witnesses who appeared before the Joint Committee, Mr. Alfred Chowrryappah was treated by that body as a non-Brahman witness, perhaps because he admitted to the Chairman that he was one of the lieutenants of the late Dr. T. M. Nair. I do not, however, propose to refer to what he said in regard to that question, because he said much the same thing as did Rai Bahadur K. V. Reddi, and in much the same words, and it would add nothing to what I have already written.

Mr. Chowrryappah contended that for a community numbering 1,250,000 persons, which was rapidly attempth was rapidly growing in importance and strength possessing a high standard of literacy, the three seats assigned to them were inadequate, especially in view of the fact that the 2,500,000 Muslims of the same presidency had been allotted 13 seats; six, he considered, would be more equitable—two for Madras City, and four for rural areas.

The smallness of the number of Indian Christian electors compared with Muslims, said Mr. Chowrryappah, was due to the property qualification in the stand fication. He would prefer a literacy test, and gave figures would prefer a literacy test, and gave figures to show that, from the point of view of literacy, the Indian Christians were far ahead of the other ahead of the other communities.

If there were general electorates, Mr. Chowrryappah asserted, there would be no chance of Christians getting in. interests of the non-Brahmans were safeguarded by limiting the non-Brahmans were safeguarded by limiting the non-Brahmans were salegum would occurred the number of seats that Brahmans But if the would occupy, they would be willing to go along with the non-Brahmans.

after Dr. S. D. Bhabha, I find it advisable to deal with it here, because it forms a sort of bridge between the statements made by Mr. Chowrryappah and Dr. Bhabha. He, like Mr. Chowrryappah, told the Committee that the Indian Christian representation allotted was unsatisfactory. He would have five seats reserved in general electorates on a territorial basis. He preferred election to nomination. He also wanted one member on the Imperial Council, by nomination, for the present.

Dr. Bhabha spoke as an Indian Nationalist and not as an Indian Christian separatist. He blamed the English missionaries for bringing caste into Christianity. There was, he said, an English missionary, who while in Madras, had used his influence to keep Indian Christians split up, and who now was going about Britain seeking to rouse reactionary forces to impede the progress of Indian Constitutional reform. In any case Christianity as preached in . India by the foreign missionary, was an antinational force.

On the national platform, declared Dr. Bhabha, there was no Brahman, no Pariah, no Muslim, no Christian, no caste-man, no out-cast. All were sons of India and subjects of His Majesty King George.

SIKH WITNESS.

Sardar Thakur Singh, a Sikh employed in the revenue (?) service in the Punjab, appeared in behalf of the Sikhs, though so far as I could make out, he did not speak for any particular association or society. He was not satisfied the representation allotted to his community, which, he contended, was much larger than shown in the Census (taken by persons inimical to the Sikhs) and whose contribution to victory had been in excess of its numerical strength. He did not favour the enfranchisement of women, though he indicated that the Sikh religion gave woman the same status as to man, and Sikh women played an important part in the life of the community and figured prominently at meetings and in conferences.

In regard to the recommendations made by Lord Southborough's Committee, Sardar Thakur Singh thought that the rural voter had been unfairly treated. In view of that fact, and even more so of the clash of interests between the rural and urban populations, he would not favour the transfer to a popular minister of such a subject as land revenue, unless he could be assured that that portfolio would be held by a Minister who would not betray the rural community to placate the money-lenders and other town-dwellers.

ASSAMESE WITNESSES.

Mr. Nabin Chandra Bardaloi, supported by Though Mr. K. T. Pauf of his evidence of the control of the contro

Provinces. Educationally and socially Assam was not at all backward. Excise, the Public Works Department, Fisheries, and Forests should be transferred subjects in Assam as in other Provinces. If the Hill Districts were kept in Assam, they should be under the Assam Legislative Council, and if they were not included in Assam; as recommended by the Feetham Sub-Committee, Assam should not have to pay for that.

SPOKESMAN FOR THE LANDLORDS.

Speaking as a Zemindar, in behalf of Zemindars, though at times lapsing into statements of the nature of those made by the non-Brahman separatists, Mr. Rama Rayaningar contented that the landlords paid the State between one-third and one-fourth of the total gross revenue, so they should have representation adequate to protect their interests. The seats allotted by the Southborough Committee in both the Provincial and Central Legislatures were utterly inadequate, especially when regard was had to the fact that at present Government held the balance evenly between the people and the landholders; but when officials were ousted out of their present position of power, matters would be very much worse.

Zemindars, who were mostly non-Brahmans, wanted special representation, both in the Provincial and Central Legislatures. If there was a bicameral system in both legislatures, as it should be in provinces and Central Government alike, Mr. Rayaningar wanted representation in both. In the Second Chamber, members should be nominated by the Governor of the Province. Even if an Upper House were instituted, the smaller Zemindars would have no chance of representation through general electorates.

BURMESE WITNESSES.

Mr. Maung Pu, President of the Burma reform League, appeared before the Committee accompanied by Mr. Bernard Houghton, late of the Indian Civil Service, who, however, sat silent beside him. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report had stated, he pointed out, that Burma was not India, and had no desire for elective institutions. He claimed that Burma had an old civilisation, the standard of literacy was high, and the social system was democratic and not handicapped by easte, or landed aristocracy, or purdah; and, therefore, Burma should be included in the present Bill.

Sir Reginald Craddock's scheme of indirect election through headmen and Circle Boards, declared Mr. Maung Pu, was extremely unsatis-He demanded that a Lieutenant-Governor be sent out from Britain and that an Executive Council of three members (one Eupoll-tax, with no residential qualification or se discrimination.

MR. SYDNEY LOO-NEE.

Mr. Sydney Loo-Nec, a Christain conven who followed Mr. Maung Pu, speaking in behal of the Karen Christians belonging to the Kare Association, said that the Karens formed one seventh of the Burmese population, and desired to participate in the reforms in store for Burma In Sir Reginald Craddock's scheme the Karen were to come only by nomination into the Legislative Assembly. The Karens objected to this. They wished to elect their own representatives, and through the general electorate.

The list of Indian witnesses who spoke for the various Indian deputations before the Joint Committee is now exhausted.* I may, therefore close this series with general remarks that appear to me to be pertinent.

REPRESENTATION ACCORDED.

I for one have been greatly puzzled over the being principle upon which the Committee allotted representation to the various deputations Shortly after the enquiry opened, I heard that it Secretary had written requesting each Indian deputation then in London to answer a set of questions enclosed by him, and to depute on member to appear before the Committee.

A little later I learned that the Congress deputation had replied that it was anxious that in addition to Mr. Patel, who had been deputed to speak for it, so distinguished an Indian states man as ex-Dewan V. P. Madhava Rao, C. I. E. should be permitted to draw, for the benefit the Committee, an analogy from his experience in three large and progressive Indian States for application to Provinces in British India. To that request the Committee could not but grace fully yield. I a little later heard that Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, of the All-India Home Rule League, had written to the Committee asking that another member of his deputation (Mr. B. G. Horniman) be asked to give evidence Since Mr. Aiyer had taken pains to emphasia the fact in his evidence, both written and oral that he was representing a minority view, it would have served a useful purpose if that request had been acceded to. But the Committee refused, without, I think, assigning any reason, though it did not require much imagination to guess why it did so.

Later, when Syed Hasan Imam and Mr. A

* This remark must not be taken to mean that the list of Indian witnesses is exhausted for besides those Indians who appeared for the various organisations with whose evidence have dealt here, there were Sir C. Sankaran Nair, Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, Mr. A.C. Chatferii Sardar Thale ropean and two Burmese), and a Legislative Council to consist of four-fifths elected and one-fifth nominated members, be constituted, and officials or ex-officials, and H. H. the Aga Khall Council Collection, Hardway, idual capacity. franchise be given to all persons overbald opaying rukultanapale and the individual capacity.

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Rangaswami Iyengar, arrived in London, it was hoped that if the Committee felt any hesitation in asking Mr. Ramaswami Aiyer's nominee to appear, either of them or both would be given an opportunity to state the majority view for the All-India Home Rule League. Mr. Iyengar took no pains to disguise the fact that he was anxious to appear, and that he had even made more than one attempt to seek such an opportunity. But neither he, nor Mr. Hasan

Imam was asked to give evidence.

Before either of these gentlemen arrived in London, it was said that the Indian Home Rule League would not be permitted to send in a representative, because that League insisted upon having Mr. Tilak act as its spokesman, and Mr. Tilak was personna non grata, the Earl of Selborne having called him a rebel in the course of an open debate that had taken in the House of Lords only a few months before. Later, when he appeared and was dismissed without being cross-examined dismissed without even being formally thanked, as the other witnesses had been-it was whispered that the Committee had asked him to appear, but refrained from putting any questions to him because of a compromise that had been effected between members who were opposed to his appearing, and those who insisted that it would be a political blunder of the gravest description, if he were denied access to the Committee.

All these issues were, however, of minor importance compared with the question, why the Congress—the largest and the most important political organisation in India-was allotted one-fourth the representation assigned to an organisation that had been formed but yesterday and consisted of a comparatively small section of men who had chosen to break away from the Congress on account of their attitude towards the Contagu-Chelmsford Report.

The Committee has chosen to give no explanation. It has, however, been suggested that the witnesses belonging to the schismatic body had "friends at Court" and some of them did not hesitate to push themselves upon these friends. Another explanation—perhaps not so cynical—would have us believe that most of these witness of these witnesses appeared, not as members of that organisation, but because they had either served in a served served upon one or the other of the Committees which work and or the other of the Montagu which worked out proposals that Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford had left for subsequent or the other of the next terms of the other of the other of the other of the other of the next terms of the other of the o or the other of these subsidiary Committees.

That, I take it, is another but a nicer way of saying that the "Moderate" witnesses had ledged themselves to support Mr. Montagu. definitely and openly labelled themselves as the know of the author of the Bill. To anyone who allies of the author of the Bill. To anyone who knows human nature, it will, therefore, not come as a surprise that as a surprise that whereas the largest political organisation in India had todocenthelic a grain auruk t Kangri Collection, Haridwar

witness might appear, a small branch that had recently broken away from that organisation, was given eight representatives, or really nine counting Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu as a moderate, as he no doubt is.

SEQUENCE OF WITNESSES.

That the first Indian witness who appeared before the Committee should not be the spokesman for the Congress but a member of this schismatic body may, perhaps, be due to the same reason. At any rate, so long as no authoritative explanation is forthcoming, persons who are not in the know, cannot but feel that precedence was given to those Indian witnesses who took a favourable view of the Bill, over those who did not, because persons anxious to get the Bill through were eager to ensure that the first impression made by Indians upon the Committee should be, what they considered to be favourable, and that they possessed the necessary influence to secure that object. I do not think that the pro-Bill members of the Committee had to use much persuasion to accomplish that purpose, because, unless I am gravely mistaken no one wished more to squelch the Indians who dared to demand and demand manfully reforms greatly in excess of those proposed by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford than members of the Committee who did not wish to go even that far.

Why were so many non-Brahman witnesses, mostly separatists, called? That is another question that suggests itself to anyone who takes the trouble to examine the list of Indian witnesses called.

WHY ENQUIRY WAS MADE.

I think the true explanation is to be found in the debate that took place in the House of Lords shortly after Mr. Montagu returned from India. It was initiated on August 6, 1918, by Lord Sydenham who pointed out among other things that Mr. Montagu had "ignored a great volume of non-Brahman and non-lawyer opinion expressed often most passionately by politicians in memorials and resolutions passed in public meetings." From that statement it may be presumed that the men who forced the Joint Committee upon the Secretary of State-that it was forced upon him is an open secret-did so with the object of giving prominence to views of Indian (and also non-Indian) reactionaries in order to slacken the pace of Indian progress.

When the Southborough Committee on Franchise went to Madras, Dr. Nair at the head of the fissiparous section of Non-Brahmans, refused to appear, fully conscious that when the Parliamentary Committee met to enquire into the proposals made for the reconstitution of the Government of India he and his partisans would be given every facility that their heart may desire for being heard in London. Indeed they made no secret of that fact, and even boasted of

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The statement that Lord Broderick (Viscount Midleton) made in the House of Lords on October 23, 1918, in moving for the appointment of a Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament to consider the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals for constitutional reforms in India, and the discussion that followed, removed any doubts that might have existed as to why agitation was being carried on for the appointment of such a Committee. The dominant note struck in that debate was that Mr. Montagu and his collaborator, Lord Chelmsford, had paid too much attention to the small minority of Indians who knew how to make themselves heard, but who represented nobody but themselves, and even were the sworn enemies of the Indian masses, and therefore, it was necessary that Parliament should supplement the Montagu-Chelmsford enquiry, which in any case was perfunctory, with an investigation that would give the comparatively backward Indian communities an opportunity to be heard. That being so, it is not to be wondered at that the fissiparous section of the non-Brahmans bulked so large before the Joint Committee.

In view of that fact, is it wrong to infer that a sense of delicacy would have prevented the father of the Bill, and his supporters in the Committee, from using their influence to curtail the list of "non-Brahman and non-lawyer" witnesses who no doubt were backed up by Lord Sydenham. Besides, it is just possible that, as, matter of tactics, they might have deemed useful to neutralize the effect that might be pro duced by (what they might have regarded one extreme—the Congress School—with the pression that might have been made by the posite extreme the non-Brahman separatists.

NET EFFECT PRODUCED.

The sequence in which witnesses appeared by fore the Joint Committee, had certainly the effect of strengthening the position that the author the Bill had assumed, and discouraging at advance either in the direction of radical libera isation of the Bill or any important whitling away of its provisions. Not only we officials given precedence over Indians, but al those Indians whose demand was low we allowed to take precedence over those Indiawho desired to secure a measure of reform the would be worthy of the giver and the recipie and that would be in accord with the spirit the time. Immediately after the spokesment LORD S the Congress and allied organisations had give their evidence, officials and others who believe that the Bill, or at any rate the original Co tagu-Chelmsford scheme, represented the large measure of advance that in the present con tions of India could be made without danger collapse were given hearing.

ST. NIHAL SINGH. 13 Nov., 1919.

BRITISH WITNESSES BEFORE THE JOINT PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE

N order to understand the effect that was produced upon the Committee by the evidence tendered to it, it is necessary to read the Indian statements to which I have already ealled attention, in conjunction with those made by British witnesses. I, therefore, propose to survey, very rapidly, the evidence given by British witnesses-officials, ex-officials, and nonofficials.

THE RT. HON. E. S. MONTAGU.

The Rt. Hon. E. S. Montagu was, I believe, the first witness to appear before the Committee. Though he gave his evidence in camera, it does not take much imagination to realise that he must have made as strong a case for his Bill as he possibly could. Judging from the tone of the statement that he made in moving the second Committee to liberalize the measure. Since he knew that every political party in India was dissatisfied with that parts of party in India was kapping library to a lot cross-examination—more particular body. Lord Islington, Lord Sinha and Mr. Monta resisted examples and the fact resisted examples are resisted examples and the fact resisted

with the Central Government-whether or dispositi it used the word "dissatisfied"-he probat pleaded especially for improvement in that pa SIR FR. But these are mere conjectures : and a truce them.

SIR JAMES MESTON.

After Mr. Montagu, so far as I know, ca India tothe spokesman for the Government of Inforward (Sir James Meston) who gave his evidence of India public, his opening statement and cross-exami constitution tion occupying two and a half sessions of thought Committee. His plea for the amendment of the definite of followed the general lines laid down in not the Government of India despatch and, thereon long agent need not be a feel and a special great and the second not be a feel and the second not be need not be stated here. But if he had experie good we that he would easily win the sympathics of MR. RIC Committee, he soon found he was mistake for nearly every members.

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BRITISH WITNESSES BEFORE THE JOINT PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE 51

compliance with the Government of India's wishes would seriously whittle away the reforms proposed in the Joint Report—proposals that had been generally accepted by Lord Chelmsford and his colleagues as well as by the Secretary of State and most of the members of the India Council and would, therefore, be unacceptable to Indians. Their cross-examination further showed some of the modifications suggested, especially the water-tight division of provincial finance, would make the scheme unworkable.

SIR CLAUDE HILL.

Sir Claude Hill, who followed the Government of-India witness, though a member of that Government, did not hesitate to say that he preferred the scheme of diarchy as proposed in the joint report to the scheme as modified by the Government of India. The effect produced was dramatic, and whoever arranged it, must be complimented upon his consummate ability.

tesmen i LORD SOUTHBOROUGH.

had gir Then followed Lord Southborough, o believe resisted every suggestion that Sir James Meston rinal Co had made for the modification of the franchise ie large proposals, reading the officials a severe lecture for asking for modifications in proposals which danger were based almost entirely upon the recommendations made by officials, and particularly Singh deploring the suggestion made by the Government of India to upset the "Lucknow Compact." He resisted equally every modification that had been asked for by Indians, saying that the enfranchisement of women, the direct representation of industrial workers et al, must wait until the next periodical revision took place. He did not try to hide his anger at the cold shoulder given to his Committee by the non-Brahmans of Madras, and told Lord Selborne and his colleagues that the non-Brahman demand for safeguards should be met only if they showed a er or disposition to make a compromise. probal that passes SIR FRANK SLY.

Sir Frank Sly, one of the most experienced officials, sought to resist any change in the Bill, which he considered went as far as it could possibly go in the conditions that existed in of Inforward by the conditions that existed in forward by the conditions the Covernment of Inforward by the spokesman for the Government vidence of India, except in one respect, namely, the sexant constitution of the Grand Committee, which he constitution of the Grand Committee, which has of thought should be so composed as to give a clear not the bare majority to the Government and there was a good witness for the Bill. hies of MR. RICHARD FEETHAM.

the spokesman for the Government of India for shortening the list of subjects to be transferred in the Provinces, and equally all the suggestions made by the Indian witnesses for the expansion of that list. He would have no quinquennial revisions, and point-blank told the Committee that it was not correct, as Mr. Banerjea had contended, that the reservation of land revenue had been accepted, because it was understood that there would be revision five years hence. He and Lord Islington had an interesting discussion over the question of centralization of authority at Simla, but Mr. Feetham refused to say anything one way or the other.

MR. H. L. STEPHENSON.

Mr. H. L. Stephenson, I. C. S., who had cooperated with Mr. Feetham in formulating the proposals embodied in the report of the Functions Sub-Committee, sat silent beside him the whole time he was talking. After Mr. Feetham had finished, Mr. Montagu asked Mr. Stephenson two leading questions, which enabled that member of the Indian Civil Service to pay a rather florid tribute to the Service to which he belonged.

SIR ARCHDALE EARLE.

Sir Archdale Earle effectively disposed of the case made against the transfer of higher education, though his arguments referred more to those put forward by Sir James Meston than to those employed by Mr. Chowrryappah. His general attitude towards the Bill was sympathetic, though he was disinclined to go beyond its provisions.

MR. T. EARLE WELBY.

Mr. T. Earle Welby, the first non-official Briton to give evidence, spoke from a point of view directly opposite to that of Sir Archdale Earle. He emphasized the difference caused by caste and the disadvantages arising from illiteracy, and laid down the dictum that responsible government was impossible in the conditions that existed in India today. Since he was not able to resist entirely the movement, he sought to retard it by asking the Committee to limit, within the narrowest possible limits, the area in which the experiment was to be tried.

SIR MICHAEL SADLER.

Sir Michael Sadler, the second non-official witness, followed Mr. Welby. An educationist who had recently presided over the Calcutta University Commission, confined his evidence to the subject of education, and made out a strong case in support of transfer of higher edusir Frank Sly was followed by Mr. Richard Feetham recommendation Feetham, who, I believe, belongs to that powerer fact resisted every suggestion that had been made by was impossible Hardward controlled by the Round Table Group with Guruki Kangi Collection Hardward Controlled by was impossible Hardward conceive that the plea cation. In view of the authority with which he

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advanced by the Government of India and reinforced by Mr. Chowrryappah, would be accepted.

SIR STANLEY REED.

Sir Stanley Reed, the next witness, also a nonofficial, spoke in a most sympathetic strain. He was the first non-Indian witness who clearly saw that in case the Central Government was not partially popularised immediately, the process of popularisation must begin within a short time. He favoured the creation of a Senate, instead of a Council of State. He urged the concession of fiscal autonomy, and the development of industries mainly through provincial agency. He supported communal representation, and declared that in the present Indian circumstances it tended towards national unity.

SIR HARRY STEPHEN.

Sir Harry Stephen, an ex-judge of the Calcutta High Court, who appeared at the next session, did not believe in responsible government—at any rate for India—but since he was helpless in the matter, he had accepted the Pronouncement of August 20th, 1917. He, therefore, sought to retard India's progress towards the ideal set forth in the declaration by asking the Committee to abandon the Bill in favour of the scheme formulated by the ex-Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab and his fellow satraps. He talked like a "superior person," especially when replying to Lord Sinha, but now and again he had to confess that he was no match for that clever Bengali lawyer.

LORD CARMICHÆL.

Lord Carmichael was as different from the preceding witness as the day is from the night. He was anxious to see the development of the Indian constitutional reforms along lines as closely as possible to constitutional developments in the Dominions, and had no patience with those bureaucrats who sought to mask executive action by throwing over it the transparent veil of a Grand Committee decree. The most surprising part of his testimony was that in which he said that he would have advocated partial liberalisation of the Central Government immediately had he not felt that Indians were luke-warm about it. What a judgment upon the Indians whom he meets!

SIR ALEXANDER CARDEW.

Sir Alexander Cardew came to the Committee as spokesman for a Government that had done more to resist reform than any other administration in India. He talked much about the caste difficulties, and suggested that there could be no responsible Government in India so long as Indians did not learn the wisdom of forswearing their faith in the transmigration of souls. But he had to confess that at this stage there could be no turning back from the grafible their pamain. Guruk

Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford. He would however, prefer the sub-provincial scheme diarchy.

MR. A. J. PUGH.

Mr. A. J. Pugh, a solicitor from Calcut who, however, spoke more like an industrial or commercialist, demanded that industry meremain a central subject, and that the Central Government must remain unchanged. He furth demanded a larger representation for already over-represented "European" element and suggested that these "Europeans" be elected by a mixed electorate composed of Indian an non-Indian plutocrats.

SIR VERNEY LOVETT.

Sir Verney Lovett spoke at the ne session, as an official who felt that the spir of the time had over-ruled the continuance the bureaucracy. He showed considerable skill urging schemes that would take away in det much that was likely to be conceded to India in principle.

SIR WILLIAM MEYER.

Sir William Meyer, the next witness, seem to take delight in combating practically eve point that had been made by the spokesm for the Government of India, his success in office. He made a strong case against institution of a separate purse. He admit the necessity of undertaking reform in Central Government, but for the present wor be contented if a statutory promise could given that when the time for the next period revision came that matter would be enquiinto. He was definitely against the concession of fiscal autonomy at the present stage, a did not hesitate to say that such a concession through an indirect manner such as that s gested in the Brunyate Minority Minute, col easily be evaded.

SIR J. MESTON AGAIN.

The next day was the last on which Committee was to meet before breaking up the summer recess. When, therefore, Sir Jan Meston was recalled everyone quickly realist that the Government of India witness desirous of producing the impression over which members of the Committee would rumin during their holidays. He began with a leng statement about rules and regulations, he told the Committee plainly and forces that the witnesses who had spoken against the proposals he had made, and especially who urged the Committee to go further than Bill, must not be heard.

MR. G. J. SIM.

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BRITISH WITNESSES BEFORE THE JOINT PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE 53

What he said is not known to the general public, because he chose to appear in camera. I hear, however, that he asked the Committee to make provisions in the Bill that would protect the vested interests of the Public Services. That report may merely be an inference from the past activities of that witness, and I therefore give it for what it may be worth.

SIR T. HOLDERNESS.

Sir. Thomas Holderness, the permanent Under-Secretary at the India Office, who spent the best part of his life in the United Provinces, however, gave his testimony in public. He held that the time had come when a beginning must be made in transferring control to Indians, but he was not quite sure what road should be - taken to reach that goal. He indicated to the Committee that he found it difficult to abandon his leanings towards the satrap scheme. On one point, however, he was quite clear, namely, that the Bill went as far as it could, and that at any rate, the Central Government must be left irresponsible.

SIR M. O'DWYER.

The next day, Sir Michael O'Dwyer came up for examination, and lost no time in making a strong plea that diarchy be abandoned in favour of the alternative scheme of which he was part author. In the beginning, he talked much of giving equal status and equal opportunity to Indians in the Government; but as soon as he came under cross-examination it became clear that all that was mere "eye-wash." The purpose that lay behind every word that he uttered was to prevent Indians from acquiring any real, definite control over their affairs, and, when cornered, he tried to justify that position by saying that such power could not be conceded because of caste and racial feuds, illiteracy, and lack of administrative and electoral experience.

MR. J. H. OLDHAM.

Sir Michael was followed by Mr. J. H. Oldham, who, I believe, spent a year in Y. M. C. A. work in Calcutta. It appeared to me that he had to discharge perhaps the most unpleasant duty imposed upon any witness who appeared before the Committee. Speaking in behalf of missionaries, and avowing interest in Indian progress and sympathy with Indian aspirations, he asked the Committee with Indian aspiration the Committee not to transfer higher education to Indiana aspirations, and the committee to transfer higher education to Indians and further asked them to recommend the creation of the creation of Boards for the administration of primary primary as well as higher education, and if education. He insisted that missionaries engaged in education. in education in India should have a considerable percentage. Roards percentage of the places upon such Boards appeared to be of the places. Throughout his statement, he appeared to be of the places. appeared to them. Throughout his statement, the other for be of two minds—one for progress, the other for reaction.

SIR J. P. HEWETT.

Sir John Prescott Hewett, the next witness, spoke as a "public servant" who had lorded it over Indians for a generation or more and whofelt chagrined because India would no longer present such opportunities to his sons and cousins who, if they enter the Indian Civil Service at all, will have to be really servants of the Indian people, and not their masters: Was it any wonder that that man did not really believe in the declaration of British policy in India made in 1917, and sought to defeat its object by diverting the present attempt at reform into the alternative scheme designed by satraps like himself.

COMMISSIONER BOOTH-TUCKER.

This ex-Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces was followed by Commissioner Booth-Tucker, who told the Committee that he had been born in India, was therefore an Indian, and went about among Indian villages in Indian dress. He paid the most eloquent tribute to the capacity of the lowest and most illiterate of Indians to manage their affairs. vision of reconstructed governance did not extend beyond giving representation to village headmen who, as everyone knows, are no longer the servants of the rural community, but their masters, and even tyrants who, by their oppression and exactions, give an evil repute to the Government whose employees they are.

SIR WILLIAM DUKE.

When Sir Wm. Duke of the Indian Council appeared before the Committee the evidence took another turn. He had presided over the India Office Committee whose rough draft formed the basis upon which the Montagu mission, of which Sir William was an honoured member, worked. He naturally supported the measure, and though he sympathised with Indian aspirations, even Indian aspirations for control over a part of the Central Government, the general tendency of his evidence was that Indians had, in the Bill, as large a slice of reform as they could possibly digest.

SIR JAMES BRUNYATE.

Sir James Brunyate, also of the India Council, chose to confine his evidence almost entirely to the reorganisation of "Home administration of Indian affairs." He would retain the India Council, though he would shear it of some of its statutory powers and provide for its coming automatically to an end, unless the first Statutory Commission expressly advised otherwise. He seemed to, prefer the Committee system obtaining at present to the portfolio system. He put his foot flat down upon the proposal for diarchising the Central Government, though he was in favour of letting a convention grow up whereby the Secretary of State would not CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection attended the Government of India

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was in accord with its Legislature, while the Provincial executives would be free from intervention from above when they were in agreement with their respective legislatures.

SIR THOMAS HOLLAND.

On the plea that the greatest possible difficulty would be experienced in obtaining capable administrators, Sir Thomas Holland advised the Committee against saddling the Ministers with an entirely novel policy in industrial development—at any rate-until much spade-work had been done. He called prominent attention to the arguments for postponing-not repealing -the transfer of that subject by the Government of India in the despatch dated April 16, 1919views which no doubt must have been formed after consultation with him.

SIR MURRAY HAMMICK.

'The appearance of Sir Murray Hammick, of the India Council, was utilized by a member of the Committee to condemn the suggestion made by the Aga Khan for the adoption of the referendum. He had much to say about the non-Brahmans, having spent many years in Madras, and cautioned the Committee against assenting to a settlement of that question which might mean forfeiture of the faith that the non-Brahmans reposed in British impartiality, for then a truly menacing situation would arise. He knew that the Bill did not satisfy Indians, yet he refused to assent to the introduction of the element of responsibility in the Central Government, and counselled the Committee against permitting any revision of the reforms this side of 15 years.

COL. R. H. ELLIOT.

Col. R. H. Elliot, a retired member of the Indian Medical Service, painted before the Committee a dismal picture of what would happen if the Service to which be belonged were placed under the control of Indians. Many of the men would resign, and those who would remain would work with their spirits broken. Inefficiency would take the place of efficiency, and where there now was order there would be chaos. Lord Sinha cross-examined him on the statement he had made to the effect that European officers did not care to serve under Indians, Col. Elliot felt extremely uncomfortable.

MR. LIONEL CURTIS.

Mr. Lionel Curtis, of the Round Table group, followed Col. Elliot. He would take the present Bill with all its imperfections if modifications would mean hanging up reform. Though he was still sure that the original scheme of diarchy devised by him in collaboration with others, was superior to all other schemes of diarchy, yet he would not stand in the way of giving a trial to diarchy with a joint purse, which, he felt quite certain, would have to be abau-

with a separate purse. Those years, he considered. could be utilised by a commission upon which men of the independence of Mr. Feetham and Sir Valentine Chirol could use to make a careful investigation into Provincial finances and delimitate reserved from transferred finance.

SIR JAMES MESTON.

Then came Sir James Meston for the third time to clinch his arguments. He would have no tampering with the Central Government, not even after the fashion suggested by Sir James Brunyate, though he would have the Secretary of State make a generous delegation of powers to the Central Government. He would not have the Grand Committee with a bare majority, and if the Joint Committee could not concede the type of Grand Committee that the Government of India demanded, that Government would prefer the power of ordinance. He also insisted upon the reservation of higher education, and the division of Provincial finances into two water-tight compartments, and affirmed all the other demands that he had made when he had appeared for the first and second time. Practically the only point to which he grudgingly gave his consent was to the appointment of Parliamentary Secretaries, and the institution of Standing Committees, provided the Foreign and Political Departments and the Military Department were excluded from the sphere of this experiment, (if for no other reason than to prevent the leaking out of information through Indians who were likely to be indiscreet).

SIR ELLIOT COLVIN.

Sir Elliot Colvin, until lately agent to the Governor General in Rajputana, appeared at the end of the Session. Though admitting that diarchy was inevitable, he would delay that operation for the space of a decade.

INDUSTRIALISTS & COMMERCIALISTS.

The last note was struck by representatives of three British Chambers of Commerce, Mr. Wardlaw Milne (Bombay), Mr. M. de P. Webb, (Karachi), and Sir Bernard Hunter (Madras) who appeared in a group. The keynote of their evidence was that they considered the constitutional reforms that were to be given to India to be purely an experiment that might or might not prove a success, and they considered that commerce and industry were too important to subject them to experimentation. They, there fore, wished that these matters should not be tampered with.

If diarchy were determined upon, the administration of commerce and industry in the Provinces should be reserved, but the Central Government should control it with a firm hand They suggested a scheme for administering the major Indian ports under the guidance of the Central Covernment in the guidance of the doned in two or three years in fayoun of unlicoming in Guardinance of the guardinance of the done of three years in fayoun of unlicoming the minor ports to the Provinces; and further sug act dec. was cont

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suggested the creation of Waterway. Boards to act in conjunction with a Central Board. They declared that it was untrue to state that India was poorer than she ever had been. On the contrary, India never had been so rich as at

present, and plentiful Indian capital was available for safe investment.

November 19, 1919.

ST. NIHAL SINGH.

ANCIENT INDIAN TREATIES OF PEACE

By NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., B.L., PREMCHAND ROYCHAND SCHOLAR.

IN view of the recent attempts of the central powers in Europe to violate the terms of the Peace Treaty, it may be interesting to consider the conclusions of our ancient political theorists as regards the political conditions and circumstances under which an offer of peace by a belligerent should be accepted or rejected.

THE CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH Hinasandhi should be made.

A treaty of peace should be concluded by a sovereign in view of the fact that the continuance of hostilities will make him gradually weaker than his enemy.2 It is recommended to be made with states of superior or even equal power; for in the former case the continuance of war is ruinous to the inferior state, and in the latter, to both. Should a superior power reject an offer of peace, the inferior has no other alternative but to throw itself up to the mercy of the former or have recourse to the methods of defence recommended in "avaliyasam".3 If an offer of peace by a belligerent be rejected by another of equal strength, the former should wage war only so long as the latter sticks to it. An unqualified submission made by an inferior state ought to put a stop to hostilities; for, as on the one hand, the state may grow in fury by further

maltreatment, so on the other, it may be helped by the other powers of the statal circle (mandala) taking pity on its miserable condition. Should a state allied with other states against an enemy find that the states of the adjacent zone naturally hostile to it will not attack (nopagachchhanti) it, even if they are tempted, weakened, and oppressed by the enemy (trying to win them over to its side) or will not do so through fear of receiving blow for blow from the allied states (pratyadanabhayat), then the state in alliance, even if inferior to the enemy individually, should continue the war. When again a state in war with another finds that the states of the adjacent zone will attack it, tempted, weakened, or oppressed by the latter, or through anxieties caused by the war waged next door, it should, even if individually superior to the enemy, make a treaty of peace in the first case, and remove the causes for anxiety to the aforesaid states in the second. If a belligerent sees that he is afflicted with calamities greater than those of his enemy, who will be able to remedy them easily and carry on the war effectively, the former though superior in strength should make peace with the latter.

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^{4.} Para-prakritayah = ari-prakritayah, the reference being to the raja-prakritis and not to the citizens of the state of the enemy.

^{5.} The text (Kautiliya, Bk. VII, Ch. 3, p. 267) has "manopagachchhanti" which appears to be an error for mamupagachchhanti."

^{3.} I.e. Bk. III of the Kautiliva In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection: Handwar CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection: Handwar 6 For the texts of this paragraph, see Kautiliya,

I. From my forthcoming work on international relations in ancient India.

smaddhiyamanah samdadhita." Ch. I, p. 261, "para-

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KINDS OF Hina-Sandhi.

The various kinds of treaty of peace (hina-sandhi) are :-

- I. (1) Atmamisha.8 The defeated sovereign (henceforth abbreviated into DS) agrees to help the conqueror (henceforth abbreviated into C) by going over to him personally with a stipulated number or the flower of his troops. A man of high rank is also given as a hostage.
- (2) Purushantara. The DS agrees to help the C by sending the aforesaid troops headed by his son and commander-inchief.9 This exempts the personal attendance of the DS and hence its name. A woman is also given to the C as a hostage.10
- (3) Adrishtapurusha. The DS agrees to help the C by sending the aforesaid troops headed either by himself or by somebody else. In the latter case, the personal attendance of himself, his son or his commander-in-chief is exempted.11

The above three kinds of treaty form the class of sandhis called dandopanata, danda (army) being the chief subject-matter of their stipulations.

II. (1) Parikraya. The DS gives up his treasure to the C as the price of setting free the rest of the state elements.19

- 7 The treaty of peace is also called Sama or Samadhi See Kautiliya, Bk. VII, Ch. 17, p. 311.
 - 8. Corresponds to Kamandakiya, sarga IX, slk. 16.
 - 9. Corresponds to Ibid., IX. 13.

10. The sloka in the Kautiliya, Bk. VII, 3, p. 268 is as follows :-

"Mukhyastribandhanam kuryatpurvayoh paschime tvarim, Sadhayedgudhamityete dandopanata-san-

I have taken mukhya and stri separately in view of the fact that mukhyas are stated to have been given hostages at Kautiliya, Bk. VII, Ch. 17, p. 312. "Arim gudham sadhayet" refers perhaps to the overreaching of the other party by the subsequent secret deliverance of hostages from the C's custody (see Kautiliya, Bk. VII, Ch. 17, pp. 313, 314). If this meaning be accepted, "paschime" should be taken in the sense of "subsequently" instead of as referring to the third treaty inspite of the juxtaposition which at first sight appears to exist between this tion which at first sight appears to exist between this word and "purvayoh."

- 11. Corresponds to Kamandakiya, IX, 14.

- The indemnity is (2) Skandhopaneya. paid in instalments.13
- (3) Upagraha. By it, according to Kamandaka, peace is purchased by the surrender of the entire kingdom to the Cal
- (4) Suvarna. Its foundation lies in friendship and mutual confidence. Hence it is called Golden. 15
- (5) Kapala. This form of treaty is of a nature reverse to that of the Golden, Under this, a very large indemnity has to be paid to the C. According to the Kamandakiya,16 the two parties to the treaty are of equal strength, and the peace concluded between them does not produce mutual confidence rendering it the reverse of the Golden.17

The five forms 18 of treaty constitute the class called Kosopanata, i.e., having kosa (treasure) as the chief subject-matter of their terms.

- III. (1) Adishta. The DS cedes a part of his territory to the C.
- (2) Uchchhinna. It requires the DS to cede to the C all the rich lands in his territory except his capital.19 The Cintends by this form of treaty to bring misery upon his enemy (Para).
- 13: Corresponds to Ibid., IX, 19 ('skandha-skandhena' means, according to Sankararya, 'khandakhandena').
- 14. Corresponds to Kamandakiya, IX, 16. The Kautiliya is not so clear on this point but says nothing that contradicts the above definition.
 - 15. Corresponds to Ibid., IX, 8.
- 16. *Ibid.*, IX, 5, Sankararya accounts for the name of the treaty by stating that as the two skullbones (kapala) of a man appearing similar to each other from a distance show points of dissimilarity when observed closely, so the two belligerents though agreeing so far as to be parties to the sandhi really differ from each other owing to the lugling suspicion differ from each other owing to the lurking suspicion of each for the other.
 - 17, Ibid., IX, 15.
- 18. See Kautiliya, Bk. VII, Ch. 3, p. 269, last Sloka,
- 19. 'Atta-saranam' in the text (Kautiliya Bk. VII Ch. 3, p. 269) if taken to signify 'denuded of resources renders the meaning of the passage opposite to that given above. 'Atta' may mean 'seized' and 'attast yanam from attah sarah yaya tasam' may be interpreted as 'possessed of resources.' This meaning is 12. Corresponds to Ibid., IX 170. In Public Domain. Guruk GFREdigmittolthan on Hand Manandakiya, IX, 18.

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(3) Apakraya. 20 The DS releases his dominion by giving up the products of his lands to the C.

(4) Paribhushana.²¹ The DS has to pay more than his own land produce.

These four forms of treaty are termed desopanata, the cession of territory (desa) being their special feature.

KAUTILYA AND KAMANDAKA.

Kautilya mentions in all twelve kinds of hina-sandhis of which three belong to

20. Pandit R Syama Sastri's English rendering of the text puts the term as avakraya.

21. The Kamandakiya of Trivendrum Sanskrit Series has paradushana in the place of paribhushana.

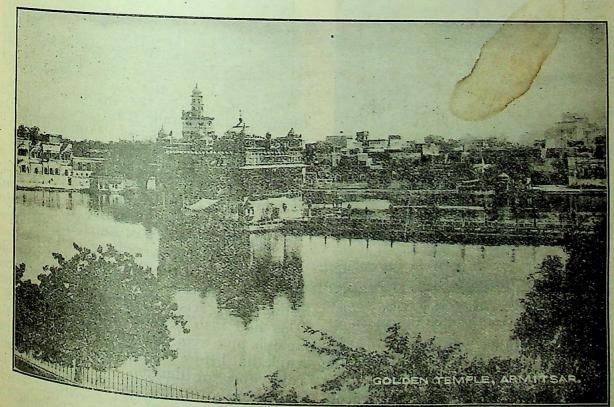
the first class, five to the second, and four to the third. Barring slight differences of meaning and taking into account the similarity of names of the treaties, all the hina-sandhis of the Kautilya are found in the Kamandakiya with the exception of avakraya alone. As the latter has sixteen altogether, these five, viz., santana, upanyasa, pratikara and samyoga have no equivalents in the former. Of these, the last two appear rather to be alliances and not forms of treaty of peace at all, pratikara corresponding with alliances like the bhumi-sandhi, and samyoga with alliances like the karma-sandhi of the Kautiliya.

AMRITSAR-THE CITY OF THE GOLDEN TEMPLE.

By AMAL HOME, ASSISTANT EDITOR, THE "TRIBUNE."

A MRITSAR, the second city in the Punjab, the seat of the Sikh Gurus for upwards of three centuries and of the famous Golden Temple has, of late, come to occupy a very large place in the Indian public mind. And the reasons are

not far to seek. The painful and tragic incidents of April last followed by a reign of terror had already turned the eyes of the country towards it. The recent disclosures before the Hunter Committee of the callous and cold-blooded cruelties of military rule



at Amritsar coupled with the fact that it is soon going to hold the thirty-fourth session of the Indian National Congress in the face of considerable obstruction from a notoriously reactionary local bureaucracy have drawn forth the deepest sympathy and the profound admiration of the country and have created more than a passing interest in Amritsar. An account of the city of Amritsar will not, therefore, it is hoped, be unwelcome at this time.

HISTORY OF THE CITY.

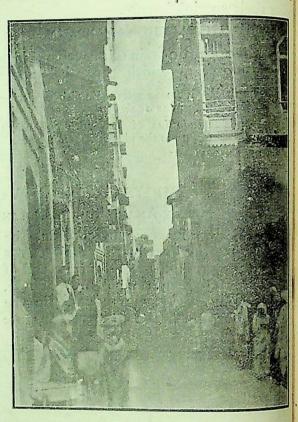
The history of Amritsar dates back to 1574 when Ram Das, the fourth Guru of the Sikhs took up his abode beside the



Kucha (Lane) Duglan shewing its one end towards Jamadar Ki Haveli, where people were made to crawl and shewing the place where persons were flogged. The latter place is indicated by a wooden cross kept on the road.

in the centre of which now stands the Golden Temple and from which the city takes its name. Tradition and legend, indeed, go previous to 1574 in connecting the city with the Sikh County Solden Poolskii Kland also planned the erection temple on a small island in the midst of the tank, but before his plans could mature call came for him and he left it to his sold and successor Arjan, the fifth Guru, to but the city with the Sikh County Sold and Successor Arjan, the fifth Guru, to but the city with the Sikh County Sold and also planned the erection temple on a small island in the midst of the call came for him and he left it to his sold and successor Arjan, the fifth Guru, to but the city with the Sikh County Sold and also planned the erection temple on a small island in the midst of the call came for him and he left it to his sold and successor Arjan, the fifth Guru, to but the city with the Sikh County Sold and Sold a

it is said, was the favourite resort of Guru Nanak where he used to come for meditation. Guru Ram Das, however, obtained a grant of the pool in 1577 from Emperor Akbar and at the same time purchased 500 bighas of land surrounding it. The pool was excavated and converted into a big



The other portion of the Kucha Duglatowards Kaurianwala Khu shewing the other end up to which people had to crawl, marked the projection of a house.

tank and the foundation of the future city of Amritsar laid upon the land purchased Soon the fame of the pool, writes Majo Newell in his history of Amritsar, as a spoof much sanctity, spread far and wide at the followers of the Guru hastened to builthouses in so auspicious a neighbourhood thus giving rise to a small town. Rat Das had also planned the erection of temple on a small island in the midst of tank, but before his plans could mature the call came for him and he left it to his sand successor Arjan, the fifth Guru, to built the historic centre of Sikh devotion.

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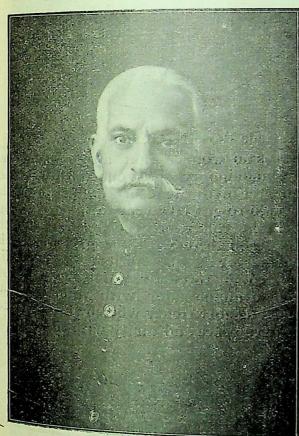
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temple, Guru Arjan drew architectural inspiration from the shrine of the Muhammadan saint Mian Mir, near Lahore and was even actually assisted by the saint himself. Tradition goes so far as to assert that to acknowledge the assistance rendered by Mian Mir, Guru Arjan invited him to lay the first stone of the temple. The legend runs that unfamiliar with and unaccustomed to mason's work the saint could not lay the stone straight, at which one of the mistris standing by set it right. This annoyed



The Hon'ble Pandit Mr. Motilal Nehru, President, The 34th Indian National Congress at Amritsar.

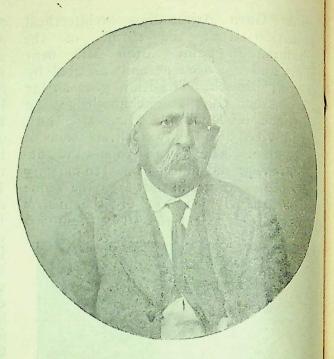
Mian Mir who exclaimed: "Now the building is doomed to destruction! Had you not moved the foundation stone, it would have stood for ever." This prophecy

as we shall see, was fulfilled to the letter. On its completion the temple first came to be known as Hari Mandir. A flourishing city soon From this time onward the fortunes of Amritage time onward the fortunes of the

Sikhs, who had, before the death of Guru Arjan, come to be a great and growing sect in the Punjab. Muslim bigotry and persecution soon drove the peace-loving Sikhs to resort to arms and to resist Imperial power. Hargovind, son of Ram Das and the sixth Guru, first openly opposed and defeated a force sent against him by the Governor of Lahore. But ultimately he was obliged to leave the Punjab and died the death of an exile. Amritsar had in the meanwhile ceased to be the headquarters of the Gurus which were transferred to the city of Kartarpur in the Jullundur District. The Granth or the Sacred Book was removed there and was replaced in the Hari Mandir by a. copy. Even Guru Govind, the tenth and last Guru of the Sikhs who organised his followers into a great religious-military Commonwealth, the Khalsa, in which all men were equal, and all were soldiers, could not regain Amritsar. It was after his death, through a long and bitter struggle that his chosen friend and disciple Bairagi Banda was able to return to Amritsar. Henceforth Amritsar became the centre of constant warfare, waged with varying fortune by the Sikhs at first against the Imperial Governors of Lahore, and afterwards against the Afghan conqueror, Ahmad Shah Durani. The city was taken again and again by the Mussalmans though at the end the Sikhs always succeeded in recapturing it. Thus the struggle went on till 1761 when Amritsar suffered the most terrible reverse in its history. After inflicting a crushing defeat upon the Sikh force at the second Battle of Panipat Ahmad Shah Durani pursued the remnants across the Sutlej, attacked Amritsar, destroyed the city, blew up the temple with gunpowder, filled in the sacred tank with mud and defiled the holy place by slaughter of cows-thus fulfilling the prophecy of Mian Mir regarding the destruction of the shrine. With the departure of Durani, however, phoenix-like rose the city again from its ashes and the Sikhs initiated a city soon grew up around the holy site. establishment of their political independent this time up around the holy site. They rebuilt the temple, enlarged Amritsar rose and fell coulth Public Se of the the city, and Amritsar became for a while

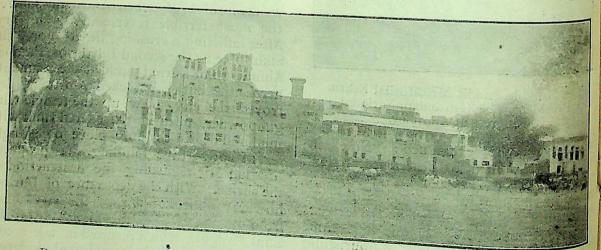
the capital of the Punjab. The city was divided between the various Sikh chiefs, each of whom possessed a separate ward as his private State. But the greater part of the city soon fell into the hands of the Bhangi Confederacy who remained in supreme possession till 1802 when Ranjit Singh, who had previous to this obtained possession of Lahore, seized Amritsar and incorporated it within his dominions. On annexing Amritsar Ranjit Singh spent large sums of money in beautifying the city. His first care was the temple which he roofed with sheets of gilded copper, whence the name—the Golden Temple. He surrounded the city with massive and battlemented walls,part of which still remains,-built the fort of Govindgarh which to this day stands on the north-west of the

city garrisoned by British troops. The Maharaja also planned and laid a beautiful garden on the spot where stood a fort, the stronghold of the chief of the Bhangian misl from whose hands he had wrested Amritsar. The garden was built at a cost of two-and-a-quarter lakhs with a summer palace inside it encircled by a solid masonry wall ringed round by a moat. This once zealously guarded garden is now the seat of the Amritsar Club.



Lala Harkishenlal, Bar-at-Law.

It is no wonder that after so much care and money spent on Amritsar it is came the favourite resort of Ranjit Single He used to go every year to the city during the Dusserah which he celebrated with great eclat there with the grandees of his court. It was at Amritsar that Ranji received in 1808 Mr. Metcalfe, the first English ambassador with whom he concluded a short treaty whereby he agreed to preserve peace and amity with the British.

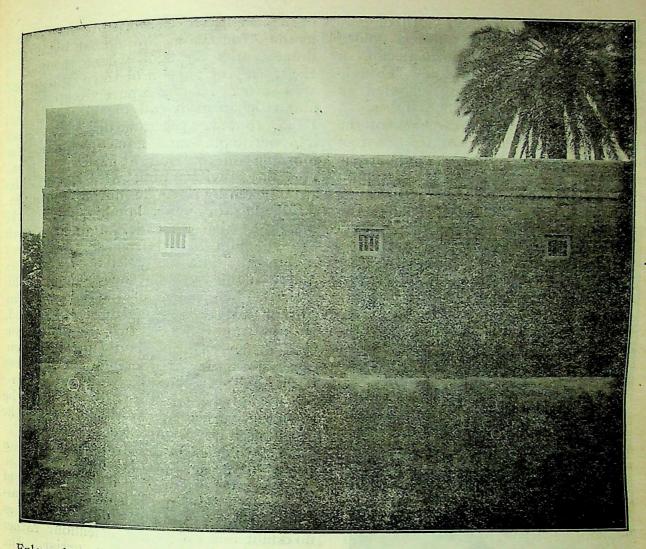


Part of the Jallianwalla Bagh shewing two out of the four small exits from the bagh marked with Pkangre quiesties. Haridwar

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Enlarged view of a portion of the wall of Mewa Singh's Burj shewing bullet marks on the wall.

not to keep more troops on the left bank of the Sutlej than were necessary for preserving his territories, and to abstain from making any further inroads, or levying contributions on the Sikh chiefs on the left bank of the Sutlej.

THE CITY AND ITS SIGHTS. After the second Sikh War in 1849 Amritsar came under British rule. Much of the old city has since then been demolished. The oldest portion of the present while the back only to the year 1762, while the greater part is of very recent erection erection. Some of the old dwellings in the city are quite romantic-looking and picturesque with low over-hanging balconies, mysterious lattices and beautiful carved doors indoors. The city proper is congested, innumerable dark, evil-smelling and tortuhowever, boast of broad and well-kept roads.

The Golden Temple is of course the foremost sight of Amritsar. Standing in the very heart of the city it rises from the midst of the sacred tank connected with the land by a marble causeway. The temple is a square block crowned by a gilded cupola and with gilded outer walls. The insides are decorated with inlaid marbles, mostly carried off by sacrilegious Sikh marauders from the tomb of Jehangir near Lahore and other Mahomedan monuments. The entrance to the temple is by the marble causeway which again is entered through an archway known as the Darshni Darwaja. The causeway leads ous lanes intersecting itcc-orheuth Ampines, which sits the Grantm crothed Book on straight to the temple-door opposite to

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a low pedestal swathed in cloth of gold and strewn with flowers under a golden canopy of exquisite workmanship, a gift of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Throughout the day prayers are chanted in presence of this Holy of Holies. short flight of stairs at the back of the central chamber leads to the roof of the temple where a charming panorama greets the eye. Facing the temple on the north side at the end of the cause-



Sreemati Sarala Devi Choudhurani.

Pandit Rambhaj Dutt Choudhuri.

way stands Akal Bungah where converts to Sikh faith receive their simple baptism known as pahal initiated by Guru Govind. Akal Bungah also has the distinction of treasuring the swords said to have been wielded by Guru Hargovind and Guru Govind and of keeping the Granth in safe custody after it has been removed from

of the temple a seven-storied tower known as the Atal Baba surmounted by a gi dome marks the spot where the body the seven-year old son of Guru Hargovini was burnt. There is a pathetic story told about the untimely end of this boy. Ata Baba, that was the name of the boy, had a favourite play-mate named Mohan. On morning on arriving at his friend's home play with him, Atal found him dead bitten by a snake during the night Atal, the story runs, laid his hand on the body of his comrade, and his touch brought him back to life. The amaze spectators immediately fell on their knee and worshipped the super-human child But when the news of the miracle was brought to Atal's father Guru Hargovind he was annoyed and turning to his sor exclaimed: "Gurus should display their powers in purity of doctrine and holines of living." This rebuke wounded Atal much that he withdrew to one of the numerous tanks at Amritsar, where laid himself down and died.

The Golden Temple frankly is not beautiful structure. It has neither the sombre majesty nor the delicate grace the various Muslim Mausoleums and Mas jids at Delhi or Agra. It dazzles the eye no doubt but its gaudy splendour rathe repels than attracts the artist. The environs of the temple are no doub picturesque with the old grey building near and around stretching in an ever widening circle, the emerald water crosse by a white line and the blue sky overhead But even this picturesque scene is spoilt to a considerable extent by a tall re clock-tower, of Gothic design which stand on a terrace on the east of the temp entirely out of harmony with surroundings. Originally intended 1 occupy the quadrangle of the town buildings it was commenced in 1852, and finished eleven years later. Meanwhile the site for the town buildings

changed, but the clock-tower remained. Among other places of interest Amritsar are the Ram Bagh and the for to both of which references have been to both of which references have the temple every night. CCOnformation of the control of the contro outside the city in one of which,

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Dr. Saifa-ud-din Kitchlew, Bar-at-Law. Chairman elect, All-India Muslim League Reception Committee, Amritsar.

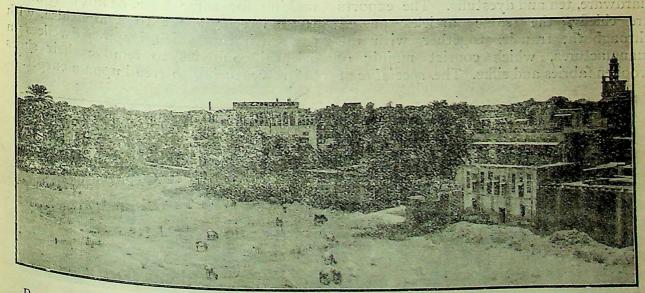
biggest at Amritsar, the forthcoming Congress Pandal is now being erected. This Park is named after Sir Charles Aitchison, a former Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab.

North of the city are the Civil Lines where are situated the European quarters and beyond them the military cantonment.

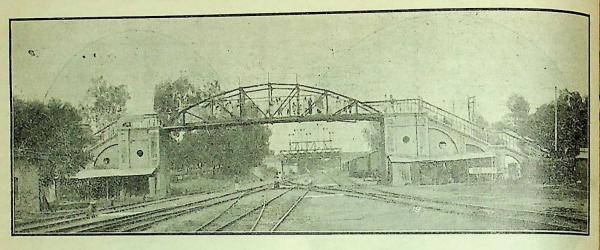


Dr. Satyapal, M.B.

The chief public buildings inside the city are the Municipal Town Hall, the Kotwali, the Public Library and the Government School. A marble statue of the late Queen Victoria standing in the centre of a small garden known as the Queen's Park is also an attractive feature of the city proper. On the Civil Lines are the court-houses, and trea-



Part of the Jallianwala Bagh shewing buildings on the South side adjacent to Mewa Singh's Secretary of the roof of one building indicates the place from where Mr. Girdharilal General is seen the Congress, saw the massacre. On the right-hand corner beyond the buildings Clock Tower of the Congress, saw the massacre.

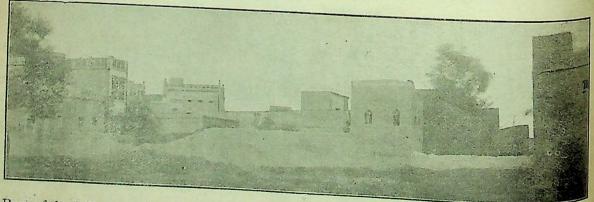


Foot and carriage over-bridges at Amritsar joining the city with the Civil Lines below which the mob was fired upon on the 10th April.

sury, the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches, Post and Telegraph Offices and the Jail. The Khalsa College, one of the foremost educational institutions in the province is situated some three miles off.

Amritsar is the most prosperous commercial city in Northern India carrying on a rich trade, both export and import, with Bokhara, Kabul and Kashmir on the north and with Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and other Indian seats of commerce southwards as well as western countries. The principal imports are grain, pulses, sugar, oil, salt, tobacco, cotton, English piece goods, Kashmiri shawls, silk, glass, earthenware, hardware, tea and dyestuffs. The exports are chiefly the same articles passed through the transit, together with the manufactures, which consist mainly of woollen fabrics and silks. The specialite of

the city is the manufacture of shawls and carpets. Both are produced on handlooms The shawls manufactured at Amritsar and neither so beautiful nor so costly as the genuine fabrics of Kashmir. They finds ready market however. Besides the shawls of home manufacture, Amritsar forms the chief mart of real Kashmir shawk several European firms having agents in the city to make their purchases. A visit to the shawl and carpet manufacturers well repays the stranger. Writing of a visit to a carpet factory Major Newell aptly says: "In fact when the visitor has watched the carpets in process of making for some time, he not only begins to understand, but to sympathise with the sentiment which inspires dwellers " oriental countries to remove their shoes before venturing to tread upon a carpet."



Part of the Jallianwala Bagh shewing, the buildings on the East facing the firing line. Me were killed while attempting to jump over the low many work the found scattered here.

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. THE RECENT DISTURBANCES.

No description of the city of Amritsar could be complete at the present moment without a reference, though necessarily a passing one, to the recent happenings there. The dark deeds of April last have left deep scars on the body of the city but they are nothing compared to what have been left behind on the minds of the citizens. The story of the disturbances at Amritsar is shortly this. The city observed a complete hartal or suspension of business



Mr. Dunichand, Bar-at-Law.

on the 30th of March at the instance of Mr. Gandhi as a protest against the passing of the Rowlatt Act passed in the teeth of an unanimous non-official opposition in the Imperial Legislative Council. On the evening a great meeting was held when some of when some of the popular leaders of Amritsar spoke on the Rowlatt Bill and preached cook on the Rowlatt Bill and preached Satyagraha. On the 6th of April American spoke on the Kowiacc Distribution of April American Satyagraha. April Amritsar, in common with the rest of India, again observed a hartal. Once

was held but this time some of the leaders could not address the meeting as on the previous day some of them had been ordered under the Defence of India Act not to speak in public. Ram Naumi which is perhaps next to Dusserah, the foremost Hindu festival in Northern India, and is usually celebrated on a grand scale, fell on the 9th of April. On former occasions the procession which is taken out in this connection had often been the cause of friction between Hindus and Muhammadans and in spite of military and police precautions this friction not unoften led to serious breaches of the peace. But through the exertions of Dr. Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal the Ram Naumi festival at. Amritsar was on this year made the occasion of a demonstration of Hindu-Muslim friendship. At their request police arrangements were dispensed with and Hindu and Muslim volunteers managed the whole show with perfect order and discipline. The procession was joined by thousands of Mahomedans led by Dr. everything passed off and smoothly and quietly. The success thus achieved by Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kitchlew who had already come to be very prominent and popular in connection with the anti-Rowlatt Act agitation raised them considerably in the eyes of the people and they were, so to speak, at the zenith of their popularity on the morning of the 10th. But this was apparently too much for the Punjab Government. At ten o'clock on the morning of the 10th the Deputy Commissioner sent for them both, arrested them under the Defence of India Act, served them with an order of internment and sent them away to Dharamsala in a motor. The news of this arrest and internment spread into the city within an incredibly short time and it is no exaggeration to say that all the shops of the town were closed within a quarter of an hour. A crowd soon collected from the city and proceeded towards the Civil Lines with a view to going to the Deputy Commissioner. and appealing to him to release their more a meeting, greatered a hartal. Once from the city side either of the two seeds of the greatered and the property of the city side either of the two seeds of the city side either of the crossed. eleaders. To reach the Civil Lines, however,

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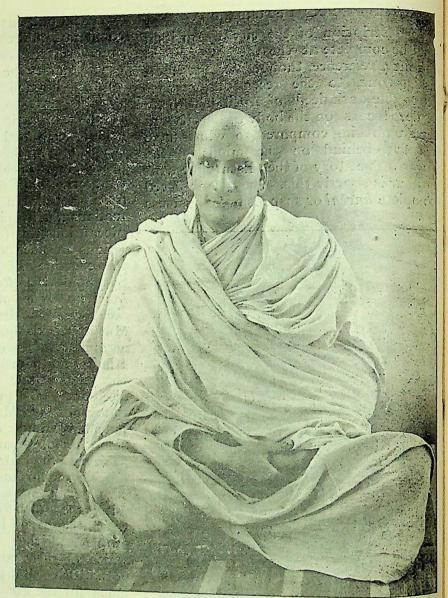
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On reaching the foot of these bridges the crowd were confronted by a police and a military piquet. They were ordered to disperse and on their refusal to do so this unarmed crowd were fired on, charged by cavalry and driven back resulting in the death of two and serious injuries to several persons. What followed is one of the saddest stories in our history. The disorderly element in the crowd enraged at the bloodshed spread in all directions, burnt the National Bank, the Chartered Bank, Alliance Bank. Town Hall, the Mission Church, the Depot of the Punjab Religious Book Society, inhumanly murdered in cold blood Mr. Stewart and Mr. Scott of the National Bank and Mr. G. H. Thomason of the Alliance Bank. Two European ladies, one a doctor and another a nurse, were attacked by the mob and while the former, Mrs. Easdon, escaped, the latter, Miss Sherwood, was most brutally assault-All these das-

tardly and disgraceful outrages occurred inside the city. Outside Sergreant Rowlands, Cantonment Electrician and Railway Guard Robinson, an ex-Northumberland Fusilier were beaten to death and the station goods yard burnt. An attack on the Telegraph office was successfully repulsed. The day following, the dead on both sides were buried and the authorities arrested several persons suspected of having taken



Swami Sraddhananda, Chairman of the Reception Committeee of the 34th Indian National Congress at Amritsar. By the courtesy of Mr. Dial Das, Photographer, Roorkee.

rounded by the military, all approache to the Civil Line being well guarded Re-inforcements were sent for Lahore and Jullundur and the whole the European community living in Civil Lines were removed to the Fort the headquarters of the civil authorities the Railway Station. There was, however no act of lawlessness or violence on 11th and the 12th and everything part in the riot. Butchelle Public Pensins Gurukul Kangri Collection Hardwarn and everything begut

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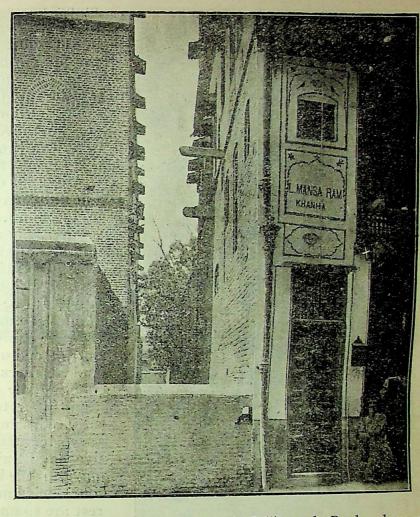
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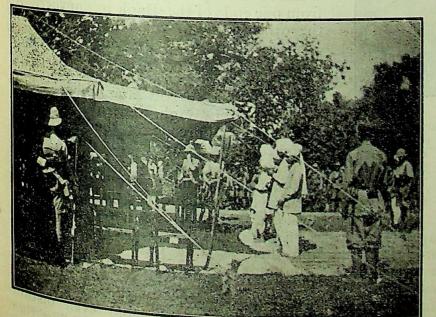
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settling down to their normal duties. But in the meantime General Dyer had come from Jullundur with a large military force, and had taken over the charge of administration of Amritsar from the Deputy Commissioner. Under what law this transference of authority took place before the Martial Law had been declared remained a mystery. Except for perhaps a few hours on the 10th the civil authorities had never lost control of the city. That they had regained it, if not the same evening, at least the day following, is conclusively proved by the strict observance by the people of the orders of the Deputy Commissioner regarding the burial of the dead. Furthermore, the civil authorities had without the least difficulty been able both on the 11th and the 12th to effect a number of arrests inside the city without any resistance. In the face of these facts the



A building on the south side of the Jallianwala Bagh where a person sitting on the balcony of his house was hit by a bullet.



A Martial Law Summary Court at Amritsar.

transfer of power from the civil to the military was clearly unjustifiable and unnecessary. But what followed was worse, worse than anything that had ever happened in British history. On assuming control of Amritsar, General Dyer made the Ram Bagh his headquarters and proceeded with his work of "restoring peace and order". On the 12th the General marched through the city with a column of troops. The next day, the 13th, was the fateful day of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre.

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The Hon'ble Pandit Motilal Nehru, President, 34th Indian National Congress at Amritsar. Photograph specially taken for the Modern Review by Messrs. Satwalekar & Co., Lahore.

few weeks, on this gruesome affair, but

the story will bear repetition.

On the morning of the 13th April General Dyer entered the city with a proclamation in which he said among other things that "any gathering of four men will be looked upon and treated as an unfawful assembly fair is held at Amritsar when people from and dispersed by force of arms if necessary."

many parts of the city at all, thus leaving the majority of the inhabitants completely in the dark as to its contents. While in the city about mid-day the General came to learn that a meeting was going to be held in the Jallianwala Bagh at 4. 30 the same afternoon. But instead of taking and step to prevent the meeting taking place he returned to his headquarters to "organise the forces" and "think the matter out" At about 4 o'clock news was brought to him that a very large crowd had collected in the Bagh. Forthwith he marched at a leisurely pace towards the Bagh with a number of troops and two armoured cars. He reached the place at about 5.

A description of the Jallianwala Bagh seems to be here necessary. The word Bagh is a misnomer, for the place is in no sense a garden. It is a vast maidan surrounded on all sides by houses, the walls and terraces of which overlook it. In the middle of the maidan stand the ruins of a temple and on one side is situated, underneath a couple of tary banyan trees, a well. Of five small exits from or entrances to this maidan the largest permits not more than four or five men walking abreast, while the rest are so narrow and small that they are better described as crevices. The man entrance is on a narrow lane and leads to a raised low platform of earth running from one end of the Bagh to another. All the other exits in different parts of the Bagh lead to what are known as sewage lanes.

But to return to the story. On reaching the head of the narrow lane which leads to the Jallianwala Bagh, General Dyer had to leave his armoured cars there as it was found to be too narrow for taking them in. He then entered the Bagh with his troops through the main entrance already described and deployed them to his right and left on the raised platform of earth referred to above. The meeting had begun and there was a gathering of several thousands, for on the 13th of Aprilday of the meeting—the great Baisakh Surrounding Willages and even distant The proclamation was not read the working furukul Kangri Collection Haritwayees and even de the places flock to the city, and hearing

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a meeting was to be leaving held these people had npletel come in their hundreds While in to attend it. This unal came and peaceful ig to be armed gathering included old e. 30 the men and young boys ing any and even babes. But g place all this was no considerorganise ation to General Dyer. er out" Neither did it strike him ought to that many among those ollected present at the meeting ned at a might be in complete with a ignorance of his order ed cars. prohibiting all meetings. He immediately opened fire without any warning and for ten

minutes

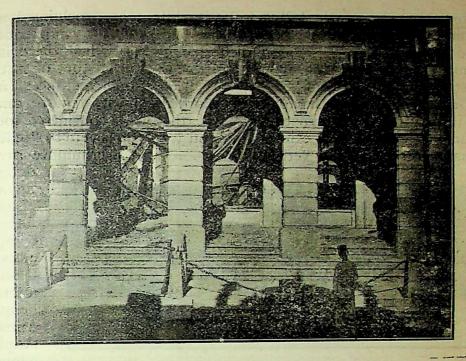
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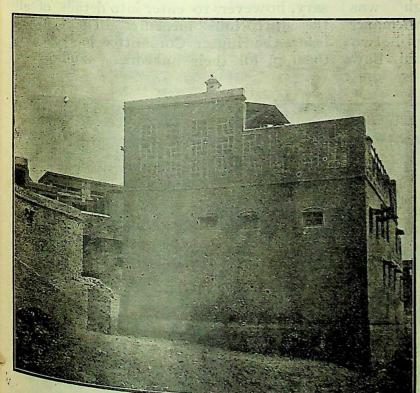
General himself direct-

troops



The National Bank of India, Ltd., at Amritsar.

ing the fire where the crowd on its mad rush for exit from the Bagh was the thick-



Part of the Jallian wala Bagh just behind the meeting place on the north side shewing the waels of buildings with bullet marks the one of the main and one of the main an and one of the main exits (now filled up with bricks as shown in bod; bod; where the photo) where was found one of the largest heaps of dead Such in such the Military haddeftin Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar the "cold

est. And when he did stop, as we now learn from the General's statement before the Hunter Committee, it was because the ammunition of his men ran short. As soon as this ghastly deed was over the General withdrew with his troops without any thought of the hundreds of dead and dying left behind and to crown all far from modifying the curfew order which he had issued the same morning threatening people with the severest punishment if found in the street after 8 o'clock in the evening, the General went out at 9 o'clock to see whether the order was being obeyed or not with the result that friends of dead and wounded could neither dispose of the bodies of the former render medical aid to the

Such in short is the story and calcu-

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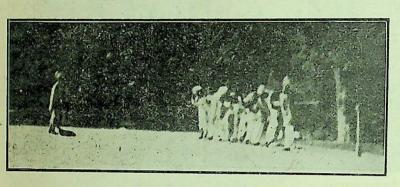
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lated massacre of the Jallianwala Bagh" which has shocked India from one end to the other. It is difficult, nay almost impossible, to speak in language of restraint of this piece of "frightfulness" of a British General and the approval accorded to it by an Irish administrator. But the Hunter Committee is still sitting and we must not anticipate its verdict.



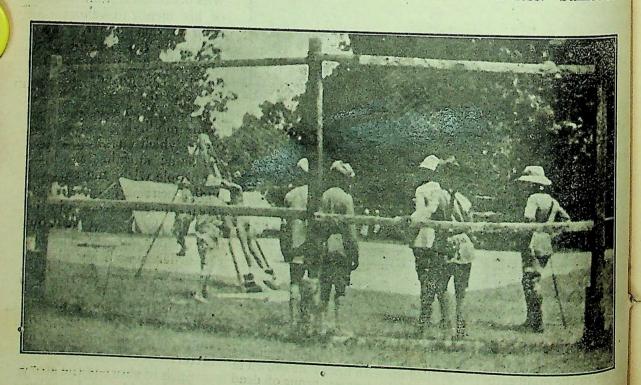
Salaaming Parade at Amritsar during the Martial law days.

Undoubtedly the most brutal proceeding at Jallianwalah Bagh was neither the only nor the last performance at Amritsar. On the 15th of April—two days after the massacre—Martial Law

was proclaimed at Amritsar and then followed a chapter of tyranny and oppression to which there is hardly any parallel in the history of a civilised nation barring some instances, as Rabindranath Tagore, put it, remote and near. No humiliation was considered too low or no punishment too severe to "teach the rebels a lesson". Indiscriminate arrests, handcuffing, and

detention in custody for long days of respectable persons, enrolment of barristers and pleaders as special constables, compulsory salaaming by the citizens of every British Officer, public flogging are a few of the many indignities heaped on the head of Amritsar. But the most stupid and the most outrageous of all punishments was making people to crawl on all fours for the offen

ces of a few hooligans. It is unnecessary, however, to enter into details of all these atrocious measures. The evidence before the Hunter Committee has revealed them in all their nakedness. Suffice it to



Flogging of Fittle Pontin Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar under the Martial Law.

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say that together they constitute what is perhaps the darkest chapter in the history of British Rule in India, and it is fairly certain that when the story of these atrocities reaches England it will so awaken the judgment and conscience of that great country that there will be no choice for the British Government and the British

Parliament except to inflict condign punishment upon the wrong-doers, however high their position may be, and to take a sacred resolve that such thing shall never again be done in their name by their agents in this country.

The "Tribune" Office, Lahore. December, 1919.

butchers, no doubt, who are as honest in who carried on such triples matters concerning their occupation as any . To familiarize consert with an evolute prison, carrying on a more humans is to lose anuch a sac aversion against a can hardly be denied that the sat might gradually health to only GROWTH OF THE DRINK AND DRUG TRADE AMONG THE EDUCATED COMMUNITY OF BENGAL

By Rai Bahadur Dr. Chunilal Bose, I.S.O., M.B., F.C.S.

T the Temperance Conference organised by the Calcutta Temperance Federation and held at Calcutta on the 22nd November, 1919, the subject of the Growth of the Drink and Drug Trade among the Educated Community of Bengal was thoroughly discussed. The idea is a new one to the Indian public, if not to the Government, and may be taken as an innovation in the Excise policy of the Government.

It was only three years ago, that some of our university graduates took it into their heads to apply for licenses for the sale of opium, ganja and charas, and only during last year licenses for the sale of country liquor were taken out by some of the B.A.'s and M.A's of the Calcutta University. It is, therefore, very desirable that the question should be fully discussed while it is still on an experimental stage and any well-considered decision arrived at as to its adaptability or otherwise to the special conditions of our country would, I am sure, be welcome both to the Government and the public at large.

It will be seen from the statement circulated by the Calcutta Temperance Federation that for the last two years, experiments have been made with B.A.'s and M.A.'s of our university, as vendors of these excisable articles. The results were

no decided improvement has been effected by the introduction of these educated people as vendors of these articles from temperance point of view. We can, therefore, take it for granted that the experiment so far has not produced hopeful results. Nevertheless, the measure is being given a further trial.

At present, fourteen of our graduates are engaged in the Drink and Drug trade in Calcutta, of whom six are B.A.'s and B.Sc.'s and the rest are M.A.'s and M.Sc.'s. One of these gentlemen is a teacher in a High School in Calcutta.

The question may be considered from two aspects, viz., (1) its Trade aspect and (2) the Moral aspect.

So far as the first aspect is concerned, I must say that, taken generally, there is not much to object to the measure. One trade, from the business point of view, pure and simple, is as honorable as another, provided it is carried on with honesty and straightforwardness. An honest shopkeeper, to my mind, is as good and respectable a member of the community as a person belonging to any of the so-called honorable professions. When, therefore, the trader possesses good educational qualifications, it is not only an advantage to his business in many ways but it also closely watched and it is nepolicied ait factor policied ait factor for the closely watched and it is nepolicied ait factor for the control of the control o and straightforward, although disappointment is by no means rare in one's expecta-

tions in this respect.

It cannot however be denied that there are certain trades which from their very nature tend to blunt our moral sensibility however honestly they may be carried out, and no wonder therefore that these have at all times been looked down upon by the community. One of these, for example, is the trade of a butcher. There are butchers, no doubt, who are as honest in matters concerning their occupation as any other person, carrying on a more humane trade, but it can hardly be denied that the gentler feelings of humanity become somewhat dull or deadened in the butcher, simply on account of the peculiar character of his occupation, and pain and death do not appeal as eloquently to his moral consciousness as on any other member of the community. It is on this consideration I think, that in certain countries butchers are not allowed to sit as Jurors in murder cases.

A publican likewise does not command that amount of respect and sympathy which is shown to the ordinary traders in a country and his position in society is also inferior. It is particularly so in India. In the sacred books of the Hindus, it is enjoined "मवमपेयमदेयमग्राद्यम् " "Wine should not be drunk by anybody, or given to anybody or accepted by anybody." People trading in liquor in India form a separate caste by themselves called the Soundiks. The trade is so very repugnant to the ordinary notions of the community that from very early times those who carried on the liquor-trade have been considered an unsociable and untouchable lot with whom the other members of the community would not eat or drink or mix in society. This repugnance is in the main due to their dealing in an article of trade which is so injurious to the wellbeing of the community and to their getting rich at the expense of the physical, moral and social good of their fellow-countrymen.

Drinking is a human frailty and seems to be as old as the history of humanity itself. There never was any time or place in the history of the comparison of

humanity was altogether free from the weakness. Drinks were made or manufactured in India in remote ages and, course, there were people who used to partake of liquor. But the evil habit seems to have been confined to a small proportion of the population. The majorit of the people not only did not drink but tried to do what they could to create a aversion and hatred against drink, as we against its trade as against the people who carried on such trade.

To familiarise oneself with an evil thing is to lose much of the aversion against it. It might gradually lead to one's liking the thing, and in the end, to be in low with it. Our forefathers took note of this simple truth and by carrying on a social warfare against those that carried on the drink trade, tried to protect society a much as possible against the insidious attack of a poison which would destroy the moral, physical, social and economical happiness of the people.

The question now is—Are we prepare to see our educated young men who are the future fathers of the race, to be associated with an article of trade as degrading as it is dangerous, so that not only the but their children, their relations are their friends would become familiar with this subtle poison, or do we wish that they should keep themselves aloof from this dangerous occupation for a living?

I may be permitted to observe that the adoption of this trade by the present batch of our educated young men can hardly be attributed to any desire on the part of minimising the evils of the drink and drug habit among their countrymen strictly carrying out the regulations the Excise Act. It appears from information tion at our disposal that the main reason for their taking up this trade is to make a maximum profit out of a minimu capital. One of them writes :-"I have taken to this sort of living purely from the business point of view, because enables me to draw the maximum profit with a minimum capital." Another says "The main reason for my taking up line is that We Kangri Collection, Haridwa an have maximum projection, Haridwa an have maximum projection of the control of th

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"I am driven to take up, though with much reluctance, the business as an economic factor-more profit with a small capital." One can draw one's own conclusion from these candid confessions.

Taking all the circumstances into consideration, I would leave it to the Indian public to decide whether it is worthwhile in the interest of the liquor-trade only, "in order to get rid of unnecessary trouble experienced by the Excise Staff and of the dishonest practices in the shops resorted to by greedy and dishonest Vendors", that our educated young men should be exposed to such temptation and be initiated into a trade whose ultimate consequences are sure to be very disastrous.

The public agitation against the innovation has not been without effect. One of

the educated vendors, a professor in a college, in deference to the agitation in the papers, has since given up his license and has once again returned to his honorable and quiet profession of teaching. The position of a teacher carrying on this trade is particularly harmful and embarrassing. He may have to teach Temperance lessons in his class and the pupils will at once see that precept and example do not coincide in the case of their teacher.

I hope, I have been able to place before my readers both sides of the case in as fair a manner as I could. It is now for the educated Indian people to discuss the matter in all its bearings and come to a well-considered decision which will behelpful in advancing the cause of Temperance in India.

THE GOVERNMENT RESOLUTION ON THE INDIAN INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION

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THE supplement to the Gazette of India dated the 15th November, 1919, publishes the Resolution of the Government of India on the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission and the Secretary of States' orders thereon together with the replies of the provincial Governments and other authorities who were consulted on the subject. We make a selection from the contents of this state document.

The Government of India begin by blessing the labours of the Commission:

The Government of India are confident that the members of the Commission will be able to look hack to come, as look back to their work, in years to come, as the starting of co-operation the starting point of a new era of co-operation between Correlation of a new era of co-operation between Government and the industrial public for the economic advancement of India, and that their zealow their zealous endeavour to this end will find its best reward in the Covernment best reward in the results which the Government of India confidently anticipate from it.

The Government of India then proceeds to explain the necessity for the creation of of Imperial and provincial departments of

tries, Madras, strongly supports the scheme, on the following grounds:

I am quoting from Sir Thomas Holland's Convocation speech. On political, national and every other ground the need for the dovelopment of Indian industries by Indian ment of Indian industries by Indians is urgent. In the circumstances of India, Government must abandon its Laissez-faire policy and must play an active part in this development. But it cannot do so "unless provided with adequate administrative equipment and forearmed with reliable scientific and technical advice." These are the two premises on which the proposals in the Report are based.

Personally, therefore, having regard to the considerations mentioned above, particularly to the general poverty of the country and to the dangers, political and economic, inherent in its present industrial backwardness. I think that the Commission was justified in its treatment of the subject. If any rapid change for the better is to be made in the development of Indian industries, it is necessary to think imperially instead of provincially, to consider the industries. Mr. Innes, correction of Thouse views are accepted, the need for an Imperial

Department of Industries requires no further argument. It will initiate the main lines of policy and in matters of lesser importance will co-ordinate the work in the different provinces. At the same time, the stage should be purely transitional, and as in political reform so in industries the goal should be the largest possible measure of decentralization to Local Governments at the earliest possible moment....

Generally speaking, the Government of India will deal with the development of "key" industries, i.e., iudustries which are vital for purposes of national defence or are an essential link in a whole chain of other industries. All other industries will be left to the care of the provincial departments and Local Governments concerned. The Imperial and Provincial Departments will naturally be in the closest touch, and there is no danger of overlapping or confusion.

The Government of the United Provinces is not much in favour of an Imperial depart-ment of Industries. "Sir Harcourt Butler has considerable experience of Government of India, and does not wish to appear to be in any way in opposition to it. The great difficulty in practice is the congestion and delay which occur in the Government The area which they have to supervise is too vast for any centralised machine. The local differences are also very marked between provinces." The Chief-Secretary to the Government of the United Provinces concludes his letter thus:

In conclusion I am to say that the root of the matter is the creation of a spirit of adjustment and personal consultation. It is impossible to have life in India unless the provinces are left to develop, subject to general control, on their own lines, which are understood by the people and which create a feeling of provincial patriotism. On a question of administrative system every doubtful point should be given in favour of the principle of decentralization, be-cause India is far too vast for any one Government really to dictate or to exercise more than a general control. His Honour anticipates little practical difficulty if every Local Government is left to settle its practical problems with the Government of India instead of trying to lay down something that may apply to India as a whole.

The Upper India Chamber of Commerce, Campore, express themselves very strongly on the subject as will appear from the following extract:

strict supervision, and tutelage of the Central

authority the Local Governments would lapsa into inactivity or be otherwise incapable of carrying on a vigorous industrial campaign There appear to be no grounds for that appre hension. Past experience at any rate tells quite a different story. It was only a few years back that the useful activities of the Madras Depart. ment of Industries were summarily put an end to by the higher authorities. In these provinces the Local Government's proposals for a techno. logical institute met with a similar fate Now with the changed policy of the Supreme Government matters will, no doubt, be different but there are no reasons to suppose that the Local Governments will in any way be less anxious than the Government of India to make up for past indifference and inaction. Nor is there any justification for doubting the former's capacity to do so.

As regards the financial resources of the Provincial Governments these will be vastly improved under the new system of finance, which, it may safely be assumed, will shortly be introduced. It is the Government of India who will then look to the provinces for the making up of its own revenue deficit. That leaves no force in the argument that the Provincial Governments will lack the requisite financial resources.....

My committee are, therefore, strongly of opinion that the idea of a new Imperial Depart ment of Industries should be altogether abandon ed and that industrial development should be entirely a provincial concern, for which the Local Governments, in their respective Departments of Industries, should be wholly respons ible and in respect of which they should enjoy the greatest possible freedom of action and initiative. It is impossible to anticipate in what shape the Reform Scheme will emerge from the British Parliament, but it seems abundantly clear that under the new regime the Local Governments would be more popular than the Central Government. That is another reason why my committee would have industrial development as wholly a provincial subject because of all matters in the administration of which the people of the land should be givel the greatest voice, that of Industries stands foremost.

The Secretary of State's decision is as follows :-

I accept the two fundamental principles underlying the recommendations of the Commission mission; first, that in future Government should play an active part in the industrial develop ment of the country; secondly, that Govern ment cannot undertake this work unless provided with a description ed with adequate administrative equipment forearmed with reliable scientific and technical What then is exactly meant by the "uniform- advice. Following on the acceptance of the advice. Following on the acceptance of the advice. ity of policy" is not clearly understood; unless, principles I agree that suitably equipped of course, it be apprehended that provide the control of the Central Covernment of Governments and in the Central Government.

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In giving effect to this policy, State assistance will take various forms such as research, the survey of natural resources, technical and scientific advice, educational facilities, commercial and industrial intelligence, the establishment of pioneering and demonstration factories, financial help, the purchase of Government stores in India, whether in the usual way of business or under a guarantee of purchase over a fixed period, and probably also fiscal measures.

I am glad to observe that in defining the relations between the Imperial and Provincial Departments, you favour a large measure of Provincial independence, and that within their general financial and other powers, the local Governments would be given a free hand subject to the reasonable reservations detailed in paragraphs 18 and 19 of your letter. I have, however, little doubt that local Governments, limited as they will be in respect of resources and staff, will readily seek the advice and assistance of the Imperial Department. But for the most part reference should be voluntary, and the necessity of obtaining previous sanction should as far as possible be avoided.

The Government of India next proceeds to give its reasons for making industries a special department of the Government in charge of a separate member of Council:

In addition to this, two still more important classes of activity have to be undertaken by the Indian Government, for which in England the necessity and even the occasion are almost entirely absent, namely, the stimulation of private enterprise and the exploitation of the great State properties. The present unsatisfactory position in India is almost entirely due to the lack of private enterprise; this has to be built up and encouraged by the provision of technical information, the training of consultants, technologists and artisans, the offer of Government orders, concessions and guarantees, and by the creation of a system of finance which will afford to industries the facilities which have hitherto been concentrated on trade. In England most of these advantages have long existed; they have been created by private enterprise and in the been created by private enterprise and in turn they have reacted on it, and extended its and it. tended its scope. In the next place, the Indian Government possesses and is reponsible for the economic utilisations of the control of the co economic utilisation of a very potent instrument viz., the States, which in England is lacking; viz., the State Ownership of extensive forest areas, mineral and water rights. But to make this instrument effective, it will have to be wielded with far greater abill and purpose than wielded with far greater skill and purpose than heretofore, and must therefore be directed by an agency which an agency which is designed to stimulate and assist industries assist industries assist industries are the state one which is assist industries, rather than by one which is well adapted in adapted in a conject commerce, but well adapted, indeed, to assist commerce, but been mainly restrictions with industries have hitherto been mainly restrictive.

ther reason for separating the functions of Government in relation to trade from those which concern industry. The future economic policy of India will be affected by two forces, which will often be in opposition: the wish to protect home industries by fiscal measures, and the necessity of maintaining the free movement of trade and of securing to the consumer goods at a reasonable price. It would be, we think, a serious mistake to confuse the issue by placing the interests of industry and commerce, which respectively represent these two conflicting forces, under a single representative. Each interest should have its own line of action clearly before it; in any case where these lines diverge, the course must be settled after a full and clear consideration of all the factors in that case, and should not depend on whether the Member who may be at the time in charge of both interests happens to favour protection or free trade.

In forming a decision on the necessity of a separate department, popular sentiment and expectation cannot be ignored. As the Industrial Commission have said in paragraph 320 of their report, the duties of a central industrial agency "are sufficiently important and sufficiently correlated, both in themselves, and in the public mind, to justify special treatment, and they involve interests which deserve separate representation in the Viceroy's Executive Council." This view was anticipated in paragraph 340 of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms. The importance to India of definite policy for the improvement of her industries is based on the strongest economic, political and military reasons; for years past it has been prominently in the public mind and is now urged still more forcibly by all classes of Indian opinion as an indispensable condition of the future political progress of the country. Anything short of the creation of a central department of industries will be generally considered an inadequate expression of that policy. Popular opinion will look to the central department of industries for the fulfilment of India's hopes for a great industrial future; and will regard it, in fact, as the pre-eminently swadeshi department.

For these reasons we agree that a central department of industries is, at any rate, during the initial stages of the new policy, the necessary and appropriate agency for stimulating, guiding and co-ordinating all forms of Government effort for the development of industries, and to this view we ask you to give your approval in principle.

The following extract from the Bombay Government's letter will give us an idea of the respective functions of the departments of Commerce and Industry :-

It is indeed possible too boing Photo Paralina Gupkul Kangri Collection Charlemetrical Intelligence and the Trade

Commissioners is that the main function of the Director-General is to foster the export trade while the Trade Commissioner pays special attention to India's requirements which can be met from the British Empire, and the Director of Industries concentrates on the possibilities of increasing local manufacture.

The Secretary of State, however, coldshoulders the whole suggestion:

The desirability of placing cognate subjects, such as Commerce, under the charge of the Member for Industries should be kept in view. The arguments advanced in your letter have not convinced me that it is desirable that these two branches of the administration should be placed permanently in charge of separate Members.

The next point in the Government of India's Resolution concerns the creation of All-India Scientific Services. The Commission proposed that the members of the scientific services should be seconded by deputations to teaching work in the colleges for periods of five years at a time. absence of a scientific atmosphere," say the Government of India, "has been particularly injurious to scientific officers in the Educational Service, and has led to great stagnation in respect of research work." In view of the criticism to which the Commission's proposal has been subjected by officers in the educational department, the Government of India propose a modified scheme of co-ordination of the scientific and educational services. They say:

We are much influenced by the prospects which the proposed system affords of increasing the number of Indians in the scientific services. An Indian appointed to an isolated post, or as an assistant to an isolated professor in a country where the scientific atmosphere is non-existent, or at the best exceedingly attenuated, lacks guidance and the stimulus of his fellows in the pursuit to scientific knowledge. His ambitions tend to become limited to the improvement of his pay and prospects, rather than of his professional attainments. His membership of an all-India service, based on the pursuit of a common science will increase the prestige of that science in his eyes and in those of the Indian public; the existence of the proposed imperial nucleus of scientists under a distinguished chief will provide him with an incitement to excel with assistance in his studies and with opportunity for training if he desires it.

The institution of an industrial service seems to us also the best if not the only means of training Indians of the right type to fill the higher of employing temporary experts must necessarily perpetuate the employment of Europeans.

The following is from the memorandum of a committee of Punjab professors asked to report on the subject :

By far the most serious results may be anticipated on the scientific education of the country. It is gravely suggested that education would benefit from the seconding, for a rest cure of five years' duration, of jaded industrialists who would thus be enabled to renew "in a wellproportioned way their general knowledge of their special professional subjects." The aim of the educationalist should be to provide in all-our Universities healthy schools of instruction and a real atmosphere of research. This will not be secured by a succession of seconded officers. A permanent policy must be maintained at each University: frequent changes in the instructional staff of a teaching institution all tend to lack of efficiency. The conditions of employment of professors at the Universities, or lecturers in the Provincial Colleges should be such that a man might look forward with satisfaction to the prospects of finishing the greater part of his life's work in the same surroundings.

The following is from the U. P. Chamber of Commerce:-

My committee are also strongly opposed to the creation of the various Imperial India services recommended. They fully associate themselves with the view that importation being necessary only recognised experts and specialists should be engaged on special terms and short contracts and on the express condition that the training of our own young men would form an important part of their work here. My committee repeat that the matter should be left entirely in the hands of the Provincial Governments. If the latter find the establishment of regular Industria or Scientific services indispensable at any later stage let them organise the same. These will then be Provincial and not Imperial services and under the control of the Government under which they will be serving. We have had enough of the anomaly of these Imperial services Besides, the proposed services will be prohibition tively expensive. My committee are, therefore opposed to their creation on both administrative and financial grounds.

We now come to the Government of India's proposal on the purchase of stores

The remaining point, viz., the purchase

stores in India, may be more briefly dealt with The present system under which the only specific organisation for the purchase of store required for the use of Government is situated London has long been the subject of serior eriticism both by politicians and by business industrial posts, whereas the alternative system in this country. It is alleged, and CC-0. In Public Domain Gurukunkahou Collegison, and the country is alleged, and the country is alleged in the country is all the country is all the country is alleged in the country is alleged in the country is alleged in the country is all the

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ient of stores, chase of t with he only

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from nascent industries. We agree that this is not the spirit or intention of the rules, which give considerable scope for the purchase of Indianmade articles. But in actual practice the absence of an expert buying and inspecting agency in India makes indenting officers unwilling to take the responsibility for the purchase of locally made articles, and inevitably leads to their placing their orders with the only Government agency properly equipped for purchase and inspection, viz., the Stores Department of the India Office. A departure from this system is urgently and universally demanded; and its continuance would be looked on as an instance of the alleged economic selfishness of the British nation who, it will be said, are prepared to give away political concessions, but to part with nothing that touches their pockets. The history of the past three years has shown

purchase of Government stores manufactured in

purchase of thus tends to perpetuate itself by india and thus tends to perpetuate itself by withdrawing an important form of stimulus

some unexpected capabilities of India for local manufacture, even in face of the lack of expert workers and of essential plant arising out of war conditions; it has also shown the beneficial effect of Government purchase and inspection in encouraging Indian industries and inducing them to improve their methods and strike out fresh

Mr. Innes, Director of Madras industries, says as follows:-

It is certain that the best way of encouraging Indian industries is to buy from the manufacturing firms. My experience is that European business concerns in this country are apathetic in this matter. They have always been in the habit of importing what they want from the United Kingdom and they are very ignorant of the manufacturing resources of India. It is not always their fault. It is no use, for instance, for them to offer for sale Punjab cutlery: their customers will be sale Punjab cutlery: their customers will have Sheffield cutlery; and it may be taken as certain that for many years to come they will go on importing their requirements from the United ments from the United Kingdom. The United Kingdom moreover is a very different place from what it was a very different place from what it was five years ago. Its workshops have been modernized years ago. Its workshops have been modernised, old machinery has been ruthlessly scrapped, on machinery has been equipped fored, and the country is far better equipped for an aggressive foreign trade. It is going to be a difficult business, therefore, to keep Indian industries alive, and it is absolutely essential that Constitution and take up a essential that Government should take up a strong line in the strong line in the matter of the local purchase of

The Bengal Government:

The account of Government's industrial policy recent years which in the chapter VIII in recent years, which is given in Chapter VIII of the Commission's report, indicates that the industrial hack not to industrial backwardness of India is due, not to lack of enterprise on the part ropublipportine and included in the part ropublipportine and including including the control of the part ropublip portine and including including the control of the part ropublip portine and including the control of the part ropublip portine and including the control of the part ropublip portine and including the control of the part ropublic part

Governments, despite the restrictions, financial and other, on their powers, but to the deliberate policy of the Imperial Government.

The following is from the memorandum of a discussion held at a conference of specialists for the consideration of the organisation of chemical research under the presi-

dency of Sir Thomas Holland:

Consideration was then given to the training of students and apprentices at the Government Central Research Institute and to the question whether the work at this institute could be combined with a post-graduate training in research. It was agreed that, while it was necessary to train Indians for the future chemical industries of India, teaching should form no part of the functions of the institute, although graduates and others might be attached to officers of the institute to receive an indirect training by assisting them in their work.

The following is from the account of a similar conference of Agricultural chemists:

Among the causes which operate against the extended use of the manures is the fact that manures have to be carried over long distances from the centres of supply to make them available to cultivators. Further, the demand of the individual cultivator is mainly for small consignments of manure, and, in view of the caste prejudices prevalent in the country, many fertilizers, such as bone-meal, dried blood, and poudrette, are classed by the railway companies as offensive goods. Again, there is no uniformity in the rates charged at present by the various railways for the carriage of manures. After a due consideration of the various difficulties it was resolved that the Railway Board be asked to arrange that the present minimum rate of 1-10th pie per maund per mile should be charged in all cases on minimum wagon loads of such concentrated manures, and that the Provincial Agricultural Departments should encourage the formation of local distribution centres so as to build up a regulated traffic which is capable of taking full advantage of the concession of the minimum rate.

Mr. Montagu agrees with the government of India on the organisation of an Indian stores department, and accepts the principle of an all-India industrial service, taking care to mention that men of the foreman type should not be selected, but that the department should be reserved "as a rule for men of good education, with qualifications or technical training." He also remarks that "if the efficiency of labour be increased even to moderate extent India could probably

If, therefore, development is to proceed on sound lines, and if enduring results are to be obtained labour must be made more efficient. In India, where the workers are unorganised, a special obligation lies upon Government to study their welfare and to secure for them better education, better housing, and a higher standard of living. By her adherence to the International Labour Convention India will now become subject in respect of labour conditions to international criticism. This need not be resented, as it is in the best interests of the country that present conditions should be improved, provided that it is recognised that Indian conditions are radically different from those of western countries and that western standards cannot at once be applied.

We conclude with the following extract from Mr. Montagu's letter to the Government of India, which every patriotic Indian will be glad to endorse:

With the quickening of political life that w follow the grant of constitutional reforms and the demand for progress in administration as social reform may be expected to become in tent, and if progress is not to be hampered want of funds the taxable capacity of the peop want of funds the taxable capacity of the peop will have to be increased. To this end it natural resources of India must be effective utilised, as new opportunities for the investment of capital present themselves, in order that the standard of comfort of the people may be raise and the economic strength of the country ma Indian increase. Further, as the experience of the pa few years has shown that in time of war Ind cannot rely on outside sources for her need the matter is one in which political expedience economic advantage and military security coincident and accord with the interests of the Empire as a whole.

EXAMINATION OF SOME STATEMENTS OF THE SADLER COMMISSION

E make the following excerpts from the Report of the Calcutta University Commission, Vol. I:-

"But the teachers in missionary Colleges are not all missionaries; in every case a majority of the staff (in all, 67 out of 98) consist of Indian teachers, most of whom are non-Christians. The rate of pay for these Indian teachers, is substantially lower than the rate of pay in the Government Colleges. But, in spite of the fact that the principal teachers are missionaries, the average salary paid to Indian members of the staff in the Scottish Churches College [Rs. 144] per mensem] is higher than the average of the salaries paid to all members of the staff in five out of six private colleges in Calcutta. In St. Xavier's College, and in the two missionary colleges in the mufassal, the rate of pay of the Indian members of the staff is below the average rate of pay in the private colleges, but it should be remembered that in the mission colleges the salaries of the chief teachers are not computed in the average; and if the salaries of the chief teachers were omitted in computing the average salary in other colleges, this average would obviously be much lower. Again, the tenure of Indian teachers is insecure in the missionary colleges, as in the private colleges, the general rule being a month's notice on either side. In

tish Churches College reported that "a propos to change this, giving longer notice, was oppose by the senior members of the Indian state Within the last three years the staff has lost of member by death after forty-three years' service one by retirement after thirty-four years, all one who became inspector of colleges after twenty-one years." We have, in fact, heard complaint of unfair dismissal of Indian teacher in missionary colleges. It may be added the Scottish Churches College (which is much the largest and, with one exception, much oldest of the missionary colleges) has a product fund for the Indian members of the staff which the teachers subscribe 5 per cent. of the income, the College adding an equal amount froits general funds." (Pp. 373-4).

"It is in the private colleges, which mainly wholly depend upon students' fees, that conditions of salary, tenure and service are, general, most unsatisfactory." (P. 374).

"The [Scottish Churches] College provideresidential accommodation for 318 of the students in wellstudents in well-organised hostels, and it is of the features of this College that most of European members of the staff live either in Compound of the College (thus following tradition of Duff) tradition of Duff), or in the actual buildings. This makes some real social relatives response to our inquiries on this head, the Southul Kship Collection Hatchers and students Possible CC-0. In Public Domain Cottkul Kship Collection Hatchers and students Possible CC-0.

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reforms and there is a stronger corporate spirit in this College than in most others." (P. 418).

[But, the question is, do the professors and students dine together, play together, worship together, &c.? So far as we effective know, they do not. Merely dwelling near one another does not constitute "real social relationship." In Calcutta, even Indian lodgers dwelling in different storeys or rooms of the same house very often have no social relationship; many are not even acquainted with one another.]

> the Colleges—the Ripon, "These four Vidyasagar, the City and Bangabasi-very closely resemble one another in the main features of their work; in the huge numbers of students with which they have to deal, and in the wholesale and mechanical way in which they necessarily have to treat them; in the very inadequate proportion between their teachers and their pupils; in the small salaries and the insecure tenure which they offer to most of their teachers; and in the almost total absence of any effective social life among their students. They are, in fact, huge coaching establishments for examinations.".....(P. 422).

> "The Ripon and the City Colleges have recently acquired large new buildings, paid for partly by private subscriptions and partly Government grants. They are not ill-designed for their purpose; but the purpose which has governed their design is that of providing accommodation for innumerable lectures to immense classes of students, not that of providing a home for living societies of teachers and pupils." (P. 424).

We shall examine some of the statements in these excerpts in the light of the latest Inspection Reports of the Calcutta University on the Scottish Churches College (inspected on the 17th February, 1919), and City College (inspected on the 11th April, 1918).

In the first place, it should be noted that there is not a single Indian member of the staff on the governing body of the Scottish Churches College. The attention of the University was drawn to this fact by one of the inspectors in 1918. We take the following from the minutes of the Syndicate dated the 2nd August, 1918:

"Dr. Brajendranath Seal, who was one of the joint inspectors, appends a note to the following effect :-

(i) According to the present rule of the Senatus (or Governing Body) of the College, the Indian Professors are denied a place on it, although clause (a), sec. 6, Chapter XVIII, of the New Regulations requires that every affiliated College should be "under the management of a regularly constituted Governing Body on which the teaching staff is represented. The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate should press on the College authorities the desirability of making the constitution of the Senatus somewhat more elastic so as to make room for the proper representation of the College staff as an integral body.

(ii) Besides the Governing Body there should be a regularly constituted council of the teach-

ing staff."

"Resolved-

"It is desirable that there should be a regularly constituted council of the teaching staff, which should meet from time to time to deal with matters relating to the internal management of the College."

A year and a half after this the University Inspectors note in their report that "at present there is no regularly constituted Council of Members of the teaching staff."

Salary.

SCOTTISH CHURCHES COLLEGE.

The staff consists of 37 gentlemen, 9 European and 28 Indian. The salary of the European members is not shown in the inspect. inspection report. Evidently the scale of provide Pay is different from that of the Indian of according to the average salary of the latter, according to the Report of the Calcutta

University Commission, is Rs. 144. The highest salary of an Indian teacher Rs. 275 is Rs. 275, and there is only one receiving that part, and there is only one receiving CITY COLLEGE.

The staff consists of 39 gentlemen, all Indian. The average salary (including that of the Principal) is Rs. 147. 6 as.

that pay; one receives Rs. 250 and two receives Rs. 300, one Rs. 230, three Rs. 225, month, so that there are only two Rs. 200; so that there are eight mem-The highest pay of a teacher other than four Indian members of the staff whose salary is over Rs. 200. The pay of the remaining 24 is below that figure. bers of the staff whose pay is Rs. 200, more.

Tenure of Service

SCOTTISH CHURCHES COLLEGE.

Of the Indian members of the staff three joined the college before 1902; 18, i.e., 64 p. c., joined after 1910; 10, i. e., 35.5 p. c., have put in less than 5 years' service.

The average length of service of the Indian branch of the staff is a little over 7 years.

There is a provident fund for the Indian members of the staff.

(Vide above).

CITY COLLEGE.

5 joined the college before 1902; 23, it 59 p. c., joined after 1910; 15, i. t 38.4 p. c., have put in less than 5 year service. The average length of service a little over 8 years.

One member of the staff joined in 1882 one in 1889, and three in 1893; one retinafter 26 years' service; one felt compelled retire for political reasons after 28 year and one died in harness after serving the College for about 25 years.

These facts are not mentioned in the Report of the University Commission.

"Only one of the private Colleges in a cutta—the City College—has as yet instuted a provident fund."—Report of t Commission, Vol. I, p. 377.

[Query: Why is this good feature of the College mentioned 45 pages away from the damnatory description of the four for grade Colleges in Calcutta?]

"Huge Coaching Establishments for Examinations"

SCOTTISH CHURCHES COLLEGE.

Numerical strength. There were 1215 students on the rolls of the College on the 31st July, 1918. Excluding the 32 M. A. students, the remaining 1183 students were divided into 10 classes, giving an average of 118.9 per class. [Or into 11 classes, with an average of 108?]

CITY COLLEGE.

Numerical strength. On the 30 November 1917, there were 1689 studen on the rolls, divided into 16 classes, give an average of 105 5 per class.

Than Reports of the Colorito 11. On the Seatish Charches Coll

Intermediate Classes

I. A.

First year class, 186, divided into 2 sections, the largest containing 150.

Second year class, 171, divided into 2 sections, the largest having 150.

First year class, 263, divided into sections, the largest having 140.

Second year class, 387, divided into sections, the largest having 143.

I. Sc.

First year class, 110. Second year, 118. First year class, 143. Second year, divided into 2 sections of 74 and 78.

B. A. PASS AND HONOURS.

Third year class, 222 (it is not stated Third year class, 276, divided into 25 how the class is divided). In Public Domain. Gurukul Karlari Collection, Haridway 1, 276, divided into 25 and 143.

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Fourth year class 231 (it is not stated how the class is divided).

Fourth year class 408, divided into 3 sections of 136, 139 and 133.

attending lectures in English in each class. The figures for two of the most numerously attended subjects are given below.]

English being a compulsory subject, the above figures show the number of students

PHILOSOPHY CLASSES.

Third year class, Pass 112, Honours 29, total 141.

Third year class, 201 (including 24 Honours students) divided into 2 sections of 84 and 117.

Fourth year class, Pass 131, Honours 26, total 157. ("Special permission was granted by the University for the number"-Inspection Report, page 16.)

Fourth year class 224, (including 49 Honours students) divided into 2 sections of 104 and 120.

SANSKRIT CLASSES.

Third year class, Pass 131, Honours 5. total 136.

Third year class 200 (including 9 Honours students), divided into 2 sections of 119. and 81.

Fourth year class, Pass 155, Honours 3, (it does not appear from the Inspection Report how the class is divided).

Fourth year class 261 (including two Honours students) divided into 2 sections of 144 and 120.

Tutorials.

SCOTTISH CHURCHES COLLEGE.

"Tutorial classes are held in English, Philosophy, Logic, Economics and History. They are commenced in the First and Third-year classes after the Second and Fourth-year classes are dissolved and are continued in the Second and Fourth-year classes. We were glad to see that the number of students in a Tutorial Section has been reduced and now consists of about 30 students in each. The results of tutorial exercises are recorded in books kept for the purpose. These results are taken into consideration at the time of promotion and of sending up of students to the University Examinations."—Inspection Report, page 15.

CITY COLLEGE.

"For the purpose of tutorial work, each class in some of the subjects is divided into batches of about 20 students. Each of these batches gets one period of tutorial work per week. In Logic and Sanskrit tutorial work is done for part of the year after the Second and Fourthyear classes are dismissed in January. But in English and Mathematics, tutorial work is done throughout the year in all the four classes, special attention being paid to English. In the last-mentioned subject, one exercise is given every month to write at home and another at These are corrected by the staff, marked and the difficult points explained to the students in the tutorial classes for two successive weeks. During two weeks of the month, questions are asked and difficulties are explained. The results are all recorded in a book and taken into consideration at the time of promotion and the sending up of the students for University Examinations. We were told that the tutorials also counted as lectures towards attendance. Hence the attendance at these tutorials was very good. We cannot commend too highly the system of tutorials arranged for English in this College. We only wish that it were possible to extend the system to other subjects as well."

—Inspection Report, p. 17. [The italics are ours].

Examinations and Exercises

SCOTTISH CHURCHES COLLEGE.

"Two full examinations in all the subjects "There are three full examinations for the course of the year and in some First and Third year classes and two for the 11 CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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subjects three examinations are held. The results are very carefully recorded." -Inspection Report. p. 15.

Second and Fourth year classes, besides two or three exercises in a year. The results of these examinations and exercises are recorded in book."-Inspection Report, p. 17.

"Innumerable Lectures to Immense Classes of Students."

Numbers of lectures per week in principal subjects (July to December).

B. A. PASS ENGLISH.

SCOTTISH CHURCHES COLLEGE.

CITY COLLEGE.

Fourth year class. Section A, 3; B, 9. (The figures should perhaps be 6 and 6). Third year class. Section A, 3; B, 7. (The figures are possibly 5 and 5).

Fourth year class. Section A, 7; B, 7; Third year class. Section A, 6; B, 6.

PHILOSOPHY.

Fourth year class 5. Third year class 7.

Fourth year class. Section A, 6; B, 6. Third year class. Section A, 5; B, 5.

SANSKRIT.

Fourth year class 5. Third year class 5.

Fourth year class. Section A, 6; B, 6. Third year class. Section A, 6; B, 6.

MATHEMATICS.

Fourth year class 6. Third year class 6.

Fourth year class 6. Third year class 7.

(The figures for the Intermediate Classes are not given, as being superfluous).

"The almost total absence of any effective social life among their students"

SCOTTISH CHURCHES COLLEGE.

Of the 1215 students on the rolls of the college on the 31st July, 1918, 248 resided in five College Hostels, 67 in three attached messes, 40 in non-Collegiate Hostels, 462 with parents and 398 with guardians. Over 70 p.c. live with parents and guardians.

"Though there is no formal agency to enquire into the residence of students living with guardians the Principal makes strict enquiry into the residence of students from the students themselves and, in doubtful cases, he himself goes to the residences of the students to make enquiries."

-Inspection Report, p. 24.

CITY COLLEGE.

Of the 1689 students on the rolls of the College on the 30th November, 1917, 59 lived in two College Hostels (not yetre cognised), 194 in non-Collegiate Hostels 198 in attached messes, 70 in unattached messes, 343 with parents and 825 with guardians. [Over 69 p.c. live with parents and guardians].

Mr. Durgacharan Mitra, B.Sc., Demonstrator in Chemistry, inspects students' residences on a additional remuneration of Rs. 40 per month and enquires into and reports on the conditions residence of students said to be living with the parents and guardians."

Inspection Report, p. 30.

Our readers will now be in a position to judge how far, if at all, the Commission have held the balance even between the Missionary and the private Colleges.

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PRAYER

Light thy signal, Father, for us, who have strayed far away from thee. Our dwelling is among ruins haunted by lowering shadows of fear. Our heart is bent under the load of despair and we insult thee when we grovel to dust at every favour or threat that mocks our manhood. For thus is desecrated the dignity of thee in us thy children, for thus we put out our light and in our abject fear make it seem that our orphaned world is blind and godless.

Yet I can never believe that you are lost to us, my king, though our poverty is great, and deep our shame.

Your will works behind the veil of despair.

and in your own time opens the gate of the impossible.

You come, as unto your own house, into the unprepared hall, on the unexpected day. Dark ruins at your touch become like a bud

nourishing unseen in its bosom the fruition of fulfilment. Therefore I still have hope—not that the wrecks will be mended, but that a new world will arise.

If it is thy will let us rush into the thick of conflicts and hurts. Only give us thy own weapon, my Master, the power to suffer and to trust. Honour us with difficult duties, and pain that is hard to bear. Summon us to efforts whose fruit is not in success and to errands which fail and yet find their prize. And at the end of our task let us proudly bring before thee our scars and lay at thy feet the soul that is ever free and life that is deathless.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

HISTORY OF AURANGZIB, Jadunath Sarkar, Vol. IV, pp. 412, M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta,

Every student of Indian history will wel-come the present Volume of Prof. Sarkar's zib". "The Deccan ulcer mined Aurangzib" and it was not the weak Sultanates of the south but the weak Sultanates of the south but the Marathas who were responsible for it. The fourth volume of Aurangzib, therefore, deals mainly with the rice of the Marathas, fore, deals mainly with the rise of the Marathas, and the final and the final conquest and annexation of melancholy theme of the Mughals. The siven us three charming chapters that we have the charming chapters that will be sometimes of the last two events has account. Sambhaji was a soldier, and nothing account.

interest even those who turn to History for a diversion only. In the first 238 pages of the present volume, Prof. Sarkar has given us an abridgment of his previously published "Shivaji and His Times." We have already reviewed that work in these columns, and we have not anything more to add except that it has lost nothing in interest by the merciless rejection of minor and unimportant details. In fact the abridged account may be more interesting to

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ls of the 917, 59 t yetre Hostels attached 25 with

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back or with red wine and women in his pleasurehouse. The son of great Shivaji was such a reprobate that his reign is of no interest to the student, except as a theme of that great epic

—The Rise of the Marathas.

Our Historian has justly tried to vindicate the much maligned Kalusha or Kara Kuleshi (Mr. D. L. Ray's Kavlesh Khan,-the Bengali Dramatist was perhaps misled by Scott-Waring); but we are afraid, he has failed to do justice to the Maratha character, when he says that the great officers of Shivaji and Sambhaji were not inspired by anything but mercenary motives of self-aggrandizement. That may be true of individuals, but if that had been their national characteristic, we fail to understand why every Maratha Shiledar and Watandar did not swear allegiance and render homage to the victorious Mughal after the capture and death of Sambhaji and why the great mass rallied round Rajaram, the leader of a lost cause? What but loyalty and devotion to their master could induce Baji Prabhu to calmly lay down his life to save Shivaji and Tanaji Malsure, the celebrated Mawli leader, to escalade the ramparts of impregnable Kondana? We are inclined to believe that two contrary forces were simultaneously in operation, -the feudal forces of disruption and the nobler feeling of patriotism.

A comparison of Prof. Sarkar's account of Sambhaji's reign with that of Chitnis will point out many inaccuracies of that chronicle and no student of Maratha History can be too grateful

for this service.

Although Prof. Sarkar has embodied in his work every necessary topographical information, one cannot but feel the need of a good map as he goes on with the detailed account of the military operations of the Mughals and the Marathas. A critical bibliography at the end of the book would have been of immense service to the ambitious student who wants to go to the original sources.

The book is marked by that thorough scholarindefatigable industry, and unbiased regard for truth, that have deservedly earned for Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, a world-wide reputation.

S. N. S.

Sources of Vijayanagar History Madras University Historical Series, price Rs. 4-8 as.) selected and edited by S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, M.A.

We congratulate Prof. Ayyangar cordially on bringing to light these fresh materials for the history of the great Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagar. Since the publication of Sewell's "A Forgotten Empire" in 1900 this is the most important contribution to that section Indian History. But we are thankful to Prof. Ayyangar for something more. He boldly. challenges that narrow conception of Indian history which refuses to good his pand denoted by the statistics are not always and numismatic evidence. Even after the Statistics are not always

deciphering of all our epigraphs and cataloguin of all our coins we shall have the colossal tac of churning the Ocean of Indian Literature. It high time that some of our acutest scholan took to this rather precarious path of research which constantly lures us more to brillian guessing than helps us to ascertain the truth After much trial and experiment we shall have to formulate the canons of criticism applicable to our culture history. No doubt some brilliant workers have started their investigation but there should be more workers in the fel thoroughly equipped in the science of Indologi In Prof. Ayyangar we have a worker established reputation. We find in his care selection and brilliant presentation of the sources, a marvellous picture of Vijayanage Hindus-the connecting link between the ancie and the mediaeval history of Hindu India Hemmed in between the Muhammadans on the one side and the Dravidians on the other, the Hindus mantained a polity and developed culture which every Hindu would be proud a The over-sea trade of Vijayanagar is now prove to have been extensive. One Setti "importe horses from Ormuz, elephants from Ceylor camphor from the Punjab and silks from China But above all, we are dazzled by the galaxy great writers—men as well as women—testifyr to a quickening of national life rarely parallel by any other chapter of Indian history. imperial family and the subordinate chieftan alike" were famous for their "extraordinan liberal patronage of letters." Thus we find chieftain (Raghunath) composing a technic treatise on Hindu music and inventing no Ragas and Talas; ministers (Madhava Sayana) writing critical and exegetical work on the Vedic literature in the interval of the onerous state duties; a queen (Ganga Der composing a sober metrical annals of husband's regime and common (Ramabhadra) composing poems languages and ultimatley "installed on the thro of Sahitya Samrajya" (i.e. empress among poets closing her epic with this remarkable colophon

''त्रष्ट-भाषा-कल्पित-चतुर्व्वि ध-कवितानुप्राणित-मार्कि रघनाधाभार सामानार-पद पौठारूट-रामभद्राम्बा-विरचिते महाकाव्ये दादम सर्गी: समाप्त:।"

So the sacrosanctity of the Zenana was 10 the only refuge of our Indian ladies of yore had had a career and a brilliant career before nay, even the poet-laureateship of the realm thank Prof. Ayyangar for bringing these telling facts of our Living Past before our eyes again

A STATISTISCAL ATLAS OF THE BARODA STA -Compiled under the orders of H. H. the Man rajah Gaekwad's Government, By Rao Bahad Govinda Bhai H. Desai, B. A., LL. B.—Foolse,

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REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

people generally avoid figures in their studies people gent the conclusion of the writer. Our Government Blue Books and statistical abstracts are hardly ever read by the public; and even the educated people cannot use them with great profit. So graph is had recourse to and popular books are illustrated graphically. Even our Government have come to realise it and the Blue Book of "The Material and Moral Progress of India", prepared to be placed before Parliament and the public, has been this time planned on an entirely new basis -and things have been shown graphically instead of merely statistically. The book has been readable. But still better is the method of illustrating things by maps, where this is possible. We have no statistical Atlas of India for recent years-the only one I know of was published in 1895. It is of no use today. The Baroda Government have published the book under notice for the better understanding of the progress of the State in various branches by its people. the whole State is as if visualised in maps, and there is no difficulty, even for one who is not an economist, to understand and know his country

The explanatory matter covers 40 pages which will give the reader a very lucid account of the State of to-day, with a brief historical background of each of the subject treated. Maps and Diagrams cover 46 pages which contain the following interesting things:— I. General Information: (1. Map of the Baroda State. 2. Population and Contain the Baroda State. 2. lation and area by Taluks. 3. Area and density. 4. Density of population. 5. Diagram of density etc. 6. Geology. 7. Soils. 8. Forests. 9-12. Sub-Water. 13. Rainfall. 14. Temperature. 15. Railways. 16. Irrigation Tanks). II. Agriculture; (17-20. Settlement groups. 21. Irrigation areas. 22. Holdings. 23. Staple crops. 24. Value of land. 25. Live stock, ploughs, etc. 26. Miscellaneous Information). III. Industries: (27. Occupation. 28. Industries). IV. Co-operation. (29. Cooperative Societies. 30. Progress of the movement). V. Prices and wages. (30-34) VI. Education: (35. Institutions. 36. Literacy. VII. Libraries.) (37). VIII. Self-Government. (38). IX. The Peoples of Baroda (39. Variation in population. 40 Distribution Deligion 41 Castes. lation. 40. Distribution by Religion. 41. Castes. 42. Number of girls and women. 43. Ageperiods and Civil and Women. 43. Ageperiods and Civil and Women. 43. periods and Civil condition.) X. Vitality. (44). XI. Drink (Abkari Consumption 45). XII. Revenue and B. nue and Expenditure (46).

P. K. MUKHERII.

THE SECRET CITY, (Macmillan & Co.) Hugh Walpole

Mr. Hugh Walpole needs no introduction to the fiction-loving public and he adds to his laurels with this striking tale of Russian life. That he can create a genuine Russian atmosphere, Mr. Walnut 100 already shown in "The novel. Petrograd is the scene of the story and the events are those of the year preceding the Revolution and the first few months of the upheaval. A group of Englishmen are brought into close touch with a Russian family and the latter is fully sketched before the reader. Some of the portraits are truly remarkable: Vera is a beautiful figure of tragedy and Markovitch will always attract the attention of the reader; Lawrence and Nina also are presented in a distinct fashion but the master-creation is Semyonov who must challenge comparison with that terrible figure of English fiction, Heathcliff of Emily Bronte's 'Withering Heights'. On the whole the book is one of the most remarkable productions of Mr. Walpole.

THE PROMISE OF THE AIR by Algernon Blackwood (Macmillan & Co.)

From the "Secret City" to "The Promise of the Air" is a leap from the vortex of human life to its uttermost fringes where the sound of turmoil is never felt. One does not know whether Mr. Blackwood's work can be called a novel. Here is neither the interest of striking and sensational events nor of the psychological presentation of character,-none of the two elements which appeal to the fiction-reader of to-day. In this novel there is, properly speaking, no story and the writer is simply outlining the relation of the father of a family to his children and to his wife. Joseph Wimble had a tendency, from his student-days, to take life as the birds take the air and had married secretly the daughter of a corn-chandler while he was at the University. Disinherited by his father and forced to enter a publishing house as a canvasser, he seemed to forget the sweet idyllic sentiments of youthful days. But his daughter who had been growing up and who had inherited his bird-like nature once again brought him away from the interests of the earth and the main problem of the book is to contrast the bird-like pair, the father and daughter, with the very human Mrs. Wimble and her son. The whole thing may be said to be a parable intended to show how the life of the Air may be lived on the material earth and it is an interesting study because of its novel type.

THE LAND THEY LOVED by G. D. Cummins (Macmillan & Co.)

It is a tale of Irish life, containing pictures both of the town and the village. Kate the heroine, had been admired by two brothers, Michael and Steve Turpin before emigrating to America. On returning from the States she finds that both are dead,—one fighting for the British in France and the other for the Sinn Fein rebels. The only brother left is Eugene and phere, Mr. Walpole has already shown in "The but cowed down through fear of a tyranny machurer stage of development in the present he is altogether a new man,—a ,man with new he is altogether a new man,—a ,man with new he is an interesting study. In the opening

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ideas of re-organising the agricultural and other activities of the land, -one who is successful in changing, to some extent, the life of the ordinary Irish farmer. Kate's adventures in Dublin are entertaining; and the sketches of the Misses Peacock, Mrs. Cooney, Molly and Tom Easey are drawn with such a light touch and betray so much of the writer's powers of humour that they may be said to be classic Irish pictures among novels of the present day. The author is not so successful with his heroine and the Kate at the Dublin kitchen is altogether a different being from the Kate of the country. Her relations with Eugene are interesting, but for the greater part of the book the theme is in the background and one feels that the author has not developed it so successfully as he might have done if he had not been distracted by the lighter interests of the story.

THE BOOK OF THE CAVE GAURISANKAR GUHA by Sri Ananda Acharya (Macmillan & Co.)

It is described by the writer as the authentic account of a pilgrimage to the Gaurisankar cave narrated by the late Professor Truedream of the University of Sighbridge to his friends, Lord Reason of Fancydale and the keeper of Soham Garden. This description is enough to tell the reader the nature of the work. It is a remarkable mystic allegory and the writer has justified the remarks made about him in connection with his other work "The Brahmadarsanam." At times no doubt the allegory is too thin and the speeches of the Occan-Wanderer and the Lady of the Shadows are occasionally mere sermons; but the author is at his best in the expressions of the Voice of the Air and the rhythmical prose invites an interesting comparison with the translations of the master of our verse.

Post Graduate Teaching in the University OF CALCUTTA (Calcutta University Press).

It is a record of the work of the University during a remarkable session and the main facts are referred to in the speech of Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee prefixed to the record itself. Among the various developments of post-graduate work during the year under review, the most noteworthy ones are undoubtedly in the way of the study of the Indian veanaculars and Indian Antiquities. The work of this department of the University has recently come in for a good deal of criticism but the critics would do well to have a firsthand knowledge of the University work,of what is being done by the workers of the department and this booklet will supply one with the fullest details.

N. K. SIDDHANTA.

GUJARATI.

KARTAVYA KANKAN (कत्तं व्य कं कष), by Muni Devchandraji. Printed at the Vidya Vijaya Printing Press. Paper Cover, Pp. 157, unpriced (1919).

tion of virtues are the keynote of this sing book.

USHAKANT (उषाकान्त) by the late Mr. Bhogi drarao R. Divatia, B.A., Second Edition, Print at the Tattva Vivechak Press, Bombay published by Ramaniyaram G. Tripathi, pp. 29 Price Rs. 2. (1919).

We are glad the book has run into a secon edition. We have already given our opinion on this novel, when it was first published. The enterprising young publisher has added to value and attractiveness by illustrations.

GUJERAT NA ITIHAS NI VATO (गुजरात ना इतिहा नी वाता), by Chhaganlal Thakurdas Modi, B.A. Retired Educational Inspector, Baroda, at Jagjivandas Dayalji Modi, Assistant Maste Training College, Baroda. Printed at the Sura City Press. Paper cover, pp. 88.

There are some pictures given in this little book to illustrate the subjects treated. As it name implies, the writers have successfully trice to narrate in it in the interesting form of a stor the history of Gujarat. Apart from its val to teachers in schools, it is sure to prove great use to those who care to know about the general outstanding features of our histor without being bored by a larger but technic

K. M. J.

Acknowledgments:

1. INDIAN STATE SCHOLARSHIPS: Pamphil no. 6, published by the Bureau of Education India: Superintendent, Government Printing India, Calcutta. Price 12 as., or 1 shilling.

This handbook has been compiled for the us of candidates for state scholarships, for selected candidates, and for those who are concerned with their selection. It consists of summant of official documents. It comprises sections dealing with—(1) List of scholarships, General Rules which the candidates shall have to follow and conform with before and after their selection in this and foreign countries, University scholarships, (4) Technical scholarships, (5) Scholarships for males of the domicile community, (6) Oriental languages scholarship (7) Scholarships for women both Indian and domiciled, (8) Rules for state scholars in United Vision 1980 United Kingdom, (9) List of documents containing the taining the orders of the Government of India.

2. NATIONAL CALENDAR for the year 1920 Published by Lajpat Rai Prithvi Raj Salin Booksellers and Tajpat Booksellers and Publishers, Lahori Gate, Lahor Prise 12 annas per sheet.

It is a wall sheet almanac with portraits many prominent nationalist leaders, both and women limit and women l and women, living and dead. The representation of Mother History tion of Mother Hind ought to have been no Short lessons on good condition and condition artistic lection, Handwar suggest the publisher substitute the present one with the beautiful conditions are substituted in the search of pictur Tago the W

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rejoind Wit Publis origin picture of Mother India by Mr. Abanindranath Tagore, C. I. E. This calendar ought to adorn the wall of every nationalist's house.

3, 4. SRI KRISHNA AND ARJUN, AND SITA AND 2, 4. SRI KRISHIM HAD HAJOH, ARD SITA AND LAKSHMAN, pictures painted by Mr. Sarada Charan Ukil and reproduced in colours by Calcutta Phototype Co.; Publisher—Mitra and Ukil; can be had at Silpa-Mandir, 43-3 Amherst Street, Calcutta.

Mr. Ukil is an artist who is so well known that he requires no introduction at our hands. We have reproduced many of his pictures in reduced facsimile which have been spoken of very

eulogistically by art-critics both here and in England. Now the publishers have placed within reach of the public reproductions of his pictures of the same size as the originals. The pictures of Sri Krishna and Arjun, and Sita and Lakshman represent the scenes of Sri Krishna admonishing Arjun to fight on the eve of the great battle of Kurukshetra, and Sita admonishing Lakshman to go and help Ram when he has gone to slay the golden deer. Both the pictures are of great artistic merit and the reproductions are excellent and faithful, doing justice to the artist's originals.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Rabindranath Tagore on Aurobindo Ghosh.

[A gentleman having written to Dr. Rabindranath Tagore from Ahmedabad to draw his attention to the review of his The Home and the World in the last November issue of the Modern Review, the poet gave the following reply to his correspondent.]

Santiniketan, Nov. 30, 1919.

DEAR SIR,

I have not yet read Jadu Babu's review of my book, but I feel sure that he could never mean to say that Aurobindo Ghosh belongs to the same type of humanity as Sandip of my story. My acquaintance with the literature of our contemporary politics being casual and desultory, I do not, even to this day, definitely know what is the political standpoint of Aurobindo Ghosh. But this I positively know that he is the start we that he is a great man, one of the greatest we have, and therefore liable to be misunderstood even by his friends. What I myself feel for him is not marked. What I myself feel for his is not mere admiration but reverence for his depth of spirituality, his largeness of vision and his literary gifts, extraordinary in imaginative insight and expression. He is a true Rishi and a Poet combined, and I still repeat my namaskar which I offer, and I still repeat my namaskar which I offered to him when he was first assailed by the trouble of him when he was first assailed by the trouble which ultimately made him an exile from the soil of Bengal.

Yours Sincerely RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

"The Story of the Lion and the

Re Mr. Gangoly's note and Mr. rejoinder.

With reference to Mr. O. C. Gangoly's note blished in the Modern Persiew regarding the published in the Modern Review regarding the Origin of the Lieuward Problem of origin of the Modern Review regarding the to, viz.,—(1) J. D. ...

the Lion and Elephant Publication and Elephant Publica

Mr. P. C. Das has taken exception to the alleged inaccuracy in regard to the true sequence of Kesari and Gajapati Dynasties. Mr. objection seems to be rather besides the mark. as Mr. Gangoly never said in his note that the Gajapatis preceded the Kesaries. Mr. Gangoly has refuted the view that the motif is not of the nature of a political cartoon and Mr. Das in his rejoinder has lent the weight of his support to this contention. Popular traditions seldom square with historical facts and a writer who refers to a tradition of this account merely to prove its erroneous character from his own particular standpoint, deserves no reproach on that account. Mr. Gangoly though an artist and art-connoisseur is well posted in historical and archaeological literature and the fact that he could not have been oblivious of the correct sequence of the Kesaries and the later ruler of Orissa is I think well borne out by his reference to the date of Sabhakara Kesari and of the chronology of the Eastern Ganga Kings in his very interesting original article on "the Story of a Printed Cotton Fabric from Orissa." J. B. O. R. S., Sept. 1919, Vol. V, Pl. III, pp. 325,330). These few words are written not with a view to prolong an unnecessary controversy but to clear up the misconception of a fair, minded critic whose interest is so keen and alert in matters of Orissan antiquity.

G. D. SARKAR. 15-12-19.

I have to disown the proposition which very curiously enough has been fathered upon me by Babu Purna Chandra Das in a note published in the last December number of this Review. I could never possibly suggest to anybody, that the Ganga Rajas were succeeded by the Kesari Rulers in Orissa. As to my views relating to the so-called Kesari Dynasty of Orissa, the following among other writings of mine may be referred to, viz.,—(1) J. B. O. S. 1916, and (2) Sonepur B. C. MAZUMDAR.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Vivekananda's Idea of a "Math" for Women.

In the year 1901, in the course of a conversation with a disciple, as reported in the Prabuddha Bharata, Swami Vivekananda raised the topic of the future Math (convent) for women which he contemplated establishing.

He said:

With the Holy Mother as the centre of inspiration, a Math is to be established on the eastern bank of the Ganges. As Brahmacharins and Sadhus will be trained in this Math, so in the other Math, Brahmacharinis and Sadhvis will be trained.

Thereupon the disciple raised the objection that

in ancient times in India no account is found of Maths for women in history. Only during the Buddhistic period one hears of Maths for women but from it in course of time many corruptions arose. The whole country was overrun by great evil practices.

The Swami replied:

It is very difficult to understand why in this country there is so much difference between men and women whereas the Vedanta declares that one conscious Self is present in all beings. You always criticise the women, but say what have you done for their uplift? Writing Smritis and binding them by hard rules, the men have turned the women into producing machines. If you do not raise the women who are the living embodiment of Divine Mother, don't think you have any other way to rise.

The disciple was ready with the trite rejoinder,

Women are a bondage and a snare to men. Women by their Maya cover the knowledge and dispassion of men. It is for this I suppose that scriptural writers hint that knowledge and devotion is difficult to be attaind by them.

Vivekananda replied:

In what Scripture are such words found that women are not competent for knowledge and divine love? In the period of degradation, when the priests made the other castes incompetent and disentitled to the study of the Vedas, they deprived the women of all their rights. Otherwise you find in the Vedic and the Upanishadic ages, Maitreyi, Gargi and other women of revered memory, taking the places of Rishis in their The professor observes: knowledge and discussion about Brahman CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Citektibh, Hatibwarforeign medium has Worke

When such ideal women had command of spiritu knowledge, why then shall they not have the same privilege now? What has happened one can certainly happen again. History repeat itself. The race has risen by worshipping and esteeming women. That country and race when women are not respected and esteemed have never been able to be great, and will never able to be great. The principal cause as to wh your race has so much degenerated is want respect and estimation for these living image of Shakti. Manu says: "Where women and respected, there the Gods delight; and when they are not, there all works and efforts comety nought." There is no hope of rise for that family or country where there is no estimation of we men, where they live in sadness. For this reason they have first to be raised; and an ideal Matt have to be started for them.

Women's Education in India.

We would ask all advocates and opport nents of women's education in India to real the sound and practical article on "Women Education in India" contributed to the Indian Review for November by Professor D. K. Karve. We shall refer to a few points in it and quote a few passages

He says:

In this connection I have very radical views I am of opinion that unless education in an up to the ordinary degree is given through the media of vernaculars with English as a comp sory subject, secondary and higher education will not strike a deep root in Indian soil. the present Universities continue to do the work according to their own methods by Government should start parallel Universities with vernacular media, and accord recognition to the certificates and degrees that ma be awarded by Universities and Institution conducted by private agencies on these line. The ordinary degree should be brought with as easy a reach of common people without waste of time and energy, as it is in Japan many other countries where the natural system of educating youths in their own vernacular prevails.

The educational institutions, mentions by him, where the Vernaculars are used media of instruction are the Gurukul Add demy of Kangri, Hardwar, the Osman University of Hyderabad, the Hindi Vidy pitha, and the Indian Women's University

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as a greater detriment in the case of girls than as a great standard of the sta to attain to a certain standard of knowledge, let alone the mental strain that it imposes, and keeps Secondary Education out of the reach of many a girl to whom time and work are weighty considerations.

Referring to the survey of women's education made by the Calcutta University Commission and their recommendations thereupon, Mr. Karve observes :-

What is true of Bengal is true of all India slight modifications. with, perhaps, educated people are cautious and suspicious about the results of girls' education. Many an educated Bengali has stranded, the report very pertinently observes, "upon the uncertainty of aim and the conflict of emotions into which he is drawn by the fact that the world of thought to which he has been introduced by Western education is a thing wholly apart from the tradition, thoughts and the modes of life still cultivated in his home." One has to admit that "women who make the home and shape the thoughts of the rising generation, have as a rule no share in the intellectual life of their men, and stand for ideals and modes of thoughts which are often sharply in conflict with those which their men have learned to entertain." However, it cannot be considered desirable "that women in India should continue to labour under the darkness of ignorance and superstition or cling unreasonably to fossilised remains of the past out of which every semblance of life has vanished, and disagreement with their educated husbands, brothers or sons." That people are quite indifferent to such a state of things is plain from the fact that, "in the sphere of girls' education there is no parallel at all to that extraordinary activity of private enterprise which has established hundreds of High Schools for boys."

One of the most important reasons why women should be educated is explained in the following passage:

Men in India have accepted "political theories and methods of the West." This will make a change in the social condition inevitable and a matter of course. The process of change will and place "The process of change must take place "The painful; but the change must take place. "It cannot be made in one sphere of life, the political cannot be made in one sphere all the the political without ultimately affecting all the rest; and if it is to be carried out without giving rise to the carried out without giving rise to the most tragic of domestic miswomen that degree of education which will gradually and healthily to adjust the conditions gradually and healthily to adjust the conditions of Indian life to the needs of a new age." It is no use "saving to the needs of a new age," no use "saying to the needs of a new age.
thus far and no farther the far and no farther the solution must thus far and no further. The only solution must

ideas and traditions of the West and the ancient and rooted ideas and traditions of India. This reconciliation of Eastern and Western ideas cannot be limited to a single sphere."

The Commission found hope in the fact that the question of Women's education was seriously engaging the thought and sympathy of the best minds of Bengal, and so they were not inclined towards pessim-

"What is needed," the report says, "is a system which will enable those who deeply care about the provision of an appropriate system of training for Indian women, and who realise the profound importance of the subject, to have greater freedom in devising the means for realising their ends."

Coming to the recommendations of the Commission the professor writes —

The basic idea on which the whole structure of the recommendations in this connection seems to have been built is at the outset thus expressed :- "Two distinct needs must always be kept in mind in the organisation of Women's Education, the need of the vast majority who will spend their lives in the Zenana, whose education will cease at an early age, and who ought to be trained on the one hand to perform their Zenana duties with interest and knowledge, and on the other to understand and sympathise with the interests and work of their husbands and brothers; and secondly the need of the small but very important minority who will go out into the world to-serve their fellows in professional callings or will play their part in the intellectual activities of the progressive section of Indian Society, and want a high training to be enabled to do so."

The "almost prophetic note" with which the chapter in the Report on recommendations in the sphere of women's education concludes, is to be found in the following passage:

"If the leaders of opinion in Bengal are ready to recognise the supreme importance of a rapid development of women's education and of an adaptation of the system to Indian needs and conditions, and if they are willing to spend time and thought and money in bringing it about, the question will gradually solve itself. Otherwise there must lie before this country a tragic and painful period of social dislocation and misunderstanding, and a prolongation of the existing disregard of those manifold ills in a progressive society which only an educated womanhood can

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women, which they have not done. reasons for advocating separate universities for women are, that if women's education is to depend on men's university which is controlled by Government, progress would be exceedingly slow. For Government machinery grinds very slowly, particularly in a country like India "where the interests of the people and of the Goverment are not always quite the same" and so "the simplest reforms are sometimes delayed for years together."

Reforms in men's education are frought with a number of difficulties, political considerations being the foremost. Difference of opinion among our own people is also not a small obstacle. The Government's attitude towards Education will be far more sympathetic than towards men's education. If, therefore, Women's Education is separated from men's education by a separate University for women, it will be possible to carry out reforms far more easily.

Mr. Karve is not opposed to women taking advantage of the existing men's universities.

I wish it to be clearly understood that those women who want to take advantage of the men's courses just as they are now, or will be hereafter according to the recommendations of the Commission, are welcome to do so. But there are many more women, who without the facilities and opportunities these women command, would still like to get as much of education as limited time and circumstances will permit them to acquire. It is for such girls and women, and their number is large, that free and independently working bodies or Universities are desired. What I think is that there is still scope for separate Universities for Women, either Government or private, which can begin their work at once and carry out all the reforms that are thought

He gives other reasons for advocating separate universities for women.

Another reason for which I advocate a separate University for Women is that in men's universities questions of Women's Education are sure to occupy a place of secondary importance. These questions will be laid aside when important questions concerning men's education crop up. It will always handicap women to make their education hang on the education of men.

Government sanction is a sine qua non of men's education. The consideration of what that education pays is always to be a factor of very great importance, while in the case of Women's Education this factor is at least not

have to be educated with a view to enable then to take an intelligent interest in their home li and discharge their duties and responsibilities efforts Thus indigenous creditably. without waiting for Government sanction stand a fair chance of success. Besides, the number of Educated Women who enter a profession is now small and must continue small for some years to come, so that women educated in a private university will find no difficulty in getting employment if they are so inclined.

The Japanese are an independent people and the Japanese social system offers less obstacles to the education of women Yet they established a separate university for women as a private institution, and it still remains private. It is flourishing The object of the promoters was (1) to educate woman as a human being, (2) to educate woman as woman, and (3) to educate woman as member of the Community. In Japan they had not the difficulty of a foreign medium and probably of early marriage and seclusion of women, and yet the promoters of the Japan Women's University thought it necessary to moderate the standards and thus bring education within reach of then easy women.

If we in India give to our women the vernacular medium and lighten the pressure examinations in the manner suggested by the introducing the Commission and also by compartmenti principle of examination by throughout, without waiting until these reforms are introduced into men's education, we shall be able to achieve much. The standard general knowledge and cultural value should b the same, because even for boys this standard has been low on account of the unnaturalness This unnaturalness consists our courses. giving undue importance to English making it a medium of instruction and consequently neglecting the study of vernacular.

Professor Karve's advice is that,

Without waiting for Government initiating Women's Universities in India should be planted and run privately to achieve the mentioned ends. Government is sure to according to the sanction to the its sanction to these Universities later, but let is not wait for their Universities should provide for instuction in the sanction. professions :- education and medicine, beside providing for general education in arts. Even Government does not accord its recognition so very important. The consideration of the certificates of these Universities and does the consideration of the consideration of the consideration of the consideration of the certificates and does the certificates and does the certificates the certificates of these universities and does the certificates the certificates of the certificates are certificates the certificates of the certificates are certificates and does the certificates of the certificates are certificates and does the certificates the certificates are certificates and does the certificates the certificates are certificates are certificates.

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Government service, there will be ample field for service in private institutions.

for service in F that many of us do not realise. It is a pity that many of us do not realise the danger of the wery wide gulf between men and women of the middle classes. To imagine and wollded can be bridged over by the expansion of the present system of Women's Education through a foreign medium is to show utter lack of cognisance of our social conditions.

Our differences are after all differences as regard means and methods. They ought not to hinder us. Let people with different inclinations and views form their different centres of activity and let them start their own institutions to work out their own separate schemes. I agree with the editor of the Indian Social Reformer when he

"The need for facilities for women's education is so vast and pressing, that it is foolish to pin our faith to any one plan and method. Numerous and repeated experiments are necessary to determine what the best and most suitable scheme is in the present conditions of the country."

Infantile Mortality Rates.

In the Indian Review in an article on "Child Welfare in India", Dr. Lakshanaswami, B.A., L.M.K.S., gives the following comparative statistics of mortality rates:

Country.		Deaths of childre
SUNTERNITION OF THE STREET		under one year
New Zealand	(1912)	
Norway	(1912)	51
Sweden	(1911)	68
Australia	(1911)	72
France	(1913)	72
The Netherlands	(1912)	78
"ILLEPTION do	(1913)	91
Denmarl.	(1912)	94
ireland	(1913)	94
England and Tree	(1913)	97
Scotland Wales	(1916)	98
Madrac D	(1913)	110
Rengal Presidency	(1902-11)	199 ¬
Bihar and Orissa		270
Bihar and Orissa Punjab Bombay Burma	- Consultation	A The state of the
Bombay		304
Burma	COO ON LINE	306
outlied D.	OF BUT PAR	320
United Provinces The differences		332
h. " Ultheron	***	352

themselves are compared. ifference is as marked when the towns mortality rate of most of the important towns in England is and on itself England is under 100 per mille, in London itself it was only of the important to the was only of the important to the interest in the contract of the important to the interest in the interes it was only 87 per mille in 1916, whereas in India the rate of per mille in 1916, whereas in India the rate varies between 200 and 300 per mille and in the capital cities like Madras, Bombay and Colorta it has been even more. Bombay and Calcutta it has been even more.

In Madras the capital cities like with the capital cities l In Madras the rate was 277.3 per mille in 1917, and in Bombay and Calcutta it has been even more and in Bombay and Calcutta it was 409.6 and

The writer also gives statistics to prove the appalling character of the mortality among mothers and women in India and briefly describes what has been done in several countries to save the lives of infants and mothers.

Humane Legislation in Indian States.

The following paragraphs are taken from The Indian Humanitarian:

Prohibition of Cow-Slaughter.

The States of Baroda, Jammu and Kashmir, Gondal, Barwani, Dharampur, Bansda, Cooch Behar, Sirmur, Cambay, Khilchipur, Jama-khandi, Akalkote, Sarila, Vadia, Sayla, Khania-Dhana, Chuda, Amrethi Raj and others have stopped cow-slaughter.

Animal Sacrifices.

The States of Gondal, Panna, Bansda, Bhadawar, Cambay, Gorakhpore, Khania-Dhana Jamakhandi, Dharampur, Sayla, Rajgarh, Amrathi-Raj, Vadia, Bagasara, Lodhika, Sarila, Khilchipur (except goats), Akalkot (except goats) have prohibited Animal-Sacrifices.

Prohibition of Export of Milch and Agricultural Cattle.

The States of Bansda, Barwani, Chuda, Sarila, Sayla have prohibited the export of Milch and Agricultural Cattle.

Prohibition of the Slaughter of Milch and Agricultural Cattle.

The States of Gondal, Barwani, Akalkot, Bansda, Khilchipur, Chuda, Jamakhandi, Sarila, Sayla, Amrethi-Raj have prohibited the slaughter of Milch and Agricultural Cattle.

Pasture Grounds.

The States of Baroda, Gondal, Cambay, Khilchipur, Jamakhandi, Sarila, Dharampur, Bansda, Sayla have made adequate provisions for pasture grounds in their respective states.

Shooting.

The States of Gondal, Khilchipur and Jaora, have prohibited shooting for sports.

Cruelty to Animals.

Besides these many leading principle and petty Native States have passed laws against cruelty to animals, which are nearly similar to that in force in British India.

Industrial Development of India.

Prof. Gilbert Slater's second article on and in Bombay and Calcutta it was 409.6 and published in the Young with public Power mille respectively. CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Recorded to Hardwafactures. Says he: Industrial Development of South India, published in the Young Men of India, is

Manufacture is doubly dependent on agriculture and its kindred extractive industriesforestry, hunting, fishing, mining, and quarrying. From these it must receive the materials on which it works, and among the men who pursue these extractive industries it must find a large proportion of the consumers of its products, people who are willing in return to supply food as well as raw materials to the manufacturing population. A manufacturing country without agriculture and cut off from agricultural countries would be like the mythical group of families which lived by taking in one another's

This is the cardinal fact that has to be kept in mind in considering the problem of the development of manufacturing industries in India. It is possible for a country to so develop its manufacturing skill and efficiency as to be able to depend, for food, for raw materials, and for markets, upon other countries. Thus Lancashire obtains raw cotton from America and Egypt, and sells the manufactured product in India, China, South America, Africa, Europe, the United States and the British Colonies, and out of the payment for its labour buys grain and meat from all over the world to feed her operatives. But this is an exceptional feat, not easily imitated. So far as India is concerned, since it is on the one hand rich in natural resources, and on the other sustains a vast population, almost entirely by agriculture, it is wise to concentrate attention at first on forging links in industrial chains, at least one end of which is already here in India; and by preference in those of which both ends are here. In other words Indian enterprise should first apply itself to those manufacturing industries for which India itself supplies both the raw material and the market, and then to those for which India supplies either raw material or the market.

He gives a concrete example.

Some time ago I took a number of students over the Madras harbour. There we saw in the godowns waiting for export at one spot a great collection of raw skins and hides; and at another a great mass of tanning materials. My students felt disgusted and ashamed at this evidence of the lack of enterprise and efficiency of Indian industry. As the skins and hides are here, and the tanning materials also, why not tan the skins and hides before exporting them? And as under peace conditions India imports millions of pairs of boots and shoes annually, to say nothing of a great variety of other leather manufactures, why not retain out of these tanned skins and hides enough to supply India with all the boots and shoes required in the country?

What would be necessary if a group of Madras men resolved on entering upon the tanning and boot and shoe-making

They have two out of the necessary factor of production, (1) access to the necessary ran materials, (2) access to a sufficiently large market What else do they require? Four more factors three of which are immaterial, or I may say spiritual. They must have in the first place the enterprise to risk their capital resources, and the determination to go through with the undertaking to the end; they must have in the second place the intelligence to plan wisely, to choose the right site for their factory, to have it well designed, to enlist the right manager, sense. enough to discard the delusion that it is profit able to underpay employees; they must have in the third place sufficient honour and business morality to abstain from attempting to cheat one another, or the people with whom ther enter into business relations. And they must also have sufficient cash and credit to be able to buy land, erect buildings, equip them with plant and machinery, and employ labourers.

After the business has been started, there must be good management, which has two aspects, external and internal. The necessity of efficiency in the purchase of raw material and in the sale of the product is easily understood. But there must be efficient internal management too.

The essence of it is enthusiasm for good and efficient work. Just as a painter should rejoice in beauty of form and colour, and a musician in beauty of tone and rhythm, so a work manager should rejoice in smoothness and effectiveness of organization. Just as the painter hates falsity and crudity of colour, the works manager should hate waste,-waste of time waste of material, waste of bye-products, waste of space, and most of all, waste of human energy and working power. He must study the processes so that the journey of the material from tool point to tool-point, as it is subjected to different processes, shall be short, quick and easy; so that each tool works with the highest attainable efficiency; and a stainable efficiency; and a s efficiency; and so that power be used without waste. He must study the problems of lighting ventilation ventilation, minimising of noise, prevention dust and of noxious gases; he must, above a study the men whom he employs, selecting them grading them, and, if need be, shifting them from one task to another till each has work suited to another till each has work suited to his character and capacity.

By quoting the following figures for the pre-war year 1913-14, Prof. Slater shows what a big field manufacturing for industry there is in India.

In the first place we find imports of many factured cotton goods to the value of Rs. 66,5% industries in combination?

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imports of iron and steel goods came to Rs. imports, 000. Silk manufactures totalled Rs. 16,00,79,000. 16,00,79,000. matches Rs. 89, 65,000, paper Rs. 3,10,13,000, biscu its, cakes, patent goods and 1,58,77,000, biscu its, cakes, patent goods and preserved milk Rs. 1,34,07,000, soap Rs. 75,preserved and porcelain Rs. 75,-06,000, earthenware and porcelain Rs. 63,49,-000, and boots and shoes Rs. 79,26,000. The least important of these indicates an Indian market of over 60 lakhs per annum, affording quite sufficient scope for well organized business.

But intending manufacturers not be too imitative. Because some people are making money in a certain industry or business, it must not be supposed that the field for enterprise is unlimited. By way of illustrating his remarks Prof. Slater mentions the cases of too many rice-mills, too many tile-works, too many Insurance companies in some regions.

It is not good business to pay the lowest possible wages.

You will admit that the Americans know something about the art of making profits. There the manager is considered an able man, not because he pays the lowest, but because he pays the highest wage in his particular industry. You have heard no doubt of the Ford motor-cars, and that they are famous for four things, their great sale, their cheap price, the vast profits made by the manufacture, and the very high wages paid to the men who make them. Indian labour is extremely low paid.

There is seldom any valid excuse for the very low wages that are customary. In my opinion the wise employer, instead of trying to pay as small a wage as possible, will always pay a wage high enough to make the man who gets it value his job, and be anxious to keep it. And he will encourage as many as possible of the men whom he employs to try to do continually better world be employed to try to do continually better work by giving just and fair increases of

To the opinion expressed by some people that Indian labour is not cheap, because low as the wages are, the efficiency is lower still, the writer replies that "in particular sorts of work this may be so, but it is certainly not universally the Indian 1-1 a great variety of employments Indian labour is very efficient in proporthing to its cost, or what means the same thing, very cheap in proportion to its

It is not the inefficiency of the ordinary workman which is, in my opinion, the chief obstacle to Indian is, in my opinion, the chief opposition industrial progress, but the ineffi-the of the employing class And if policy is not a country doomed to poverty by lack of natural resources. It is rather a country doomed to poverty because it has not taken the trouble to acquire the mental and moral equipment necessary to escape from poverty.

Adulteration should be stopped. Government has a duty in the matter, and this duty should be performed by legislation and inspection. Government should impart technical education and start industries by way of demonstration.

The Labour Party and the British Universities.

Sir Michael Sadler writes in Indian Education:

The increasing cost of providing higher education, and especially in pure and applied science, has compelled the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge to apply for financial aid from Government. The Labour Party, dissatisfied by the virtual exclusion of the industrial classes from the older Universities by the high cost of studying there, has pressed the Government to set up Royal Commissions of inquiry into the organisation and financial position of Oxford and Cambridge. The Government have consented to give financial aid to educational work at the older Universities, but have taken the opportunity of announcing that they propose to appoint a Commission or Commissions to inquire into their government and resources.

What the Labour Party wants will be clear from the following passage:

The deputation from the Labour Party, which was received by the President of the Board of Education, laid stress on five points of policy. The deputation urged that every man and woman capable of pursuing an education at Oxford or Cambridge to good account should be able to obtain it. The second point urged by the Labour deputation was that, before granting public subsidies to Oxford and Cambridge, the State should satisfy itself that the existing resources are used with the utmost possible economy. The third aim of the Labour deputation was to overhaul the internal administration of the colleges, with a view to diminishing the cost of living. The speakers did not accuse college authorities of any deliberate policy of exclusiveness; but they insisted that strong and resolute pressure alone would reduce the cost of living in the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, and that such pressure ought to be exerted by indian is, in my opinion, the chief obstacle the Government, should not be excluded in the chief obstacle the employing class. And if this is collegiate life. The award of college scholarships obstacle it can be removed. India is and exhibitions was the fourth point upon

which the Labour deputation expressed an emphatic opinion. They protested against the award of scholarships by competitive examination without inquiry into the financial needs of the recipients. The fifth demand of the Labour deputation was for increased stringency in the educational control of Oxford and Cambridge in the national interest. They suggested that there should be created a central body, both at Oxford and Cambridge, which would have effective control over the whole of the revenues of the University and colleges alike and which would compel the colleges to accept whatever changes it thought well to impose in regard to the appointment of Lecturers and Fellows, and in the reduction of the cost of living.

The object aimed at by the Labour Farty, namely, that the highest university education should be accessible to all capable students irrespective of their pecuniary circumstances, is very laudable and its attainment indispensably necessary for national welfare, though opinions must differ as to the means to be adopted. It is to be noted that whereas in the British Isles efforts are being continually made to improve the quality of education and at the same time to make it less costly to the pupils, the tendency in India is to make education more and more expensive to the student.

"As Universities, Oxford and Cambridge should offer facilities for advanced study and research in all branches of investigation. Their laboratories and research institutes should be planned on a magnificent scale. Their libraries, already splendid, should be increased For these developments, nothing but very large national subsidies will suffice."

In India, advanced study and research in the universities suffer because Government is very niggardly in giving money

for these purposes.

The Women's Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge should receive subsidies from public funds, in order that they may increase their accommodation and be made available for a larger number of students, especially for those who need assistance in their University career.

Maintenance Allowances to Pupils from Public Funds.

In India a few scholarships are supposed to be sufficient to enable poor and able scholars to pursue their studies, thought the scholarships are open to rich and reality Kangarle terrepetrate was not

alike. In many Western countries, addition to education being free, poor pupils receive food also. In England, most recent means adopted for helpin poor children can be gathered from the following extract from Sir M. E. Sadler monthly article in Indian Education:

From the beginning of next April, the Board of Education will be prepared to pay to low education authorities an annual grant in aid expenditure which they may arrangements approved by the Board, in pm viding maintenance allowances for pupils secondary schools and in other institutions higher education, who are in need of assistant to enter upon courses of education or to complet them. The purpose of the grant is twofold. will make secondary schools and other institu tions of higher training generally accessible t children and young persons who show specia promise of profiting by prolonged education. will also enable the pupils in these institutions study long enough to obtain full benefit from the course which they undertake. The local author ities are asked to submit proposals to t Board before December 31, 1919. The Govern ment will pay a grant not greater than half t net expenditure of the local education author on this purpose. The allowances will be grant for maintenance alone, as distinct from the payment of tuition fees or of other charges man by the schools or institutions in respect of the pupils' education.

Our Paper Supply.

In his article on "Our Paper Industry in Commerce and Industries Rao Salu G. N. Sahasrabudhe says that the world? present consumes as much as 8 million tons of paper annually, Europe being largest consumer. Formerly when demand for paper was small, paper was made from rags, waste paper, &c. The came the use of esparto, wood, and other fibrous materials. The continually growing demand for paper resulted in remarkable expansion of the wood-pul industry in Europe, and wood has not been adopted as a substitute for 128 though for cheap grades of paper only Sweden is a large producer of mechanical and chemical wood-pulp.

Europe, and America have advanced paper industry to its present state as will together supply together supply nearly 80 per cent. forests Yet "succes fear is on fore exhaus Wit

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inced the s will b countre t. of the sweden and Norway, which have enormous forests of pulp wood, are the centres of the trade; while Germany, Austria, Russia in trade; and Southern and Western State in Europe and Southern and Western States in America, and the Dominion of Canada—all these have developed the pulp-industry as far as their forests would permit.

Yet it must be borne in mind that the "success" signalizes danger ahead, because a fear is rightly entertained that the present drain on forests would, after some years, result in the exhaustion of the resources.

With the spread of education, demand for paper would be on the increase, and scarcity of paper would mean a check on spread of education. Hence a new source of supply must be found. In India, bamboo is one of these new sources. The Titaghar paper mills now manufacture paper from bamboo and have erected new plant and machinery for the purpose. "Messrs. Turner, Morison & Co. have taken 7 years' lease of Kanara forests and will make paper from bamboos growing in the forests. The Hon. Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas of Bombay has established paper mills in Burma and another place." Messrs. Andrew Yule & Co. have applied to the Bengal Government for 21 years' lease of the bamboo forests in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. In 1914-15 India imported 51,390 tons of paper, and the 8 mills in India produce only about 30,000 tons. So even as matters stand, there is room for several more paper mills in India. Being an extensively illiterate country, there is bound to be a great expansion of education here, with a parallel increase of the demand for paper. So we must take time by the forelock and be the owners of all materials for paper-making and use these materials for making paper.

The Small Industries of India.

To the December number of the Bombay Co-operative Quarterly Mr. H. W. Wolff contributes a helpful article on the small industries of India. Says he:-

It is the dweller in the country, in his more or so isolated will are two to less isolated weller in the country, in his more cultivate, who needs small industry, though not cultivated village, with a field or two probably, as a rule small industry, though not a small industry, though but probably, who needs small industry, thoughts as a rule, as a main employment, but make nearly as a main employment, but fill up time which he would otherwise waste, and

earn him some additional rupees. How usefully cottage industries, as they have been called, may act in this way we see in many parts of Europe. However, the classic country for small industry -which in this case includes fishing-appears to be Japan. There small industry and fishing fill up a large space in the country's production and draw much money into the humble homes of poor but industrious people.

He adds:

India is not far distant from Japan. It has a population very similarly circumstanced. Why should not the rayat, with his minute parcel of land, do as does the Japanese peasant, who ekes out a living, by the side of what his all too small holding will render, by fishing, basket-work or some similar by-occupation? India, no less than Japan, is the land especially of small industries. There are numbers of them. Mr. Ewbank some time ago gave us the number of those who practise them in the Bombay Presidency. Professor Mukherjee counts up a considerable variety of such industries in his book, "The Co-operative Movement in India". Mr. Chatterjee has a long catalogue of them to give in his report on the United Provinces. The evidence given before the Indian Industrial Commission—only just made public in England —is full of references to them.

One is relieved to read Mr. Wolff's opinion that in the competition with power industry,

There is no fear whatever that small industry would not be able to hold its own-provided that its devotees select the right class of articles to manufacture. Power industry is indeed increasing rapidly and making a great show of its growth. However, small industry is advancing no less steadily, although with less of reclame and blowing of trumpets.

Mr. Wolff then enumerates some rather formidable adverse conditions, which are not insurmountable. One is a want of technical skill. There is also lack of money wherewith to purchase raw materials or tools, or else to store goods or hold them over in times of slumps. Here Co-operation may provide a remedy. The most serious difficulty is that of finding a market for the products turned out. The writer rightly suggests that the producers should study the purchasers' tastes and needs and adapt their production to them, instead of considering their own tastes and facilities for production. Co-operation a make-penny supplementate of provided the would otherwise waste, and a make small industry, though not may overcome the united the united to make the united to make

regards the European market, the friends of Indian small industries should note that the goods sent must be such as a European public would be likely to buy. The things which the Japanese send in Europe are articles of general utility whereas hitherto Indians have sent mainly knickknackery. It should not be so,

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

"Islam after the War."

The New Europe has an article on "Islam after the War" which begins by asking: "What is going to be our policy toward Islam under the new conditions after the War?" The answer is to be found in the writer's own summing up of "the argument of this article" "in two closely related

propositions", of which the first is

1. The settlement between Turkey and her European neighbors (Armenia, Bulgaria, Greece) ought to be made, as far as it lies with us, on the same principle as to the other national and territorial settlements in Europe, without being prejudiced by general Islamic considerations. This is not the place for detailed recommendations but it may be the place for detailed recommendations. tions, but it may be suggested that Thrace, as a district from which a previous Greco-Bulgarian majority has been forcibly expelled by the Turks since the Balkan War, and Constantinople with the zone of the straits, as an area of very mixed population and extreme international importance, ought both to be detached from the Turkish State; while Smyrna, which as a port and a railway centre is probably as important to Anatolia as Danzig is to Poland, ought to remain attached as closely to Turkey as Danzig has been attached to Poland by the Peace Conference. If the considerable Greek population which this line of settlement would leave in Turkey could not be protected sufficiently without placing the Turkey Covernment under some bind of inter-Turkish Government under some kind of international control, we ought not to be deterred from this any more than from depriving Turkey of Constantinople, by the motive of placating Moslem sentiment elsewhere.

If "a district from which a previous majority has been forcibly expelled" or, worse still, almost exterminated, should be restored to the survivors or kindred of that majority then the United States and Canada ought to be given back to the surviving Red Indians, and Australia to

the hands of the Turks in the 14th and 15th Centuries. America was discovered not occupied, by Europeans towards the close of the 15th century, and Australia was discovered, not occupied, in the seventeenth century. So, if it can be suggested that Thrace be restored, it can with equalius tice be suggested that America and Austra lia be restored to the original inhabitants.

The writer's second proposition is :-

2. We must be prepared for a vigorous movement on the part of all Moslems in the British Empire—a movement for political se expression through combined action. It would be a grave mistake to imagine that we can avert or tone down this movement by dealing generously with Turkey. Whatever is don't with Turkey, this movement will take plan because Turkey is anyway now incapable performing the real services to Islam expected of her by Moslem opinion, and Moslems under European rule will feel that the preservation of Islamic society now depends on themselves It is surely possible for them to satisfy the newly realized need without a collision (which in these circumstances might be disastrons between them and us. But that chiefly depend upon our courage and wisdom and good wo our power to understand their need and sym pathize with it and do our part in securing it satisfaction. Here again any detailed exposition of policy would be too ambitious for this article but it may be suggested that the idea European rule in the East as a 'mandate', which has been struck out at the Peace Conference as a corollary to the League of Nations, singularly fruitful for the solution of the Part cular problem under discussion. For if this ideal could be made the guiding spirit of European administration in Eastern Mosley administration in Eastern countries, Mosley opinion might be relieved of the fear that European penetration in the fear that European penetration is incompatible with the preservation of telescompatible with preservation of Islamic society, and might accept that outside assistance without which it is hardly possible for Islam to accomplish the control of the con the surviving Maoris. Thrace passed into CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukulikantre outed omstatiska of reform, but which cannot be surviving to the surviving Maoris.

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send to utility t main be rendered effectively unless it is willingly

received. What proof is there to show that "European rule in the East as a 'mandate' will be better than what European rule in the East hitherto has been? Domineering over and exploiting others in the name of political philanthrophy cannot for ever deceive and satisfy even Asiatics.

"Queer Trades."

Among the followers of "queer trades" mentioned by Richard Whiteing in the Manchester Guardian are 'So-and-so, Maker of Batons to the Marshals of France', 'Soand-so, Baby-pacifier Maker', makers of Chin-straps, makers of 'Invicta', makers of 'Egg-Guillotines', house-breakers (not the criminals of that name, but those worthy persons who are seen, pick in band, perched on the top of a naked wall, for the demolition of a house), &c. Of all these Mr. Whiteing writes with enjoyable kindly humour. The largest space, however, is devoted to the matrimonial agent, whom he introduces by saying, "some trades are both odd and sinister". We do not know what he would have said if he had known how in India match-makers help to bring about marriages between female children and boys, young men and sometimes old men, too, on the basis of what are really bride-prices or bride-groom-prices. Of the British matrimonial agent the writer says:

The matrimonial agent might seem a needless intrusion on private enterprise, yet he flourishes for all that—perhaps as a useful contrivance for sparing the library as a useful contrivance for sparing the blushes of fools. He is the go-between of the man or woman in search of a partner for the inlife in exchange for a fortune or a title. The impecunious count or a tortune or a title. the bargain and or baron stands for one side of the bargain, and the widow or what-not with plenty of hard cash for the other. The agent brings them together in strict confidence, and with a covenanted arrangement of the other. The agent of them together in strict confidence, and with a covenanted arrangement for commission in the event of success LL hard for it event of success. He has to work hard for it sometimes; it is by no means first come first served. The pobles no means first come for Served. The nobleman may still hold out for good looks or the remains of them, the lady for the firm, as they have consistently to be prothe firm, as they have occasionally to be pro-

system of love over the counter, and troop to the office as demurely as if they were engaged in a bank. The 'parties' arrive in due course for the ordeal of the first glance. If they take their leave jointly, all is well; if severally, private detectives, male and female, are at hand for the chance of a job.

Match-making between parties both of whom are elderly or, at any rate, adults, seems more unnatural than between parties both of whom are minors or young.

Preaching International Morality without Practising It.

The Living Age of Boston, U.S.A, quotes the following from the Yamato of Japan:-

We venture to advise America to adopt the . principle of self-determination in Hawaii.

America ought to give complete independence to the Philippines, if it is impossible to return that territory to Spain, which formerly owned The American Government has already expressed its willingness to make the Philippines independent, and independence is most earnestly wanted by the majority of the Filipinos. The American Government should, therefore, carry out the plan for independence without any further loss of time. This would fit in with President Wilson's principle and with the opinions expressed in the United States Senate.

If America clamors for the independence of the places owned by other countries, without taking any steps regarding the territory she has formerly taken from other countries, it means that she is doing wrongs herself while rebuking other countries. Is it not easier to make one's own territory independent than the territory owned by others?

If Americans really mean to claim independence for Korea and Ireland, they should return to Mexico not only California, Texas, Kansas, Utah, and Nevada, which were captured from Mexico, but also a part of Wyoming, Arizona, Colorado, and New Mexico.

If it is true that America has asked the Omsk Government for the lease of Kamchatka, she should agree to the Japanese Government leasing some areas or islands in Mexico or other countries.

Otherwise, the action of Americans in clamoring for independence for the territories of other countries and in bandying the principle of justice and humanity will be regarded as hypocritical; it will be taken for granted that Americans delight in the disturbance of peace in other

duced in court, have occasionally to be proto to America, we urge the countant. The toil-worn clerks with baffle a chartered action of the League of Nations Japan should bring are wholly free of any sense of absurdity in this principle of self-determination in Hawaii and

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THE MODERN REVIEW FOR JANUARY, 1920

the Philippines. This proposal will prove an acid taste of America's so-called principle of justice and humanity.

This is quite delightful. All Imperial nations must of necessity be masters of self-righteous hypocrisy. The British, the Japanese, the Italians, etc., want independence for the dependencies of other countries than their own. As for the Americans, this at least can and should be said in their favour that they have promised independence to the Filipinos and advanced them more than half-way towards that goal. It will be time for the Japanese to preach to the Americans when they have promised complete independence to Formosa and Korea and granted them internal autonomy like that which the Filipinos now

The Hindu View of Life.

In an article on "The Hindu View of Life" contributed to The Open Court of Chicago Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar shows that the Hindu view of life, regarding things material and immaterial, is not so very different from the Christian, Occidental and other views of life, as is generally supposed. He asks: "What is the characteristic oriental way of looking at things? Is it mysticism or the cult of the Eternal and Hereafter?" and answers: "There have been in Europe also mystics or 'seers' of the Infinite, as many and as great as in Asia, from the earliest times till today." He names Pythagoras, who believed in the transmigration of the soul, preached the esoteric doctrine of numbers, was a vegetarian, and believed in general abstinence and ascetic mortification of the flesh. Plato's 'idealism' also was mystical as much as the monism of the contemporary Upanishads of India and Taoists of China.

Other-worldliness and Sanyasism (renunciation of the world) do not form part of Hinduism alone. Christ taught: "My kingdom is not this world;" "He that loveth father or mother more than we is not worthy of me;" "If any man cometh unto me candinhatet bomant duisku kafet ironshirid daridwar father and mother and wife and children,

he cannot be my disciple." He said that any one was smitten on one cheek, he should turn the other cheek to the aggressor Such extreme non-resistance and passivism was probably never preached in India. A his political teaching was, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's," h may be considered the greatest of passivist and submissivists.

Plotinus (third century A. D.), the greates neo-Platonist, was a mystical pantheist. I actually practised Yogic exercises by which hoped to attain union with the "ultimate principle", the highest God of all. The monasticism celibacy, nunnery, and notions about "the world the flesh, and the devil", the "seven deadly sins" etc., of Christianity have been practically uni versal in the Western world. They have had too long a sway to be explained away as and dental, or adventitious, or imported, or unassimilated overgrowths. Spiritualistic "self-real zation" was the creed of many a transcent entalist denomination in Europe during the Middle Ages. To the English Puritans, emmusic and sports were taboo. The painters of the romantic movement in Germany, e. g., Co nelius, Overbeck, etc., fought shy of women at preached that all artists should be monks.

Plato in his Phaedo speaks of the universe as a living creature in very trut possessing soul and reason. Virgil (Aned Bk. vi, 96 ff. had a similar belief. Goether Earth-Spirit is a personification of the active, vital forces of nature.

This doctrine makes Plato, Virgil, and Gott virtually Hindu Vedantists. How, then, do European mentality differ from Hindu? According ing to the Vedantists, the world originates of Brahma (Self), the absolute Reality, the absolute Intelligence, the absolute Bliss. To the same Group land the same group l same group belongs also Browning with message of immortality of soul or continuity of life-energy. of life-energy:

"Fool! all that is, at all, Lasts ever, past recall; Earth changes, but thy soul and God star sure: What entered into thee That was, is, and shall be;

Time's wheel runs back or stops: Potter at clay endure."

The whole stanza can be bodily transferd into a section of the Hindu Geeta. The English sons of America also disprove the notion "transcendentalism" is an Oriental monopoly.

Mr. Sarkar then takes the other st

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point or philosophy of Eur-America? Is it point or philosophy, or, to be more definite, secularism, optimism, or, to be more definite, militarism? But, this has not been the monopoly of the Western world. Hindu culture has always been an expression of humanism, positivism and other isms following from it as much as Hellenic, European and American culture.

Taking militarism first the writer shows that Hindustan started the cult of Kshatriyism and proves by giving details of the armies of Chandragupta Maurya, Krishna of Vijayanagara, etc. that the Hindus were masters of military organisation. Hindu Kshatriyaism (equivalent to Japanese Bushido) had a "spiritual" sanction, too, as the following passage from Shookraneeti shows :-

"The death of Kshatriyas (warriors) in the bed is a sin......Cowardice is a miserable sin..... people should not regret the death of the brave man who is killed at the front. The man is purged and delivered of all sins and attains heaven. The fairies of the other world vie with each other in reaching the warrior who is killed in battle in the hope that he be their husband."

The Hindus had as great a desire for the good things of this earth,-life, strength, general well-being, and material possessions -as any other people. For the gratification of this desire they engaged in various kinds of industry and commerce, traded with Egypt, Mesopotamia, Syria, Persia, the Roman Empire, China, &c., colonized the islands of the Indian Ocean, and established a sphere of influence comprising Japan on the east and Madagascar on the African coast. They were masters of the art of ship-building and naval architecture. Some of the ancient Hindu ships could accommodate from 300 to even 1500 pas-

In the fifteenth century, according to Nicolo Conti, the Hindus could build ships larger than the European 2000 than the Europeans, capable of containing 2000 butts and with any masts. butts and with five sails and as many masts. One of the Hindu ships on its way to the Red Sea, in 1612 Sea, in 1612, was 153 ft. long, 42 ft. beam, 31 ft. deep and was of 1500 tons burden. The English ships of that of 1500 tons burden at ships of that date were 300 or 500 tons at

The industrial genius of the Hindus was not hausted in the Hindus was not exhausted in ancient and medieval times. Even in 1811 the Dancient and medieval times. in 1811 the Frenchman Solvyns wrote in his Les Hindous about their efficiency as naval engineers and architects: "In ancient times the Indians of the line of the l

offer models to Europe-so much so that the English, attentive to everything which refers to naval architecture, have borrowed from the Hindus many improvements which they have adapted with success to their own shipping... The Indian vessels unite elegance and utility, and are models of patience and fine workman-

The Hindus distinguished themselves not only in warfare, naval organization, industrial and commercial enterprize and colonizing adventure, but in empire-building civic organization and municipal administration also. This the writer proves by giving details from authoritative sources. Nor were the Hindus backward in providing charitable institutions, colleges, monasteries, free hospitals, &c.

The same genius for organization and administration has been displayed by the Hindus in the management of their great universities to which scholars flocked from all parts of Asia. The university of Nalanda in Bihar (Eastern India) was run for at least seven hundred years, from the fifth to the twelfth century A. D. The number of halls in it was 300 and that of scholars 5000. It was a residential-teaching university and gave instruction, room, board and medicine free of any cost whatsoever.

The Hindus had their parishats or academies, and institutions and gatherings similar to the Amphictyonic Leagues and Olympic institutions, the Council of Trent, &c. The very large religious congresses known as Kumbha Melas originated in remote antiquity and are still held. Despotism, servility, internecine warfare, feudalistic disintegration, absence of national unity, arbitrary taxation and legislation, aggrandisement, republics, territorial corporations, guilds, folkmotes, checks on the king's arbitrary exercise of power,these are to be found in European and Indian history alike.

American Religious Cults.

Landmark has an article on "American Religious Cults" in which are noticed three religious movements, conspicuous in the United States, whose common aim is an improved practice rather than a clarified thought, namely, Christian architects: "In ancient times the Indians Science, Higher Thought, and Spiritual the present Hindus can in Chair Public Bonein Still kill Kerme Contents in religious endeavour is characteristical for the still be present Hindus can in Chair Public Bonein Still kill Kerme Contents in religious endeavour is characteristical for the still kill kerme Contents in the still kerme Co terised by the writer in the passage quoted below.

Broadly speaking, the pessimism and fatigue of the Old World is being balanced by that religion of healthy-mindedness which flourishes in the New World. American sare proverbially practical, and we are inclined to be speculative. We want a consistent theory, and they want things done. We have been trained to otherworldliness, and they want this world improved, and the Kingdom of God set up on earth. Hence they insist that religion must deliver the goods here and now. It must show us how to cure the diseases of the mind, or, if they are found incurable, how to bear them with courage and humor. It may be right to say with Brownning that God is in His heaven, but it is called on imperiously to bring Him down to earth, so that all there may be well.

Village Industries.

In the Economist there is an encouraging article on village industries which should be read in connection with Mr. H. W. Wolff's article on Indian small industries summarised elsewhere. What is said in the Economist may prove very useful to us provided we adapt its advice to Indian conditions. It is rightly said:

Rural life hitherto has been not only weak socially, but also economically. Its rejuvenation and revival must be sought first and foremost by economic methods, that is, by the restoration and development of country arts, handicrafts, and industries. Although what are called social or recreational amenities must doubtless also play a part, they are in the nature of an ornamental fringe rather than basic and fundamental. If a larger proportion of our people are to live in the country, they must first of all find work there rather than pianos. It is likely enough that reorganized and improved agriculture-more intensive, more scientific, more enterprising-will, after all, constitute the most powerful lever in rural revival; but since in any such improved and better organized agriculture village industries must take a prominent posi-tion, it still remains true that the restoration and growth of such industry is a vital element in rural reconstruction.

Village industries may be roughly classified as (a) those directly connected with agriculture, and (b) those more or less independent of agriculture. The former would include such pursuits as cheese and butter making, manufacture of jams and preserves, while the latter would include the manufacture of toys, metal wares, taxtiles, furniture and wood carvings, lace, and carpets. Another division is, on the one

time occupation by agricultural workers, and on the other hand, as a full time occupation an entirely separate class of workers. would, of course, be several intermediate grade between the two divisions: in other words, certain industry could be carried on in a village as a full time occupation for some and as a pan time occupation for others. In any case, the social and economic life of the village would be greatly stimulated, resulting in increase prosperity all round. In those countries, like Norway, Switzerland, and example, where these industries are well establish ed, they furnish an appreciable addition to the income of the agricultural worker and hisfamily It is obvious that the agricultural worker has a great deal of spare time, especially in winter This fact has been well realized in certain parts of Canada, where village industries have been organized to give employment in the long dark winter evenings. Developments in this direction could be closely associated with the renaissand of industrial art and handicraft.

Village industries are not necessarily small-scale industries.

Village industries of to-day can be organized on as large a scale as may be desired. This needs to be strongly emphasized, for it is the kernel of the whole business. The whole of the village industries in the country could be controlled, if need be, by one central authority but probably it would be better to organize them by country, or district, or class, like the Buckinghamshire lace industry, or the Bedfordshire straw-plaiting. The toy-making industry or the small metal-ware industry could be grouped in their respective classes and controlled by one central body which would buy the rammaterial and sell the product. Indeed, large-scalindustry of the towns, as we know it to-day is not without examples of great conglomerations of individual units or branches.

Village industry and town industry can be carried on in co-operation with each other.

Apart from all this, the predominance of large-scale industry has been grossly exaggerated. Factory statistics show that the number of workers employed in small factories employing fifty or less workers, exceeds the number employed in the much-vaunted large factories. Many of these small businesses are strong and vigorous, and have no intention of being swallowed up in 'economic progress'.

The advantages and feasibility of the supply of electric power to villages is next dwelt upon.

and carpets. Another division is, on the one another powerful agent which are carried on as a management of rural industries which are carried on as a management of rural industries which should greatly the company of the carried on the carried o

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that agent is electricity. Another possible field for the application of electricity in the rural revival is the electroculture of plants and electrification of seeds; for if all the great possibilities indicated by the experiments so far carried out are ultimately realized, electro-culture should prove of the greatest benefit in that intensive farming which must be a prominent feature in rural organization, and constitute the basis of other important auxiliary industries.

The revival of village industries will, of course, depend largely on other cognate branches of reconstruction and social activity, such as education, housing, transport, and electrical plants. Scientific research will also be needed in many of the industries.

Rabindranath Tagore and Bernard Houghton (I. C. S., Retired) on Ireland, Egypt and India.

The following letter, which we read months ago in the weekly edition of the Hindu of the 15th May, 1919, has been reproduced in the August-September number of the Philippine Review with some prefatory editorial remarks which also are quoted below:

Recent uprisings in Ireland, Egypt and Indiaall countries under Great Britain—have graced the war's aftermath, so that students of colonial governments have become rather suspicious that there is something rotten in the governmental machineries that operate therein. However, Sir Rabindranath Tagore in his letter to a friend remarks that the defects may be found, not in the make-up of the government but in the men that run the government. His letter follows

Shantiniketan, April 25, 1919.

DEAR FRIEND, Most of the Anglo-Indian papers are crying for more blood. They are sure that there are some mischief mal. They are sure that there are some mischiefmakers behind the present disturbances. Certainly there are. But who are they? Serious disturbances have taken place in all three countries where the tries where the British have their way—Ireland, Egypt and Indiantish have their way—Ireland, sypt and India respectively, containing three different peoples respectively, containing three different peoples widely different in their civilization, temperament and tradition. Is it unthinkable that the mission tradition. somewhere in the mischief-maker may be lurking which they somewhere in the common element which they all have, namely the common element which governs all have, namely, the one people which governs

them? It is not in the system of government or the law but in the men entrusted with the carrying on of the government, the men who have not the imagination or sympathy truly to know the people whom they rule, the men who imagine that it is their material power which carries its own permanence in itself, and that therefore the eternal truths of human nature and moral providence can be ignored in its favour. It is evident that these people in their blind pride will ever go on seeking for the source of mischief outside themselves, and easily succeed in catching some stray dog to give it a bad name and hang This will only prolong their period of harboring the mischief in their own person and driving it deeper into their constitution. It is the same kind of ignorance of the eternal laws which primitive peoples show when they hunt for some so-called witch to which they ascribe the cause of their illness while carrying the disease germs in their own blood. It is quite easy for them to torture and burn the witch and dance the devil-dance with proper ceremony, but the disease will continue and they will have to make costly provisions for more burning of witches and more orgies of frightfulness.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

In an article on "Ireland, Egypt, and India", published in India (London), dated May 2, 1919, Mr. Bernard Houghton (I.C.S., Retired) says in part:

In logic there is a canon of induction called the canon of agreement and difference, which leads to no uncertain conclusion. It is:

"If two or more instances in which a phenomenon occurs have only one other circumstance in common, while two or more instances in which it does not occur have nothing in common but the absence of that circumstance—the circumstance in which alone the two sets of instances differ throughout is the effect or the cause or an indispensable part of the cause of the phenomenon."

To particularise: Amongst the civilised peoples of the Empire, since Canada, South Africa, and Australia with a healthy political life have only self-government in common, whilst Ireland, Egypt, and India, where the reverse condition obtains, have nothing in common but the absence of self-government, self-government is for them the cause or an indispensable part of the cause of a healthy political life. Here is the remedy, here the grand clixir for their ills, which only blindness can refuse or folly deny.

Have you come to me as my sorrow ? CC-0. In Pulling Demail of Cultury Kangeil Gollectiony Haridwar -RABINDRANATH TAGORE, Crossing.

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NOTES

Bill of Rights.

In our last number we drew attention to the absence of all constitutional guarantees of the primary rights of citizens from the Government of India Bill such as those embodied in the "Jones Law" granting self-government to the Philippines. We further said that such a guarantee of the elementary rights of citizenship is not unusual in Acts granting self-government. In chapter xxxvii, Part II, Vol. I, of Lord Bryce's American Commonwealth we have an account of the constitutions of the various states of the American union. There it is said that a constitution is divided into five parts, of which the Bill of Rights is one. It contains an enumeration of the citizen's primordial rights to liberty of person and security of property. Several of these declarations are quoted, and "considering that all danger from the exercise of despotic power upon the people of the States by the executive has long since vanished," surprise is expressed that "these assertions of the rights and immunities of the individual citizen as against the state should continue to be repeated in the instruments of to-day." But the Americans still consider them to be "safeguards against tyranny; and they serve the purpose of solemnly reminding a state legislature and its officers of those fundamental principles which they ought never to overstep." If the freest people in the world still consider such guarantees to be necessary, how much more must they be so in the case of India, assumed to be just emerging from the shackles of absolute autocracy, though the Government of India Bill has not broken any of our chains. Lord Bryce says:

"The Bill of Rights is historically the most interesting part of these constitutions, for it is the legitimate child and representative of Magna Carta, and of those other declarations and enactments, down to the Bill of Rights of the Acros of 1 William and Mary, special population Petrols Cartal

liberties of Englishmen have been secured. Most of the thirteen colonies when they asserted the independence and framed their constitution inserted a declaration of the fundamental right of the people, and the example then set has been followed by the newer states, and, indeed, by the states generally in their most recent constitutions."

Extracts from Lord Bryce's book relating to this topic are printed below.

"Louisiana (constitution of 1898) declare that 'all government, of right, originates with the people, is founded on their will alone, and instituted solely for the good of the people. It only legitimate end is to secure justice to all preserve peace, and to promote the interest are happiness of the people.'

"A large majority of the states declare the 'all men have a natural, inherent, and inalice able right to enjoy and defend life and liberty and all of these, except the melancholy Missour add the 'natural right to pursue happiness."

"All in one form or another secure the freedomer of writing and speaking opinions, and some at that the truth of a libel may be given to evidence.

"Nearly all secure the freedom of public me" ing and petition.

"Many forbid the creation of any title"

"Many declare that the right of citizens bear arms shall never be denied.....

"Several forbid armed men to be brought in the State 'for the suppression of domest violence'....

"Most provide that conviction for treas" shall not work corruption of blood nor forfeith

"Many declare the right of trial by jury to

"Some forbid imprisonment for debt, except case of fraud, and secure the acceptance of reasonable bail except for the grayant charges."

able bail, except for the gravest charges.....

"North Carolina declares that 'as politically and privileges are not dependent upon modified by property, no property qualification ought to affect the right to vote or office'.....

"Maryland (constitution of 1867) declared that 'a long continuance in the execution departments of power or trust is dangerous liberty; a rotation, therefore, in those ments is one of the best securities of permanents freedom."

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the constitution of Oklahama which is given in extenso in the Appendix to Vol. I. by way of sample :-

PREAMBLE

Section 10:-All political power is inherent in the people; and Government is instituted for their protection, security and benefit, and to promote their general welfare; and they have the right to alter or reform the same whenever the public good may require it: Provided, such change be not repugnant to the constitution of the United States.

Section 11 :- All persons have the inherent right to life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness, and the enjoyment of the gains of their own industry.

Section 12:- The people have the right peaceably to assemble for their own good, and to apply to those invested with the powers of government for redress of grievances by petition, address, or remonstrance.

Section 13:—No power, civil or military, shall ever interfere to prevent the free exercise of the right of suffrage by those entitled to such right...

Section 15 :- [Courts of justice open, speedy remedy].

Section 16:-No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process

Section 17:-All persons shall be bailable by sufficient sureties, except for capital offenses when the proof of guilt is evident, or the presumption thereof is great.

Section 18:-Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel or unusual punishments inflicted.

Section 19:-The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall never be suspended by the authorities of this State.....

Section 23:-The military shall be held in strict subordination to the civil authorities.....

Section 28:-The right of trial by jury shall be and remain inviolate.....

Section 29:—In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall have the right to a speedy and public trial to have the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury.....He shall be informed of the accusainformed of the nature and cause of the accusation against he nature and cause of the accusation against hereof and tion against him and have a copy thereof, and be confronted with the witnesses against him, and have and have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his behalf. He shall have the right

to be heard by himself and counsel..... Section 30:—No person shall be compelled to ve evidence:—No person shall be incriminate give evidence which will tend to incriminate him....nor shall any person, after having been once acquitted by in the acquired by in the acquired by in the acquired by the once acquitted by jury, be again put in jeopardy of life or liberty for that of which he has been acquitted. Not obtain that of which he twice put acquitted. Nor shall any person be twice put Section 31. The liberty for the same offense. Section 31 :- Every person may freely speak, ite or publich being person all subjects write or publish his sentiments on all subjects responsible for the control of th being responsible for the abuse public restrain or

abridge the liberty of speech or of the press. In all criminal prosecutions for libel, the truth of the matter alleged to be libelous may be given in evidence to the jury

Section 35: The right of a citizen to keep and bear arms in defense of his home, person or property, or in aid of the civil power, when thereunto legally summoned, shall never be prohibited, but nothing herein contained shall prevent the legislature from regulating the carrying of weapons

Section 38:—No person shall be transported out of the State for any offense committed within the State, nor shall any person be transported out of the State for any purpose, without his consent, except by due process of law.....

Section 39: The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches or seizures shall not be violated; and no warrant shall issue but upon probable cause supported by oath or affirmation, describing as particularly as may be the place to be searched and the person or thing

Section 41:—Perpetuities and monopolies are contrary to the genius of a free government, and shall never be allowed, nor shall the law of primogeniture or entailments ever be in force in this State.

Section 42:- The enumeration in this constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny, impair or disparage others retained by the people.

Statutory safeguarding of the primary rights of citizens is not confined to Western countries or to islands under Western guardianship. According to the Calcutta Weekly Notes, as quoted by the Bengalee, the draft constitution of China contains the provision that the citizens shall not be "arrested, tried or punished, or fined, except in accordance with the law," and if detained, may apply for a writ of habeas "The inviolability of residence corpus. correspondence, freedom of speech and writing and the right of assembly for a lawful purpose are provided for. In the performance of their duties, members of Parliament are entitled to full freedom of speech in Parliament and to exemption from arrest."

The Accoustical Knowledge of the Ancient Hindus.

At the annual science convention presided over by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee many papers of scientific interest were read. On the first day Prof. C. V. Raman delivered kangi Collection, Haridwathe Accoustical knowledge

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of the Ancient Hindus" illustrated by experiments and lantern slides. It proved quite interesting. He succeeded in showing by experimental demonstration that the "Mridanga differed entirely from any of the instruments of percussion known to physicists in Europe and a scientific examination of it showed that the ancient Hindus, to whom presumably its design is to be ascribed, must have possessed acoustical knowledge of a very advanced type."

Excise and Provincial Responsibility.

As, except in Assam and in the matter of opium, the Indian ministers in the provinces are, according to the Government of India Act, to have charge of excise as a transferred subject, the people are going to become directly responsible for excise policy and administration. The temperance associations all over the country should be up and doing to see that intemperance gradually diminishes aud ultimately disappears. The loss of revenue must also be made good by the development of the resources of the country and thereby increasing its tax-bearing capacity.

Two Pamphlets on Panjab Affairs.

The evidence given before the Disorders Enquiries Committee helps one to form some idea of recent events in the Panjab and of the psychology and mentality of Panjab officials, civil and military. Most of this evidence is official or given under official influence and inspiration. As there is now little probability of much truly nonofficial evidence being placed before the Hunter Committee, the importance of two recently published pamphlets on situation in the Panjab, written by two non-official gentlemen, has become all the greater for a right understanding of the state of affairs in that afflicted province. We refer to (1) The Present Situation with special reference to the Panjab Disturbances, by Mr. Alfred Nundy, Barrister-at-Law, Dehradun, and (2) "Open Rebellion in the Panjab" (with special reference to Amritsar)

Abhyudaya Press, Allahabad. All who wish to understand the situation aright ought to read these two pamphlets.

The Hunter Committee and the Congress Sub-Committee.

This Note was written for our last issue.]

The Panjab Enquiry Sub-Committee of the Congress has rightly decided not to appear or lead evidence before the Hunter Committee.

It weighed every consequence, but it felt that if it was to discharge the trust laid upon it, ifit was to vindicate national honour and the honour of the great Punjab leaders, if it was to see truth and innocence established, it could not possibly engage in an inquiry in which the people's party was so heavily handicapped. It must be remembered that officials are as much upon their trial as the leaders. But not only are Government officials free to appear before Lord Hunter's Committee but also In the words of the Government counsel. Congress Committee's letter to Lord Hunter, it cannot be expected to be a party to a position under which Government officials whose acts are under review, can freely appear before the Committee, when the people's representative whose acts are equally under review are not allowed to appear even as prisoners under cus

For similar reasons, as stated in a letter from Messrs. M. M. Malaviya and C. R. Das to Mr. Chief Secretary Thompson from which we quote below, Dr. Satyapal decided not to appear before the Hunter Committee:

(1) That he was not allowed to be present in the Committee room during the period that official witnesses gave evidence against him.

(2) That he had not been given an opportunity to instruct Counsel to cross-examinations witnesses.

(3) That reasonable opportunity was not given for a satisfactory presentation of the people's case before the Committee.

As the Hunter Committee has been foredoomed to futility, by the passing of the Indemnity, Immunity or Impunity Act, in what ought to be the main object of such committees, viz., bringing about the punishment of official wrong-doers nothing practically has been lost by not official evidence not being placed before it.

The Governor of Bengal on Oriental Art.

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produced under the auspices of the Indian School of Oriental Art were put on view contains some remarkable admissions. Western education was decided upon by William Bentinck's Government because "they wanted Indians who were as nearly as possible the equivalent of the English clerk", and the present remarkable development of education "was not the result of deliberate purpose." The "root cause of the Indian unrest" is a "clash of ideals," [We may have to say something on this diagnosis of unrest in India], "the struggle of the Indian ideal against extinction." The Indian School of Painting "is a national movement, the fair flower of an indigenous growth which excites the interest and sympathy of Government, but which would most assuredly wither into decay, were we to endeavour to bring it under Government control." In this passage we have the recognition of the fact that genuine national movements do not thrive under State control.

Regarding Indian art in particular the following extract will be read interest :-

"We have the practical cessation of Indian artistic activity at the time of low national vitality when the impact of Western civilisation carried everything before it. Then we have the gradual awakening of the sleeping Indian spirit the feeling of unrest which first pondered upon, and then challenged the teaching given in the schools of Art established by Western agency on Western lines. How strong were the fetters of the Western tradition is shown by the paintings of the late Raja Ravi Varma who sought to give expression to Indian ideals, but could not free himself of the Band ideals, but could have had himself of the European style which he had imbibed. Then came the heralds of a real renaissance when Messrs. Gaganendra Nath Tagore, inspired by an instinct which insisted upon asserting itself, broke away from the Western tradition and gave birth to the modern school of Indian painting."

Lord Ronaldshay proceeds to explain why he takes this deep personal interest from the painting the painting the painting in the school of Bengali painting in the painting from the particular merits of the painting itself. I social in the particular merits of the painting itself. itself, I see in it a perfectly legitimate field where the unit a perfectly legitimate field where the unrest of spirit from which India has been and still is suffering may leaven with a results." Then his I wholly commendable results."

profound sympathy with the unrest, due to the struggle of the Indian ideal against extinction, and says that though he has been obliged sternly to condemn many of its more regrettable manifestations, not all forms of Indian self-assertion are repugnant to him. "Throughout the whole wide sphere of art I am in profound sympathy with the spirit of Indian unrest. As a result of it I look forward to seeing the peculiar genius of the Indian people finding renewed expression in an artistic language of its own."

It is thus quite clear that art is a form of Indian self-assertion which is not repugnant to the Governor of the province. But has His Excellency stopped to consider what is the kind of soil necessary for true art to flourish? If he had, perhaps he would not be so ready to express his profound sympathy, for it would have brought him directly into touch with other forms of Indian self-assertion which, we believe, he would he disposed to regard, from the point of view of an alien government, as more questionable. Rabindranath Tagore says in his essay, "What is Art?" (Personality, page 11) "Man has a fund of emotional energy which is not all occupied with his self-preservation. This surplus seeks its outlet in the creation of Art, for man's civilisation is built upon his surplus." There is a Sanskrit saying to the effect that poverty is not a congenial soil for the gift of poetry to thrive in. For, in a poor country, life for most men is a never-ending struggle to keep body and soul together, which leaves little surplus energy for artistic creation. The Tagores have genius, which is of course the essential thing, and genius knows no distinction of soil or clime, and may burst forth anywhere. Nevertheless it is true that the appalling poverty all around us is apt to freeze the genial current of the soul, and Lord Ronaldshay is not ignorant of "the economic pressure which drove large numbers" of Indians to seek a purely literary education. India has very little of surplus, both moral aud material, in her civilisation. The joy of living has gone out of her; her Then his Lordship goes one-ton results." strain and stress of the struggle A fuller,

nobler, and richer life, from which the carking care of securing the bare material needs for self-preservation has been eliminated, must be developed in large numbers of her sons and daughters before an efflorescence of art can manifest itself. The development of art is therefore intimately economic development. connected with And economic development depends entirely on economic freedom, and the latter is impossible without political freedom. But the Indian aspiration towards self-assertion in this direction is generally repugnant to the English bureaucrat. The Englishman's sympathy for Indian art can extend only so far as it does not clash with the Indian's natural desire for self-rule.

When we wrote of India, that "the joy of living has gone out of her", we did not anticipate that our words would be unconsciously echoed by a great English scholar from the far off British Isles. But, after giving expression to our opinion, we found it reported in the newspapers that Sir Michael Sadler has said in a recent speech in England, "If I was to have one wish and only one wish with regard to Bengal, I might wish it should have more laughter. Somehow or other, it has a look of being sad and depressed." "I don't suppose that all through the ordinary Indian life there is anything like as much laughter as you get in an English football match on a Saturday afternoon and nothing at all like the merry laughter you hear in the North Italian towns." The impression of sadness and depression which Bengal gives to the foreign observer is true of the rest of India also. And this is not an impression produced by the added destitution, squalor and misery caused by the very high prices of recent years and the ravages of influenza and other diseases. Previous observers, too, were struck by the sadness of India. By way of example we shall give the impression of only one of them. Sir Frederick Treves, Bart., G. C. V. O., C. B., LL. D., Sergeant-surgeon to His late Majesty King Edward VII and to His present Majesty King George V, visited India nearly two decades ago. He has given his impressions of India in one of his many books of travel —for he has seen mange-courrediscomaina Augkul

"The Other Side of the Lantern." what he says:

"India leaves on the mind an impressione poorness and melancholy, even if in certain districts cultivation is luxuriant, and if, after the rains, the country is brilliant with blossom which no meadow in England can produce."

"Sadder than the country are the commo people of it. They are lean and weary-looking their clothing is scanty, they all seem poor, at 'toiling for leave to live.' They talk little at laugh less. Indeed, a smile, except on the facer a child, is uncommon. They tramp along in the dust with little apparent object other than it tramp. Whither they go, Heaven knows, in they look like men who have been wandering for a century. Their meagre figures are four against the light of the dawn, and move against the great red sun as it sets in the west, and or wonders if they still tramp on through the night."

"They appear feeble and depressed,....."

Government Grant to "Centre of Indian Culture."

We learn from Lord Ronaldshay! address, on some portions of which w commented above, Excellency's Government have made capital grant for the establishment of "centre of Indian culture" under the auspices of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, and that his Government "are prepare to render assistance in the matter current expenditure during the comm financial year." His Excellency took can facts r to "lay stress upon the fact that, with the provision of these grants, the part player by Government comes to an end. acceptance of the grants by the Societ involves neither official inspection, into ference, nor control." In spite of all the however, we feel that it would have been better if the society had not been the recipient of any help from the State Inspection, interference and control the will not be; but, as the Society always feel under an obligation, may be conscious or unconscious defered they w the official or European culture is or means what Indian ought to be or mean. To that the society will be susceptible of or sensitive to official or European influence. subjected to European influence. The Niz come and influence of the Niz come and influence and influe

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in almost all spheres of life from so many directions that we could wish that the centre of Indian culture were located even in a hut, entirely free from any kind of non-Indian obligation and influence. The smallest achievement of such a centre would have increased our self-confidence and made us respect ourselves to a greater extent than any possibly grander achievements of the State-aided centre.

Incidentally, we may be permitted to draw Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore's attention to the fact that the votaries. admirers and patrons of Indian Art and culture, both Indian and European, were asked to attend the salon Government House in "Mess Dress." We presume, as we do not know, that "Mess Dress" must be some kind of European dress. Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore's brush may find a very delightful subject for a humorous cartoon in a gathering in European "Mess Dress" of the Indian votaries, admirers and patrons of Indian Art and culture. We hope His Excellency and humble folk like ourselves will be afforded, by the courtesy of Mr. Tagore, an opportunity for a hearty laugh over such a cartoon.

The Ceded Districts of Berar.

It is difficult to get at the true historical facts relating to the passing of the Berars from the possession of the Nizam to that of the British Government. What we said in our last issue was based to some extent on Mr. Wilfrid Scawen Blunt's account of Hyderabad affairs in his "India Under Ripon." The account given in the Indian Year Book for 1919, edited by Sir Stanley Reed, conveys a different impression. That book tells us that these districts of Berar had been administered by the British Government on behalf of the Nizam since 1853 and 1860, the 1853; under the treaties of 1853 and 1860, deferent they were assigned without limit of time determinent of the British Government to provide for neans gent, a hoding of the Hyderabad contint extension gent, a body of troops kept by the British t extra Government of troops kept by the British surplus rever for the Nizam's use, the we a surplus revenues, if any, being payable to influence apparent that the maintenance of

the Hyderabad contingent on its old footing, as a separate force, was inexpedient and unnecessary, and that similarly the administration of Berar as a separate unit was very costly, while from the point of view of the Nizam, the precarious and fluctuating nature of the surplus was financially inconvenient. The agreement of 1902 reaffirmed the Nizam's sovereignty over Berar, which instead of being indefinitely "assigned" to the Government of India, was leased in perpetuity for an annual rental of 25 lakhs; the rental is for the present charged with an annual debit towards the repayment of loans made by the Government of India. The Government of India were at the same time authorised to administer Berar in such manner as they might think desirable, and to redistribute, reduce, re-organise, and control the Hyderabad contingent, due provision being made, as stipulated in the treaty of 1853, for the protection of His Exalted Highness' dominions. In accordance with this agreement the Contingent ceased in March 1903 to be a separate force and was reorganised and redistributed as an integral part of the Indian Army, and in October 1903 Berar was transferred to the administration of the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces. That is what the Indian Year Book says.

Torrens (Empire in Asia, Trubner and Co., London, 1872) gives quite a different history. The account which follows is culled from his book. The quotations are within inverted commas, the rest is in narrative form. The policy of persuading the Indian States to maintain within their confines bodies of British troops (then known as the subsidiary forces, but since Lord Dalhousie's time as the Imperial Service Troops) and of obtaining concessions of territory in lieu of money for their payment, was first consistently adopted by Lord Wellesley. "The permanent appropriation of revenue for the maintenance of the subsidiary force was calculated mainly with reference to the inability of the state the Nizam's use, the come apparent that the concessions of from time to time by new concessions

of territory. "It was the glove of mail courteously but undisguisedly laid on the shoulder of native rule, with an irresistible but patronising air, felt to be a little heavy and a little hard at first, but soon destined to become habitual." "The undermining of native authority had indeed been pitilessly continued under all circumstances by the never-failing means of an exhorbitant subsidiary force." Berar was one among the various provinces annexed by Lord Dalhousie. "The year 1854 saw two more valuable provinces absorbed through other means. The subsidiary force kept up at the expense of the Nizam had long been excessive, measured by its nominal use or his ability of paying for it. Lord Dalhousie admitted that it was too large, and suggested that the staff, at all events, ought to be reduced. But £750,000 were due as arrears.....The Viceroy, therefore, caused it to be intimated that he would accept the fertile cotton districts of Berar, the Raichur doab lying between the rivers Kristna and Tumbudra, together with other lands, in payment of the debt and as security for future charges for the contingent. When the draft treaty was presented the Nizam expostulated, asking whether an alliance which had lasted unbroken for sixty years ought to have an ending like this. He did not want the subsidiary force, the Viceroy might withdraw it if he pleased; or he might cut down its supernumerary strength and extravagant allowances, which were merely maintained as ways of patronage by the Governor-General, and not for any benefit to him. But to ask him to part with a third of his dominions was to humble him in the eyes of his people, and to abase him in his own esteem. He had not deserved treatment so heartless, and he could not be expected to submit to it. But he was expected, and he did submit: and soon afterwards he died" [Chap. XXVI].

"Lord Dalhousie put forth the cottongrowing qualities of the Berar country as one of the many arguments which he adduced in favour of the annexation of the territory."-Kaye and Malleson's Sepdy Mutiny, Vol 1.

How Lord Curzon obtained his perpetual fed look not commonly the the international fed look not commonly to the international fed look not commonly the international

lease was told in our last issue in # words of W.S. Blunt.

The Encyclopaedia Britannica (1) edition) does not carry the history of Bere further than the year 1860, and, as to results, says: "Under British control Bere rapidly recovered its prosperity." Inthe absence of other evidence from different sources before us, we will neither accernor reject this statement. But in justice the Nizam's government we must quo some sentences from W. S. Blunt's Ind Under Ripon. "I was certainly struck passing from the British Deccan below Raichore into the Nizam's Deccan will certain signs of better condition in the la ter. Most of the Nizam's villages contain something in the shape of a stone hour belonging to the headman. The flock goats alone found in the Madras Presidence are replaced by flocks of sheep; and or sees here and there a farmer superintend his laborers on horseback, a sight British Deccan never shows. In their villages of the Nizam which I entered found at least this advantage over others that there was no debt, while was assured that the mortality during great Deccan famine was far less sere in the Nizam's than in Her Majesty's ten tory." "On the whole the agricultur condition of the Hyderabad territory seem to me little, a very little, better than the of its neighbour, the Madras Deccan, a I believe it is a fact that it is attracti immigrants from across the border." is worth repeating that the only village found free from debt in India were in Nizam's territory." "With regard to town population, I found the few indep dent native capitals which I visited exhi ting signs of well-being in the inhabital absent in places of the same calibre British rule." "The faces of the inhabitation everywhere in Northern India are those men conscious of a presence hostile to the as in a conquered city. In the capitals of Native States, on the contrary, there nothing of all this, and the change in aspect of the natives, as one passes British to native rule, is most noticed.

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towns, and are quite the best dressed townsmen of India. There is a bustle and cheerfulness about this city, and a fearless attitude in the crowd, which is a relief to the traveller after the submissive silence of

the British populations."

When the Berars were permanently transferred to British rule, "self-determination," either as an ideal or as were cant, had not been heard of. The people of a country are not slaves attached to an estate, to be transferred to a purchaser along with the estate. But in the world's history they have been hitherto treated as such. So when the Berars were leased out, the people were not asked whether they liked the transfer or not. If they had civic freedom under the Nizam, probably they would have made some noise. But a plebiscite would not have succeeded then in ascertaining the real views of the majority, nor can it be successful now; as both Indian rule and British rule in India as they are have ample means at their command of vitiating the results.

As at the time of the transfer to British rule Berar public opinion was not consulted, it would not be just to the Nizam now, in deciding the question of re-transfer, to demand that Berar public opinion should be the determining factor,—particularly as a correct plebiscite is out of the question. All that can be and should be insisted upon is that in the event of a re-transfer of Berar to the Nizam, the present civic and political rights, economic advantages, and educational facilities of the people must be fully safeguarded by treaty. In the meantime righteousness, statesmanship and policy alike require that the Government of His Exalted Highness should, as expedition tiously as possible, make the condition of his people, politically, economically and of Indianally, decidedly better than that of Indians under British rule. And that can be easily done by His Exalted Highness deciding deciding at once to be and act as a strictly constitutional ruler, giving to his people

The Dawn of a New Era.

millan, 1911) Frederic Harrison summarises some of its principal features. If in its outer manifestation it was a chaotic revolution, in its inner spirit it was an organic evolution.' This, perhaps, may be said of all social and political upheavals which we call revolutions, for if we could only see deep enough into the causes of things, we should find that not even the most violent social or political explosion is an isolated event, the work of a day or a year, or the result of sudden and immediate causes, but that every such cataclysmic outburst can be traced to causes which have been silently gathering force and volume through years and in some cases, go back, in their origin, to remoter times. The Russian revolution which, like a tremendous earthquake, is throwing the social and political order of Russia upside down and consolidating, recreating and reshaping the Eastern half of Europe, found in the late war the occasion for a general break-up, but nobody could say that it was not already in progress, though not so obtrusively, before the final stage had been reached during the last few years. The French Revolution, according to the Great Positivist writer, was constructive even more than destructive and was far less the final crash of an effete system than the new birth of the irresistible germs of a new system. It was an intellectual and religious, a moral, social, and economic movement-a movement of the human race towards a completer humanity, the full fruition of which is not yet. The basic conception of the Revolution is "Government by capacity, not by hereditary title, with the welfare of the whole people as its end, and the consent of the Governed as its solelegitimate title." It was a conception not of local, but of world-wide application, and it is still doing its work in Russia, China, India and elsewhere. The ideas on which the great Revolution turned concerned "the transformation of a feudal, hereditary, privileged, authoritative society, based on antique right, into a republican, industrial, of 1789 in the Meaning of History (Mac-paragraph quoted at the end of this Note,

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sums up the totality of ideas which the Revolution stood for, and the influences set in motion by it which mark it as the dawn of a new era in human civilisation. thoughtful men, the new age ushered in by the late war with its theory of selfdetermination may furnish a study in comparison and contrast, and to some, too hopeful Moderates among us, the Government of India Act may, longo intervallo, appear to be, in the political sphere, the dawn of such a new era as that which broke forth in France in 1789. In the social sphere, where the influence of the Act does not penetrate except indirectly in the partial democratization of the franchise, the remarks of Frederic Harrison in that paragraph should give us serious food for reflection. It will not do for us merely to play to the gallery by sneering at either the "Moderates" or the "Extremists." Among the ranks of both, in varying proportions in different places, we find men who are wise enough to appreciate the great need for social reform if political reform is to make much progress. And we should remember that with us social reform must not concern itself only with such comparatively easy matters (from the point of view of moral courage and facing unpopularity) as the housing of the poor, the shortening of the hours of labour, the throwing open of places of innocent amusement on Sundays, and the like. In India, it has to concern itself with much more vital and fundamental problems which have been long solved in the advanced countries of the West. Our hoary traditions, our hidebound customs, our rooted superstitions, our slavish and blind submission to religious authority, our immemorial social usages, make the task a tremendously up-hill one. whole outlook, the entire spirit, must be transformed in order to bring social life in conformity with our political aspirations. These are the thoughts which flash across our mind as we read the following passage:

other date marks any other transition, marks the close of a society which had existed for some thousands of years as a consistent whole, a society more or less based upon printed printed for the constant whole, a society more or less based upon printed printed for the constant whole, a society more or less based upon printed for the constant whole, a society more or less based upon printed for the constant whole, a society more or less based upon printed for the constant whole, a society more or less based upon printed for the constant whole, a society more or less based upon printed for the constant whole, a society more or less based upon printed for the constant whole, a society more or less based upon printed for the constant whole, a society more or less based upon printed for the constant whole, a society more or less based upon printed for the constant whole, a society more or less based upon printed for the constant whole, a society more or less based upon printed for the constant whole, a society more or less based upon printed for the constant whole, a society more or less based upon printed for the constant whole, a society more or less based upon printed for the constant whole, a society more or less based upon printed for the constant whole is a society more or less based upon printed for the constant whole is a society more or less based upon printed for the constant whole is a society more or less based upon printed for the constant whole is a society more or less based upon printed for the constant whole is a society more or less based upon printed for the constant whole is a society more or less based upon printed for the constant whole is a society more or less based upon printed for the constant whole is a society more or less based upon printed for the constant whole is a society more or less based upon printed for the constant whole is a society more or less based upon printed for the constant whole is a society more or less based upon printed for the constant whole is a society more or les

intensely imbued with the spirit of hereditan right, bound up with ideas of theological sanction, sustained by a scheme of supramundan authority; a society based upon caste, on class on local distinctions and personal privilege rooted in inequality, political, social, material moral; a society of which the hope of salvation was the maintenance of the status quo, and which the Ten Commandments were Privilege And the same year, 1789, saw the office installation of a society which was essentially based on peace, the creed of which was industry, equality, progress; a society when change was the evidence of life, the end of which was social welfare, and the means social co-operation and human equity. communion, equality, equity, merit, labour justice, consolidation, fraternity,-such were the devices and symbols of the new therefore with justice that modern Europe regards the date 1789 as a date that marks a greater evolution in human history than perhaps, any other single date that could be named between the reign of the first Pharaol and the reign of Victoria."

Labour and Educated Young Men.

"A Japanese Friend of India" writes :-"It is certainly a matter of great satisfaction to the other Asiatic nations that the Indians have at length awakened They have thrown away the lethargy of centuries and are now actively engaged in promoting their welfare and development. Of course, matters political should engage their first attention, but at the same time to give a motive force to the political matters certain other things are essentially necessary. Military strength being one of them is, no doubt, of first importance. But, as recent events 19 England, America and some other countries, have amply demonstrated, the organisa tion of labour is of very great importance also. In the case of India, not only industrial labour organisations but agricultural labour organisations also should be established in every city, village and hamlet. Now, there are man educated young Indians who are spend ing the best part of their life for a mer pittance in a Government office or con mercial firm. Let them take to labout Let them work as common labourers in Mills and Factories. Let them take to

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drivers, farm labourers, etc. They can thus, while earning their own livelihood, organise the uneducated and half-educated Unless they be one of the people there. labourers-one of their own pals, the latter won't place implicit trust in them. Consequently an educated Indian riding in automobile with eyeglasses on, being outside the circle of the pals of the labourers, can never succeed in establishing a real labour organisation. Every reader of newspapers knows how strong are the Labour Organisations of England and America, who can at their pleasure influence the Government in any way they like. Besides, the educated young labourers can be a source of real education to the illiterate labourers, for the former being regular readers of newspapers can keep the latter informed of all the important events of the world."

There is much truth in what the Japanese gentleman has written.

Queer Comparative Boasting.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer more than once belauded the Panjabis and belittled other Indians,-and perhaps he exacted the price of his praises in the form of what the Panjab had to undergo before and after the proclamation of martial law in that province. Some Panjabis, too, have been in the habit of boasting of their achievements and looking down upon other Indians. For instance, in course of the debate on Mr. K. K. Chanda's resolution re removal of the Panjab Government from Simla, Major Malik Sir Umar Hayat Khan

"Our Province has given the chance to many speakers from other parts of India to be able to say that we have been speakers and we to say that 'we have made sacrifices and we have shed our blood for the Empire' though they of martial classes with the soldiers of martial classes which have borne the brunt the state of the state o of the struggle, and they should not be so unthankful as to ask us to leave our home in

With reference to this Bahadur B. N. Sarma observed :sentence, Rao

"Sir, may I say one word with regard to the constant introduction into this Council of the quality of the Division sitiscens and the quality quality of the Punjab citizens and the quality of the citizens of India? We are all want to bravery of the martial races of the martial races. In a previous in our party paper.

inhabiting the Punjab. We feel that we are one with them, and we hope that that feeling is reciprocated by the Punjabis, although it does not seem to find any acceptance at the hands of my Hon'ble colleague, the Hon'ble Sir Umar Hayat Khan. I make bold to say that we from other Provinces of India have conquered the Punjab and have established British sovereignty in India, and there are as brave men, as bold men, as courageous men, as strong men physically in the rest of India as can be boasted of by the Punjab. And, Sir, I hope, therefore, that these pretensions will not be very often made, because they are hardly in good taste, let alone being provocative.

This proved too much for Sir Zulfikar Ali Khan of the Panjab, who said:

"My friend the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma'said that when the Punjab was conquered it was conquered by people from other provinces. he ought to study history a little more and know the facts more clearly. The facts are these, that the Punjab was conquered by its own people....."

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent :- "May I rise to a point of order? I submit we are straying very far from the subject-matter of this Resolution."

The Vice-President:-"I hope the Hon'ble Member will come back from history to practical Politics."

The Hon'ble Sir Zulfikar Ali Khan :- "Well, Sir, I am only replying to the arguments alluded to by the previous speakers, and if I am allowed to reply to them I will proceed further"

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma:-"I agree that the Pudjab was conquered by the Punjabis helping the others."

The Vice-President :- "We will leave question at that."

Free citizens of independent countries cannot perhaps imagine that there may be a country of which some prominent inhabitants can indulge in comparative boasting as to who among themselves had done most to deprive their Motherland of her independence; but "there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in" the political psychology of free-born men in independent countries.

The extracts in this Note are taken from the Gazette of India, dated September 27, 1919.

Evidence before the Joint

witnesses before the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Government of India Bill which has since become law. In course of the mutual bickerings, which have been the order of the day, it was said that Mr. V. J. Patel had spoilt India's case, &c. We have no desire to take part in these unbecoming and useless squabbles; Mr. St. Nihal Singh's four articles in our present issue will tell the reader at a glance what the different deputations and witnesses stood up for, and also give the public some idea of the reasons why we have not got a better Reform Act than we have. Only, in justice to Mr. Patel we wish to add, that, Mr. St. Nihal Singh, who is neither "extremist" nor "moderate", does not say that Mr. Patel spoilt India's case; that Mr. Ben Spoor, M. P., who was a member of the Joint Committee, writes in his foreword to the reprint of the demands of the Indian National Congress:

Mr. Patel, general secretary to the Congress, an elected member for Bombay on the Viceregal Legislative Council, and for many years a member of the Bombay Legislative Council, was selected by the Congress Deputation as their chief spokesman. The choice was fully justified. His tone was neither apologetic nor subservient. Independence and straightforwardness marked

his attitude throughout.....

A severe cross-examination on all the abovenamed points did not in the least shake Mr. Patel's evidence. On the contrary it offered him opportunities for further emphasising his argument, and of these he took full advantage.

and that, what is more, Mr. Prithwis Chandra Ray, a prominent member of the "moderate" deputation and joint editor of the Bengalee, interviewed by a representative of the Associated Press, had the fairness

and generosity to say,

Speaking of evidence tendered before the Joint Committee Mr. Roy paid a tribute to the value of the evidence of Mr. S. N. Banerjea and added that Mr. V. J. Patel of the Congress Deputation also made some impression on the committee because he rubbed the thing the other way about, and when Mr. Patel insisted that Mr. Montagu's Bill was a small little thing Lord Selbourne realised that the Montagu Scheme was a 'via-media' between the extremes of the Congress and the Civil Service. Therefore Mr. Roy thought that Mr. Patel, instead of spoiling India's case in any way, as he was represented to have done, had generally helped in getting the scheme through. He certainly spoke courageously and to his conviction.

We think we ought all to ignore party distinctions and recognise the good Work done by all those deputations which tried to obtain political freedom for India. And now that the Bill has become law, it is on by trying to take the fullest advantaged it that it can be convincingly proved that Indians require to have far greater political power in order that the greatest possible good to India may be done.

Life's "Stagnation and Flow."

Hide-bound by old age and use and wont, the old man in the frontispiece to our present issue represents life's staguation. He cannot change and advance with the times, he is a mere inert looker-on. On the other hand, the girl in the picture stands for life's flow. She can move for ward with the current.

Sir Sankaran Nair's Appointment to the India Council.

Sir Sankaran Nair's appointment to the India Council is in every way to be welcomed. He is a well-informed, patrioti and fearless Indian. He has very recent official experience. He possesses states manship of a high order.

The Indian National Congress at Amritsar.

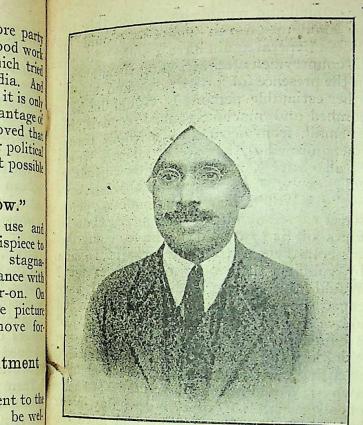
Swami Shraddhananda, Mr. Girdharila (General Secretary) and the other active members of the Reception Committee have had to contend with great difficulties! making adequate preparations for the 34th session of the Indian National Congres held at Amritsar. The first difficulty was the absence of most of the Panjab leaders who were in jail, and the seeming impost bility of rousing the drooping spirits of the people. When the preparations were near in completion, rain fell in heavy showers for several days, making it imperative of postpone the opening of the session for day. But the enthusiasm, self-sacrifice and working capacity of those who had under deport taken the self-imposed task, overcame and difficulties, and the people of Amritsar of the Panjab generally have had the sair faction to know that the Amritsar session of the Congress has had by far the large CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukultkann Gellection, Handwar the 34 sessions

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Mr. Girdharilal

General Secretary to the Reception Committee, 34th Indian National Congress, Amritsar.

far held. In the present issue, we are unable to notice the proceedings of the Congress, as it was only on the 28th of December last that we first saw the greater portion of the presidential address in the Bengalee and there was little time left for getting the last pages printed.

Intended Deportation of Some Indians from America.

Information reached India some weeks ago that legal proceedings were in progress in the U. S. A. for the deportation of some Indian workers for India's independence who had been imprisoned during the war on certain political charges. Hundreds of Public bodies in that country are said to have broates in that country are said to nd under Weportations on the ground that they Would violate the right of asylum, which revolutionaries and political refugees of rarious Functional and political refugees all various European nationalities have all along enjoyed in the U. S. A., the British president,

of the American Federation of Labor, have interviewed President Woodrow Wilson, as soon as possible, and present Mr. Wilson with a brief, prepared by the Friends of Freedom for India, protesting against the deportations. This action was the result of a thorough investigation of the merits of the fight against the deportations, made by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. at the request of the recent Atlantic City Convention. News has since been received that Attorney General Palmer has ordered to withdraw the charges against Miss Agnes Smedley, Sailendranath Ghose, Taraknath Das, and Bhagwan Singh, who were arrested and indicted in March, 1918, for an alleged violation of the Espionage Act.

British Opinion on Panjab Atrocities.

So far as the opinions of the British press have been cabled out to India, they are with the exception of that of the Morning Post, more or less condemnatory of what British military officers and other government servants did during last year's disturbances in the Panjab. It is reported that the British people have been shocked and are indignant. That is natural and satisfactory so far as it goes and the fact does them credit, as its opposite would have been unnatural and disgraceful. But the real question is, will they be able to bring about the punishment of even one mad man or fool or brute who perpetrated unheard of atrocities in the Panjab or of those under whose orders or authority they acted? Will they be able to bring to book those who are responsible for keeping them in ignorance for such a long period? Will they be able to prevent the possibility of such wanton cruelties in the future? If they be, well and good; if not, the reported indignation of the British people cannot afford the least satisfaction or consolation to the people of India. The responsibility of the British Parliament for the welfare of India has never been a reality and the British people have all along been culpably negligent of their duty to India. Samuel Gompers, president Indians—power over the police, over legistic-

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lation and over the administration of laws, and power over the military—can be an adequate safeguard against oppression.

Mr. Montagu on the Panjab Tragedies.

How little of a reality the stay-at-home Britisher's responsibility for the good of India is, has been amply demonstrated by the fact that not only the British public, not only the members of Parliament, but even the person who is the chief agent of Parliament in respect of the affairs of India, namely, the Secretary of State for India, could remain or could be kept ignorant of such grave happenings as those of the Panjab for eight months. And now that the facts admitted by the authors of those have reached. England, how does Mr. Montagu speak about them? At the Savoy Hotel in London, where he was entertained by Indians,

Referring to the Punjab situation Mr. Montagu pointed out that the riot had loosed the retaliatory machinery which ought to be a warning to those who whatsover the provocation transgress the law and endanger order. He invited the young Indians present to imagine themselves as a General whose duty it was to restore and preserve order, with no time for consultation or discussion and upon whom the safety of Indians and Europeans depended. Mr. Montagu pleaded that they should await facts after which it would be the Government's duty to do two things: firstly, to fulfil the proud task of giving His Majesty's officers all support to which they were entitled and, secondly, to vindicate in the world's eyes the justice and honour of British rule.

It would not have been proper for Mr. Montagu to condemn the British officers, for the verdict of the Hunter Committee has still to come; but, for the same reason, he ought not also to have taken it for granted that all those who have suffered, including children of 5, 6 or 7, had transgressed the law and endangered order. As to how his imaginary Indian general would have acted circumstances of the Punjab, does Mr. Montagu think that that person, to use the summary given by the Amrita Bazar Patrika, would have fired on a peaceful meeting without warning and would have even continued to fire on those who were

the ground and would have done this til his ammunition ran short? Would Indian General again have publicly flogged his countrymen after stripping them naked in the presence of prostitutes and similar other estimable persons? Would he have bombed and machine-gunned crowds, b or small, from aeroplanes without caring to enquire what they were doing? Would he also have thrown bombs on hostels colleges "where a large number of bow live"? Would he have made a public street sacred and have Indians crawl on a fours on it? Would he have compelled his countrymen to show respect to his by rubbing their nose on the ground Would the young Indian general hard caused boys of 5, 6 and 7 years of age an above to go on parade, morning and evening, to salute the British flag, w thinking that it was a hardship, and no relenting even if he saw some of them far away? Would he also have made student of colleges walk 16 or 17 miles a day in the hottest part of the year and fined the Principals of colleges to make them it "the might of martial law"? Would have freely resorted to whipping in public considering it "the kindliest of punis Would he have had peop ments"? whipped and punished otherwise failing to salute military officers, on the ground that "India is a land of salaar and Indians know or should know the it was their duty to salaam?" Would he have killed hundreds of his country for the mere foolish notion that if he not do so, they would come back laugh at him?

Mr. Montagu pleaded that Indians England should await facts. Are not the admissions of British officers facts? But if further facts were needed, should not himself also have awaited information before he spoke lighthearted of his "proud task"?

ms proud task :

British Military Officers Before the Hunter Committee.

meeting without warning and would have even continued to fire on those who were running away and in fact were prostrate ordinal kthernselves by the running away and in fact were prostrate ordinal kthernselves by the restriction of the British military officers who have appeared before the Hunter mittee to give evidence have distinguish the running away and in fact were prostrate ordinal kthernselves by the restriction of the British military officers who have appeared before the Hunter committee.

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suffering (probably they do not think Indians are human beings), and their studied discourtesy, to use a mild word, to the two Indian members of the Committee, without such an attitude being deprecated by Lord Hunter. On the contrary, he sometimes pleaded with his Indian colleagues not to proceed with their cross-examination. It was not expected that his conduct of the proceedings of the Committee would be of this character. Perhaps he is weak-minded, perhaps he has caught the Anglo-Indian bureaucratic taint; -it does not much matter what the cause is, but the result is regrettable. The military witnesses need not have appeared, or Government need not have deputed them to appear before the Committee to give evidence if they did not care to answer questions put to them by the Indian members. The behaviour of these witnesses reflects discredit not only on themselves but on Government, too. In spite of the insulting behaviour of these men, Pandit Jagat Narain and Chimanlal Setalvad have done their duty with great zeal, ability and industry.

The Royal Proclamation.

The Proclamation issued by His Imperial Majesty George V, apart from its historical significance, is a document of great importance, not because of any direct fruit that it may bear but because of the promise that it holds out, the hope that it may inspire and the leverage and opportunity and occasion that it would continue to afford for years to come for the constitutional struggle of the Indian people to reach their political goal. A Royal Prodamation, in a constitutional or limited monarchy like that which exists in the British Empire, is not and cannot be expected to be as directly and speedily useful and effective in advancing the people of India along the road of attainment of Parliament and liberties as an Act of Parliament or an Act of the Indian Proclamatically contains the proclamatical contains t Proclamation" for more than sixty years. It has no do not make the use to It has, no doubt, been of the same use to as the doubt, been of the same use to us as the recent proclamation may be expected to be proclamation may be expected to be of, as indicated above. But that it has not been directly iruitful,

effective, or useful, is known to all Indians. Attempts have even been made in high quarters to explain it away by pettifogging arguments. It promised equality in the eye of the law and equal treatment to all Her Majesty's subjects irrespective of race or creed. But the servants of the Crown and some of the laws made by them have not hitherto given full effect to that promise. In proving a statement like the above, we need not depend on any facts or inferences about which opinions may differ. Whoever reads paragraphs 16, 314 and 315 of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms signed by Mr. E. S. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, and Lord Chelmsford, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, will at once find that it is an admitted fact that the Queen's Proclamation has not by itself been able to do away with racial discrimination, but that official and non-official endeavours have been necessary for even the partial achievement of that object. Let us quote only one sentence from paragraph 315: "First, we would remove from the regulations the few remaining distinctions that are based on race, and would make appointments to all branches of the public service without racial discrimination." We have ere now tried to show that the remaining distinctions based on race are not few, and that the proposals in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report would not lead to appointments to all branches of the public service without racial discrimination. But for our present purpose, the admission made in the Report is quite sufficient, as it shows that the Queen's Proclamation has not by itself proved quite effective. So, while welcoming the present proclamation as an expression of His Majesty's intentions and an exhortation to his officers and the people of India, we need not dream that it will of itself bring on the millenium any more than the Queen's Proclamation has

The new Government of India Act which received the royal assent a few days ago, nowhere says, definitely or indefinitely, that there shall ever be full representative government in India. The King, however, understands that The Act which has now

become law points the way to full representative government hereafter." That is a gain, if we are determined to have it so, and only if we are so determined. For the Proclamation does not absolutely and definitely promise that there shall be full representative government hereafter. What it says is,

If, as I confidently hope, the policy which this Act inaugurates should achieve its purpose, the results will be momentous in the story of human progress and it is timely and fitting that I should invite you to-day to consider the past and to join me in my hopes of the future.

England is now in reality a republic, though a crowned republic, and there are now large numbers of Englishmen who would be glad to see their country a republic both in name and in reality. And British monarchists are such because of what they consider to be the practical advantages and utility of the Kingship as an institution. Of the old world loyalty in the personal sense there is not much to be found at present in the British Isles. In India it is otherwise. There is enough and to spare of such loyalty of a genuinc character left here, and it is to the advantage of British Kings and Queens to foster and utilise it. Hence one need not question the genuineness of the declaration in the Proclamation that "Ever since the welfare of India was confided to us, it has been held as a sacred trust by our Royal House and Line." It is not a valid objection to say that in spite of the Royal House and Line cherishing such sentiments of devotion, India is deplorably poor, sorely diseaseridden and enveloped in the darkness of ignorance; for 111 a constitutional monarchy like that of the British Empire, just as "the King can do no wrong" so can he not directly do any good to his subjects as head of the State, though he can do good in a personal capacity like any other human being.

But when, after giving expression to the "sentiments of affection and devotion by which I and my predecessors have been animated," which ought to be considered genuine, His Majesty proceeds to declare that "the Parliament and the of this Realm and my officers in India have

been equally zealous for the moral and material advancement of India," we must say that His Majesty has not been rightly advised by his ministers and correctly informed by his informants. The Indian Budget Debate in the House of Common has ever been the signal for a stampede for the vast majority of its members, the people of the British Isles are wofully ignoran of and indifferent to Indian affairs, British newspapers experience a fall in their circulation if they write frequently on Indian affairs, and the vital, educational and economic statistics of India, and the official belief in the existence of widespread sedition and unrest in India bear witness to the want of zeal of the servants of the King in Indiaf or the moral and material advancement of the country. Neverthe less we are glad to read the following passage :-

We have endeavoured to give to her people the many blessings which Providence has be towed upon ourselves. But there is one gift which yet remains and without which the progress of a country cannot be consummated: the right of her people to direct her affairs and safeguard her interests.

The right of India's people to direct her affairs and safeguard her interests, which is spoken of as a "gift" is in reality are storation; but perhaps we must not criticise the royal way of speaking.

It is not to be disputed that "The de fence of India against foreign aggression is a duty of Common Imperial interest and pride." But, as hitherto Indians have served in the army of the Empire al most entirely in a subordinate capa city and mainly with their India would have had the people of occasion for dissatisfaction if Majesty's ministers had apprised him of the fact and advised him to throw open careers in the army, at least to an appreciate able extent, to Indians who had both "manly spirit" and "scope of mind." is satisfactory to find that the King recognized nises that "The control of her domestic concerns is a burden which India legitimately aspire to taking upon own shoulders, and the last sentence of the third the third paragraph of the royal messar

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quoted below we, however, at once recognise the familiar voice of the minister who announced the policy of the British Government in relation to India on August 20, 1917.

The burden is too heavy to be borne in full until time and experience have brought the necessary strength; but opportunity will now he given for experience to grow and for responsibility to increase with the capacity for fits fulfilment.

This sentence reminds us of the words "progressive realisation of responsible government in India," "progress in this policy can be achieved only by successive stages," "the extent to which it is found that confidence could be reposed in their sense of responsibility," &c., which are to be found in Mr. Montagu's announcement. As that document has been repeatedly criticised, its abridged paraphrase need not be commented upon. We can only regret that the King considers Indian subjects so ill prepared for selfgovernment as not to be thought worthy of exercising greater powers than are given

In truth the desire after political responsibility has its source at the roots of the British connection with India. It has sprung inevitably from the deeper and wider studies of human thought and history, which that connection has opened to the Indian people.

It can not be said that the origin of the Indian people's desire after political responsibility has been quite incorrectly traced above; but while giving due credit to the British connection with India it may be said with truth that that desire is inherent in the human soul. The desire after political responsibility has manifested itself in Persia and China, for example, without there being any such British connection with those countries as has existed

We wholeheartedly support the noble exhortation and appeal contained in the following eloquent passage:-

The path will not be easy and in marching wards the will not be easy and in marching towards the goal there will be need of perseverance and of mutual forbearance between all sections and of mutual forbearance between all convinced of their guilt, ought of bitterness confident that those high qualities will be from their heart. But it is the firm belief from their heart. forthcoming. I rely on the new popular assem-

blies to interpret wisely the wishes of those whom they represent and not to forget the interests of the masses who cannot yet be admitted to the franchise. I rely on the leaders of the people, the Ministers of the future, to face responsibility and endure to sacrifice much for the common interest of the State, remembering that true patriotism transcends party and communal boundaries; and while retaining the confidence of the legislatures, to co-operate with my officers for the common good in sinking unessential differences and in maintaining the essential standards of a just and generous Government. Equally do I rely on my officers to respect their new colleagues and to work with them in harmony and kindliness; to assist the people and their representatives in an orderly advance towards free institutions; and to find in these new tasks a fresh opportunity to fulfil as in the past their highest purpose of faithful service to my people.

In the sixth paragraph, printed below, His Majesty has authorised the Viceroy to set free those political offenders whose release may be compatible with public safety.

VI. It is my earnest desire at this time that so far as possible any trace of bitterness between my people and those who are responsible for my Government should be obliterated. Let those who in their eagerness for political progress have broken the law in the past respect it in future. Let it become possible for those who are charged with the maintenance of peaceful and orderly Government to forget extravagances they have had to curb. A new era is opening. Let it begin with a common determination among my people and my officers to work together for a common purpose. I therefore direct my Viceroy to exercise in my name and on my behalf my Royal elemency to political offenders in the fullest measure which in his judgment is compatible with public safety, I desire him to extend it on this condition to persons who for offences against the State or under any special or emergency legislation are suffering from imprisonment or restrictions upon their liberty. I trust that this leniency will be justified by the future conduct of those whom it benefits and that all my subjects will so demean themselves as to render it unnecessary to enforce the laws for such offences hereafter.

We earnestly hope that His Majesty's humane and statesmanlike desire will, at least in some measure, be fulfilled. who were really guilty (not in a merely technical sense) and who have been convinced of their guilt, ought to find it

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of the public that many have been imprisoned or otherwise deprived freedom who were not in the least guilty. To them imprisonment or restrictions on liberty must have been very galling, but far more galling must have been the insult

of being treated as felons.

Bitterness can be obliterated from their hearts only by the vindication of their innocence and the censure or punishment of those who have done them wrong. Some may be so noble-minded as to be satisfied if only their own character were vindicated. It may or may not have been possible for the King's ministers to imagine that those who have been deprived of liberty were not all guilty, and that some are possibly innocent; but the warning, "I trust that this leniency will be justified by the future conduct of those whom it benefits," will not have a soothing effect on those who are innocent. Most painful is condition of those whose relatives may have been unjustly executed. Nothing can assuage their sorrow and obliterate their bitterness. Similar is the case of the innocent among those who were flogged, or maimed or disabled by bullets or bombs, made to crawl or otherwise humiliated and insulted. Their countrymen, too, will never be able to forget these indignities and sufferings. And clemency cannot sooth where justice alone was the remedy. As the Hunter Committee have not yet submitted their report, His Majesty could not possibly pronounce any opinion on the conduct of his officers in the Panjab during the disturbances. But as the enquiry is an enquiry into the conduct of both officers and the people, just as it cannot be taken for granted that the officers were to blame, so it ought not to have been assumed that all the people who have been punished or humiliated or insulted in the Panjab were offenders. For this reason we could wish His Majesty's ministers had drafted this amnesty paragraph in such a way as not to assume the guilt of every one punished for political reasons.

The establishment of a Chamber of Princes ought to have beneficial results.

In conclusion we join with His Majesty in the prayer "to Almighty in Goods bereets. Byrukul Kangro Gollection, Hardwar enjoy municipal franchise, and

His wisdom and under His guidance India may be led to greater prosperity and contentment and may grow to the fulness of political freedom."

Injustice to Burma.

So long as Burma was, bureaucratically governed along with the provinces of India under the same Viceroy, her dissimilarity to India was not discovered. But it seems that that dissimilarity stands in the war not only of her having a share in there forms to be introduced in the Indian provinces, but also of her having any reform at all which her people want. This is a great injustice, a great wrong. All provinces of India are not alike, nor are their inhabitants all of the same race, speaking the same language, and in the same stage of political growth. Outside India the Filipinos, the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Persians, among Asians, do not below to the same race, do not speak the same language, and are not equally political advanced. Yet they have all got more or less democratic constitutions. Why should not the Burmans then have the same sorto constitution as the Indians? The man details of the constitution they want shor that their demands are similar to what the Indian provinces have got. Here ! their scheme in outline.

Governor. Burma wants a Governor sen direct from England and members of Indianst

vices should not be eligible for this post. Executive Council. The Executive should consist of one official (European) all two Burman Ministers selected by the Gore nor from among the elected members of the Legislative Council. The Ministers shall hold office so long as the Ministers selected by the office so long as the Ministers selected by the office so long as the Ministers selected by the office so long as the Ministers selected by the office so long as the Ministers selected by the office so long as the Ministers selected by the office so long as the Ministers selected by the office so long as the Ministers selected by the office so long as the Ministers shall hold of the Ministers shall hold office so long as the Ministers shall hold of the Ministers shall hold office so long as the Ministers shall hold office so long as the Ministers shall hold office so long as the Ministers shall hold of the Ministers shall hold of the Ministers shall hold of the Ministers shall be a shall be office so long as they retain the confidence the Legislative Council.

Legislative Council. There should be impers of when the council the should be in the council t members of whom four-fifths should be elected

and one-fifth nominated, Elected members should represent (1) pur urban areas, (2) rural areas and (3) specific electorates are (3) electorates, as follows:-

The President and Vice-President of the County cil should be elected by the Legislative Country from among its elected members.

Franchise In Burma. We have a ready made rister in the forms. register in the form of Capitation and hameda assessment hameda assessment rolls and municipal for chise. chise.

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we want to give them political franchise also.

They are fit to enjoy it. Functions. Excepting (1) Foreign and Political, including Administration of the Shan States, Frontier Districts and Hill Tracts. (2) Army and Marine. (3) Police. (4) Appointments and Discipline. (5) Law and Justice. (6) Ports. (7) Land revenue (except Capitation and Thathameda), all subjects including the Budget should be transferred to popular control.

In literacy Burma is far ahead of the most literate Indian provinces, and can therefore form a good electorate. Burma pays more as taxes per head than Indian province except Bombay, which pays only 8 annas per head more. But in the payment of land revenue per head Burma stands at the top of all provinces of the Indian Empire, the amount per head paid by her being more than double that of Bombay, which occupies the next place. Among the indigenous population of Burma there is no caste, women are free and more literate than in India, there is no sectarian rancour, there is more religious tolerance than in India, the indigenous population in the main body of the province speak the same language, the social structure is more democratic than in India, and the people have a strong national feeling. In "A Pleafor Burma" issued by the Burma Deputation in England, we find the follow-

The Burmese, it is alleged, are in a different stage of "political development." How do they differ? The same general laws apply as in India. The Contract Act. Evidence Act. Penal India. The Contract Act, Evidence Act, Penal Code, Criminal and Civil Procedure Codes, and practically all Indian laws hold in Burma exactly as elsewhere. The revenue system is the same. In all the essentials of government, the Indian Country the essentials of government, on Indian Government has dealt with Burma on precisely the precisely the same lines as the other great Provinces. Would have been inces. Would it have done this had there been any marked it have done this had there been any marked difference in culture or development; ment: In culture and in enlightenment the Burmese are fully equal to the Indians; in material wealth the rial wealth they are certainly superior, women too, occurrence the superior of too, occupy a higher and freer position than elsewhere in A higher and freer divergence elsewhere in Asia. Divergence, where divergence exists, is all in the divergence, where them. exists, is all in their favour, not against them.

Sir Reginald Governor of Burma, has remarked: Craddock, Lieutenant-

"It can be confidently affirmed that Burma endowed with is endowed with many advantages, notably lopment on democratic lines. Thus, shemes, freeze from those religious dissensions which militate against the co-operation of men of different creeds. Toleration of the scruples of others is a ruling tenet of her religion. There is an entire absence of caste, and no marked cleavage of social distinction or occupation exists. The man of humble birth in Burma has always been able to rise as high as his ability or his education might carry him. Burma undoubtedly offers a more promising field for selfgovernment than does India at the present juncture."

Why not then give her self-government?

Sir Rash Behari Ghose's Fresh Donation.

Sir Rash Behari Ghose, who some years ago made a munificent donation of ten lakhs of rupees to the Calcutta University for its science college, has recently made a fresh endowment of Rs. 11,43,000 for the foundation and maintenance of a Technological Institution in connection with the same college. The people of Bengal, and, in fact, of all India,—for the doors of these educational institutions are open to all cannot be too grateful to this eminent public benefactor for his great public spirit and generosity. It is to be hoped that the endowment will make it possible for Indian technological experts to teach and guide Indian students in study and research.

Pandit Motilal Nehru's Presidential Address.

We have read Pandit Matilal Nehru's address as President of the Amritsar session of the Indian National Congress with admiration and respect. It is masterly, comprehensive, unflinchingly and fearlessly truthful, statesmanlike, and clear survey of the situation and its needs, and of the events, circumstances and forces which have led up to it. Every part of the address is self-explaining and selfcontained The Pandit has marshalled and arguments in orderly his facts array and due sequence. Occasionally he has enunciated principles and stated truths with the terseness of epigrams. lopment on democratic lines C-0. Thus showing the condition of the conditi The address possesses literary merit,

has the eloquence of lucidity, orderly arrangement, truth and conviction.

Swami Sraddhananda's Address.

We have before us only a summary in English of Swami Sraddhananda's Hindi speech as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Indian National Congress at Amritsar. But even that summary in a foreign garb enables us to realise that his address was inspiring and that, speaking from an elevated standpoint, he was able to raise politics to a lofty plane of spirituality. He dealt with the all-engrossing topics of the day with grasp and power. exhorted the people not to harbour anger against the O'Dwyers, Dyers, Johnsons and O'Briens,-that would be harbouring an enemy. "They must cast off, root and branch, anger and ill will towards the authors of the incidents of April last and learn to conquer anger with peace, evil with with good and untruth Summing up the effects of the trouble through which the Punjab had passed, the Swami said they had the Hindu-Moslem unity and it was the foremost duty of the nation to sustain it. second result was the power of endurance and lastly they had learned the value of agitation." In conclusion he dwelt on the vital need to the nation of formation of character and of spiritualising politics. "His second proposal was that they should resolve to reclaim the untouchables and recognise them as their brethren and resolve then and there that they would allow them to enter their homes and hearths. The dream of his life, the Hindu-Moslem unity had already been achieved."

Technical Education in Calcutta

At the conference on "Technical Education in Calcutta" recently held under the chairmanship of the Governor it was resolved in the first place,

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"That, postponing for the time being a consideration of more ambitious projects, image diate steps should be taken to establish in Calcutta a technical school with the object of training foremen mechanics in conjunction with the local engineering workshops, and in conjunction with the civil engineering college at Sibpur, a limited number of engineers; such school to deal with apprentices in mechanical and electrical engineering (including motor manufacture and repair) and to include a general instruction class."

This kind of school is clearly needed and is welcome. But may it be asked what harm there would have been if the words "postponing for the time being a consideration of more ambition projects," had not been used? If man wishes to open a primary school in his village, is it essentially necessar for him to say, "postponing for the present a consideration of the more amb tious project of founding a University, open this school"? And why this fling a ambitious projects, pray? The use of the word 'ambitious' was quite undignified and uncalled for. Things in India have a habit of getting postponed sine die, without that fact being prominently advertised As it was known in Calcutta before the date of the conference that a certain emi nent Indian citizen would donate some 10 or 11 lakhs to the Calcutta University for teaching of technology, may it beet quired whether the fling at an ambition project had any reference to that fact?

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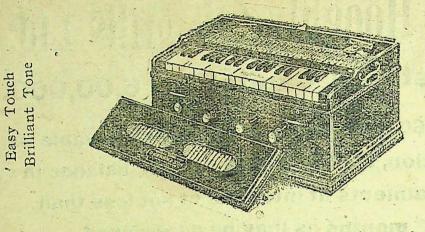
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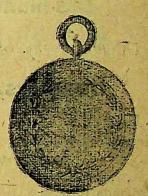
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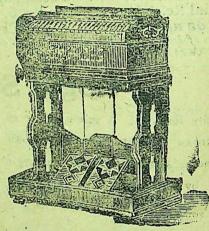
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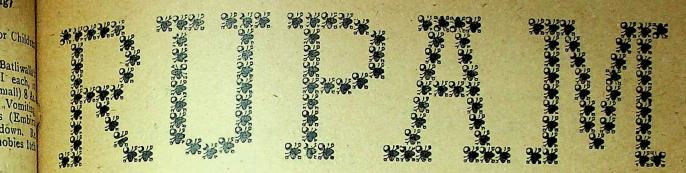
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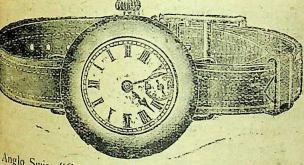
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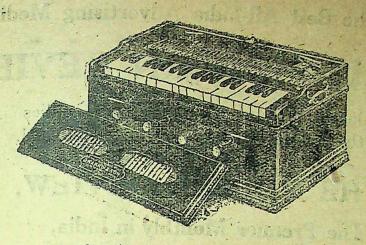
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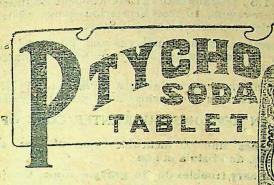
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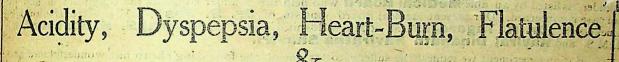
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Unsolicited Opinions, A Few out of a Large Number.

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(2) In some miscellaneous cases of "incural type,—(some of which are now progressing under treatment)—including Pthisis, Diabetes, Rheurtism, Anaemea, Nervous debility, Fistula, Malgoulcers in the alimentary canals, &c., refer to Dr. P. Mukerjee, 36, Scott's Lane, Calcutta; Dr. P. Bard 8, Jeliapara Rd, Calcutta; Dr. Telang, Chief Mccal Officer, Rajpipla State, Nandod; Dr. Sri-Racal Officer, Central Jail; Srinagar, Kash State; Dr. K. Nazarudin, Arimalam, (Trichinopol Dr. J. Paul, Missionary Hospital, Nizamabad Muthu Kumara Swamypilley, Bhat building, M. Rd., Bandra, Bombay; Mr. J. Himson, of Ges Hall, Victoria Rd, Bangalore; Prof. B.D. Audich, Yervda, Poona; Mr. R. Cama, 94, Esplanade Bombay; Mr. C. C. Pinto, B.A., Rev. dept., S. Lariat, Bombay; Mr. Frank Knox Rodrigues, D. S. Dharwar.

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IN TUNE WITH THE INFINITE

By Mr. Bireswar Sen.

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WHOLE No. 158

THE HINDU PARLIAMENT UNDER HINDU MONARCHY*

By K. P. JAYASWAL.

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THE JANAPADA OR THE REALM ASSEMBLY AND THE PAURA OR THE ASSEMBLY OF THE CAPITAL CITY: PERIOD 600 B. C. TO 600 A. C.

THE SAMITI AND TERRITORIAL MONARCHIES.

§247. Just about the time of the rise of large monarchies we find developed a popular institution of great constitutional importance. The period succeeding the Vedic-from the Maha-Bharata War down to the end of the Brihadrathas (700 B.C.)1-is characterised by States which were co-extensive with their respective nations and lands inhabited by them. We may call that period, the epoch of National States and National Monarchies. The Bharatas, 2 and Panchālas, 3 for instance, had their own national kings; and so had the Videhas. The nation called Aikshvakas4 (eg., by Patanjali) had their own king. Earlier than 600 B.C. we find a tendency in Indian states to develop what we may call non-national Territorial Monarchies. national basis begins to give way to a propensity for encroachment by one national Large state others, and of amalgamation. Large state units arise which are no more national but merely territorial units. We find, for instance, the old Aikshvāka-janapada transforming itself into Kāsi-Kosala and of Magadha state comprised of the territories of Magadha state comprised of the control of Magadha and Anga. The process develors were and Anga. The process develops very rapidly between 550 B.C. and 300 B.C. The grand for this had already 300 B.C. The ground for this had already

This is a chapter of Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's sity Press) from which Sir C. Sankaran Nair has given dated March 5, 1919, appended to the Government of Reforms bearing the same date, CC-0. In Public Domain.

been prepared philosophically. The Buddha, though a born-republican, was ambitious to found an one-state empire of his religion. The Aitareya Brāhmana had preached for empire extending up to the sea. The Jātakas are full of the ideal of an All-India Empire ("Sakala Jambudipe ekarajjam".)

§248. In the period of large monarchies or empires, country (janapada) became more important than the nation (vis or jana). In fact, the term 'janapada', which literally and originally meant the seat of the nation and which had been secondarily employed as denoting the nation itself, lost its old significance, and came to mean what we call to day country without reference to the racial elements inhabiting it. In the period of large monarchies we never hear of the Samiti. This, of course, is natural. The basis of the Samiti was the national unit, and the national unit ceased to be a factor in matters constitutional.

THE RISE OF THE JANAPADA ASSEMBLY.

We, however, hear of another institution which probably was an incarnation of the old Samiti under changed circumstances.

\$249. The division of a kingdom in the period between 600 B.C. and 600 A.C. is made into 'the capital' and 'the country'. In the former is designated Pura 12 or Nagara (the City) 13 and occasionally Durga (the Fort), 14 and the latter is called Janapada, with synonyms in Rāshtra and Desa. The expression Jānapada, a derivative from 'Janapada', we find occurring in the Pali canon, the Rāmāyana, the Mahābhārata and other books, and in inscriptions. In our day it has been taken to mean 'an (inhabitant) of Janapada.' Its use as a stechnical term has been pada.

generally found in plural form; e.g., jānapadāh, which has been translated as 'the people of the janapada.' 'Modern writers have further made the mistake of regarding janapada as a province, which is against all ancient authority. It really means the whole area of a kingdom constitutionally minus the capital.15 The technical significance of the Janapada as a collective institution has now been established by Khāravela's inscription of 165 B. C.16 Medieval commentators, not knowing that there was a collective institution called janapada, 'corrected' the singular form into the plural janapadah. A very good example of this is verse 54 (Ch. XIV) of the Ayodhyā kānda of the Rāmāyana.17 King Dasaratha is sought to be intimated: "The Paura, the Jānapada, and the Naigama are present, respectfully present, respectfully waiting for Rāma's consecration (as Crown-Prince)." The verb upatishthati (is waiting) is in the singular and this requires the subjects in each case joined on by 'cha' ('and', 'as well as') to be in the singular. But in the text, only the 'naigama' (corporate association of guild-merchants of the capital) is kept in the singular and the word Jānapada has been altered into a plural nominative and plural instrumental.18 The instrumental form is resorted to for a forced grammatical justification (the Janapadas with the naigama). The correct reading, in the nominative singular, Jānapadascha, is still found in some MSS. But it is rejected by modern editors as incorrect.10

§250. The plural 'jānapadāh' may equally denote 'the members of the janapada institution' as well as 'the people of janapada.' The plural form does not exclude the institutional significance. That there was such a body can be established if we find the term used in the singular, not in the sense of one man, but in the collective sense, or if we find the plural 'jānapadāh' in a collective sense. We have instances of both these uses. Moreover, we have evidence of the fact that janapadas as bodies corporate had their own laws and those laws were recognised by the Dharma-Sastras, There is the unquestionable evidence afforded by the Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela, which says that the king granted privileges to the Janapada (in the singular, 'janapadam'). The evidence of the Ramayana referred to above is equally important. The Janapada Assistant, They, the Jana adas, according identical The CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Handwarporate association janan was waiting for the consicration of the King.

to the Rāmāyana, had already come to a unanimous decision in a joint conference with the Pauras and others on the question of this proposed consecration. The resolution was "we desire this consecration,"20

In the Manava-dharma-sastra20a, the law of caste (Jāti), of 'Jānapada', and of guild (Sreni),21 are recognized. It is undoubted that the other two institutions of this ground were corporate institutions. The code of Yai navalkya mentions jānapadas, ganas, srens and jātis (castes) as units who "also must be compelled to follow their own laws,"" Mandalik, with the true insight of the lawyer leaves the word janapadah untranslated and treats it as a technical term like the gate These two smriti passage and the sreni. similarly mention another institution 'kula' We have already seen that there was a kulform of government. To find out the identity of 'kula' let us take parallel passages a the point from the Arthasastra. chapter dealing with Samaya23 or resolution of corporate institutions (p. 173), Kautily mentions the Samaya of desa-sangha, jatsangha and kula-sangha; i.e., of the country corporate-association, of caste-corporate-ass ciation and the corporate association of kula. The kula-sangha, as we have seen,24 is technical term of Hindu politics. It mean a constitution where a kula or family rule i.e., an aristocratic or oligarchical state. Aga in page 407, Desa-sangha, Grāma-sang and Jāti-sangha are mentioned. The Manar dharma-sāstra26 deals with the breaks of samayas (resolutions or laws of corpora assemblies) and mentions the Grama sais and the Desa-sangha, which are paraphras again as grāma-samūha, jāti-samūha, The desa or jānapada association is also for in Vrihaspati, 26 where the laws of the gul merchant and the laws of Desa are referred together. In another verse²⁷ the resolution of the 'town' and of the 'country' (Desa), being opposed to the laws of the king provided for. Manu (VIII. 41), instead jāti-sangha, mentions jāti only, and inste of desa-sangha, mentions jānapada VIII. 46, in the place of janapada, design substituted. substituted. By desa in such passages association. association, Desa-sangha or the Janapada obviously many obviously meant. The above data protection that the janapada of Manu and Yajnayah and the deep a and the desa-sangha of Manu and Kautilyal identical. The

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or desa-sangha, as the name signifies, was a body for the whole country (except, as we shall presently see, the capital).

§251. The Janapada yet has another synonym in Rāshtra, which is found in later works. In the Dasakumāra-charita (Ch. 3) the president of the Janapada is called janapada-mahattara28 (Lord High President). Further on, the same person is called the Rashtra-mukhya or 'the Leader of the Realm (Assembly).'

In a manuscript29 of Mitra-Misra's unpublished commentary on Yājnavalkya I have found in connection with the subject of relief which could not be granted or suits which could not be entertained (anadeya vyavahara), that a suitor who was hostile to the Paura, i.e., the City Assembly of the capital (see below), or to the Rāshtra, was not to be grant-The authority quoted is that of Vrihaspati. A similar verse is given in the Viramitrodaya Vyavahāra at page 44, where instead of Paura, the reading is pura (capital). The expression Pura and Rāshtra are explained by Mitra-Misra as Paura-janapada. Rāshtra here thus stands for the Jānapadabody as it does in the Dasakumāracharita.

THE PAURA.

§252. Before dealing with the functions of the Janapada it would be convenient to notice the corporate association of the capital. The Capital-Assembly is a twin sister of the Janapada in constitutional matters The two are almost always mentioned together, and sometimes one stands

Paura does not relate to all the towns in the kingdom as it has been translated by both modern Indians and Europeans. Earlier Hindu writers understood by the technical Pura and Nagara the Capital. 29 Paura as a corporate body is mentioned in the singular like Janapada in the inscription of Kharavela (165 B.C.), 30 who granted privileges to the Paura. In the who granted privileges to the Paura. In the corporate sense it is clearly mentioned the corporate sense it is where mentioned again in the Divyāvadāna where Kunāla is Runala is supposed to have entered the Paura Paura (used in the singular), that is, the Paura (seembly 30) forged letter, according to the Divyāvadāna, to the Panes, according to the Divyāvadāna, to the Pauras, i.e., an organised body.31 The author of the Viramitrodaya definitely states that the Viramitrodaya definitely porate bodies: which occurs along with coror assembly of the citizens of the capital."32

MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE PAURA.

§253. The Paura was a communal association in which vested the municipal administration of the Capital. 8 3 Apart from its municipal work it exercised great constitutional powers. Let us first take the Muni-

cipal administration of the Paura.

It was presided over by a leading citizen, generally a merchant or a banker. The Hindu Mayor was called Sreshthin or the President, According to the Rāmāyana, the Paura as well as the Janapada consisted of two sections, the Inner and the Outer bodies.34 The Inner must have been the executive council which sat permanently. We hear often of the Paura and the Nagara-Vriddhas or the Elders of the Paura. On the analogy of other popular institutions of the country we can say that the Paura-Vriddhas constituted a Council of Elders which was probably identical with the Inner body of the Rāmāyana. An exception is made in the Dharma-Sutras to the general rule of etiquette in the case of a Paura ex-member of the Sudra caste who is entitled to special respect even from This shows that the Paura a Brahmin. 35 had a real popular basis representing even the lowest interests.

The Paura had a Registrar, and a 9254 document given by him was regarded as a superior kind of evidence. 86 The Registrar's document was the chief of the 'laukika lekhya's or popular documents as opposed to 'rājakiya' or government documents. This shows that Paura was not a body appointed by the king. The non-political functions of the Paura, which are mentioned in the law-books, are these :-

(a) Administration of Estates. They were authorised by the king to administer along with government officers property left by a deceased person and to take charge of minors³⁷ (Vasishtha XVI. 20).

(b) Works which contributed to the material strength of the citizens (called the Paushtika38 works) were done by them,

and likewise,

(c) Works which ensured the peace of the city (santika), 38 i.e., policing the town. These two classes of work are qualified as being either 'ordinary', 'extra-ordinary' or

porate bodies in the law-books was utbe chady curve Ranglico ited, or assembly of the citizens of the capital." administration: Criminal authority proper,

i.e., in cases of the sahasa40 (violence) from the class, are expressly excepted jurisdiction of the Paura Court. According to an authority quoted by Mitra-Misra, probably Bhrigu, as well as many others, the Paura Court was an institution recognised by the king.

(e) Charge of sacred and public places.

§255. The Paura, like any township, looked after temples and other sacred places of the Capital. They did repairs to those buildings. The buildings named are sabhā, prapā (place for distribution of water), temples, tatāka (rest-houses), (public baths), ārāma devagriha (temples).41

PAURA ADMINISTRATION OF PATALIPUTRA.

§256. I propose to identify description of the municipal government noticed by Megasthenes at Pātaliputra, with the Paura organisation of Hindu India. Strabo42 after giving the description Pataliputra describes its administration. The most important point to mark in that is the phrase "the City magistrates", which in the mouth of a Greek will signify popular officers and not officers appointed by the king. The royal officer, Governor of the City, the 'Nagaraka' as described in Arthasāstra was distinct. These 'City magistrates' had six boards of five members each who looked after

(a) industrial matters of the city;

(b) foreigners in the city on whose death they administered their properties (forwarded them to their relatives);43

(c) the registration of births and deaths

in the city;

(d) trade and commerce and manufactures of the city and collection of municipal duty on the sale of articles. "Such are the functions which these bodies separately discharged, In their collective capacity they have charge both of their special departments and also of matters affecting the general interests, as the keeping of public buildings in repairs; regulation of prices, the care of markets, harbours and temples.

257. The 'City magistrates' of Strabo are the Paura-mukhyas or the Paura-vriddhas. The boards of five and the full board of the thirty disclose the same arrangements as the quorums of three, five, ten, twenty and upwards in the Parishads of aw, the Buddhist

saka sanghas of Patanjali.44 Vrihaspatials enjoins committees of five in corporate asso ciations. 45 In the Buddhist Sangha certain matters could be discussed by small quorunt but matters of greater importance could be discussed and decided by quorums of twenty and upwards only.46 In the description the Paura of Pataliputra we see that the council decided matters of general interest b the bigger quorum. This collective counc of the city magistrates corresponds to what the Rāmāyana calls the Inner body of the The Outer, the general body, mus Paura. have been composed of a fairly large number when the Inner alone had thirty members,

§258. "Varga": the constitutional significance of this word is seen from the above passage. It means an assembly or quorum In that sense Pānini also uses it (V. 1, 60 [See Kāsikā on it: panchako vargah dasal vargah. Corporate associations are called 'vargin's (those who worked by the 'varga' of assembly system) in a law text (Bhrige quoted by Mitra-Misra ('Viramitrodaya', F 11) where 'Paura' and 'Grāma' as well a 'Gana' are called 'Vargin's. [Comp. Kātyāyan quoted by Nilakantha-

> लिङ्गिन: ये णिपूगयवणिग जातास्त्यापरे। समूहस्थाय ये चान्ये वर्गा स्तानव्रवीइ,गुः॥

The 'Varga's of Vasudeva and Akrūra and mentioned in the Mahābhāshya, IV. 2. 2.

'Varga' in the corporate sense is employed by Gautama in his Dharma Sāstra, Chapte XI, Sutras 20-21.

देशजातिकुलधर्माश्वाचायैरविरहाः प्रमाणम्। कर्षक-विश्वन्पश्रपाल-क्रिसीदि-कारवः खे खे वंग।

The laws of the cultivators, merchant cattle-rearers, bankers and artisans should authority in their own corporations, should be noted that cultivators had the own union in the days of Gautama.

NAIGAMA AND ITS CONNEXION WITH PAUL

§ 259 The Paura, according to the Arth sāstra (p. 89), had gold coins minted at the royal mint. This might have been a const tutional function as exercising a check of royal minting of proper coins or it might have been a purely economic function. likely it was the latter. The Pura or capillad the Association had the Association of the City Merchal which was called the Naigama. This natural the guidest experience of the Pura of Merchal which was called the Naigama. Sangha, and the panchaka, da aka and vimikul Karasi Caled the Naigama. The gold control of the panchaka, da aka and vimikul Karasi Caled the Naigama. The gold control of the gold control

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of the City Merchants. It is wrong to take it, as it has been done up to this time, as a general term for Guild of Merchants. The general term is Sreni and also Puga. The difference between the two is not very clear.48 Now it appears that originally the Naigama of the capital was the mother of the Paura association. The Paura grew out of or round the Naigama. In the Jātakas and Pāli canon Naigama (Negama) stands for Paura.49 Modern translators have translated it by 'town'. It really refers to 'the town' or capital. Hindu commentators on law books also equate Naigama with Paura. 50 In Pali books Naigama comes with Janapada, as in Sanskrit books Paura comes with Janapada. The connection between the Cityguild of merchants and the City corporation was so intimate that both came to be regarded as identical. This is the reason why the mercantile interest is predominant in the Paura. 51 The Rāmāyana mentions the Naigama always with the Paura and treats them as connected, though distinct.

"NEGAMA COINS."

§260. The Paura being so pronouncedly mercantile, their getting coins minted at the royal mint we can take as an economic measure. The "Negama coins" which have been discovered and interpreted as coins struck by guilds are, I think, to be interpreted as coins struck at the capital by the State for the association of the city merchants or the

The coins bearing the name of chief-towns, eg., Ujeniya, etc., 53 can be thus explained as being Paura coins. 54

§261. The literal significance of Nigama, from which Naigama is derived, is in accordance with Panini III, 3,119, 'the place or house whereinto people resort.' must have been the meeting place or the bourse in the capital where merchants and tradesmen in the capital met. The people associated with the Nigama, the bourse or guild-hall, were called Naigama.

POLITICAL FUNCTIONS OF THE JANA-PADA AND THE PAURA.

COINAGE AND JANAPADA. \$262. The Janapada appears to have been leerned with a constitutional concerned with matters mainly constitutional political work and political. All the references to their work to such.

viz., that they got gold coins minted by the royal mint-master. 55 This seems to have been a business of an economic nature. Apparently they had to judge as to number of the coins necessary in the country for the purpose of exchange, and probably they exercised some sort of supervision as to weight and purity of the coins, as debasement of coinage by government is found once or twice as a matter of public complaint.

CONSTITUTIONAL BUSINESS WHICH THE PAURA-JANAPADA WERE SUPPOSED TO DO.

§263. In all constitutional matters we find the Paura always appearing with the Janapada. The Paura had thus a double character, as a local self-administration of the capital and a constitutional assembly. The latter function they sometimes discharged, as we shall see, by themselves, especially in provincial capitals. Matters of importance were discussed and decided in a joint parlia ment of the two bodies, the Janapada and Paura. Their unity then is so complete that the two bodies are regarded as one and referred to as one in the singular. The unity was effected owing to the fact that the Janapada had its meeting-place and office at the capital itself.59

§264. Let us take examples of the business they used to transact. The Pauras and the Janapadas meet together along with Brahmins and other leaders of the nation to resolve upon the appointment of a Yuvarāja or king-assistant.57 After their deliberations they ask the king to consecrate the prince whom they say "we want",58

RESOLVE ON NOMINATION OF CROWN-PRINCE.

The king feigns surprise and asks: "As you desire the Rāghava prince to become protector, a doubt has arisen in my mind which please explain, O you rulers (Rājānah-'Kings'). Although I am ruling this country in accordance with law, yet how is it, you gentlemen want to see my son appointed as king-assistant, with high powers ?" spokesmen with the members of the Paura-Janapada give their reasons. They say that Rāma was the best of the Ikshvākus in are to such business, with other exception, after the was have; that he have is the Pauras; that he

took a leading part in the festivities; that he knew the principles of government, etc., etc.; that the country desired him as its lord; and, in fine, that not only the people of the kingdom and capital but also the Paura-Janapada, both their Inner and Outer The king is bodies, admire the Prince. gratified at the proposal that they desired to have his eldest son in the office of the Yuvarāja. When the king promises that the desire would be carried out, his reply acclaimed. 50 And then he makes a speech by which he gives directions to carry out the resolution. This being done, the "Pauras who had advised the king departed greatly satisfied,"00 Here it is evident that the expression Pauras stands both for Pauras and Jānapadas.

TAKE PART IN ABHISHEKA AS PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVES.

§265. The Paura-Jānapada as one body again wait to take part in the Abhisheka (consecration) ceremony.61 Although the whole body is taken to be present, only the chiefs or 'presidents' of the sections were in fact present in person.62

DEPOSITIONS.

§266. The revolution enacted in the Mrichchhakatika throws light on another aspect of the constitutional powers of Paura-Jānapada. The reigning king is deposed because of bad administration of law of which the president of the Commercial Union had been a victim. 63 The brother 64 of the deposed king, who had 'established confidence' among the Pauras 65 obtained sovereignty: The messenger comes to the "Janapada Samavāya", 'corporate association of the Janapada' with the news of the revolution,66 who are shortly after addressed as Pauras and called upon to punish Samsthānaka. According to the Mahā-Vamsa, the Cylonese chronicle, the Paura in India could depose and banish the king for illegal acts, and they, 'mindful of the good of all', could choose another one in his place, outside the dynasty, by deciding upon it in their meeting.67 Here again the Pauras apparently stand for both the Pauras and Janapadas. In the Dasa-kumāra-charita68 the Pauras and the Janapadas are said up be friendly to the brothers of the king; it is therefore feared by the speaker that they are bound to the limit to Kesolutions on state policy having discussed by the cabinet of ministers with the limit to the limit by the speaker that they are bound to

POLITICAL DISCUSSION IN PAURA. JANAPADA.

§267. There is a sample of discussions in the assemblies of the Paura and the Janapada given in the Arthasastra. Spies of the king, charged to gauge the political views of the Pauras and the Janapadas about the king would approach (1) the Tirtha-Sabhā-Sālā. Samavaya or the Sectional sub-assembly of the Paura in charge of sacred places and pub lic buildings; (2) the Puga-Samavaya or the sub-assembly in charge of trades and manufactures, and (3) the Jana-Samavāya or the Popular Assembly, that is, what the Mrichchhakatika calls the Janapada-Samavaya. By approaching these assemblies sectional or permanent councils, the spies ascertained the prevailing feeling of the Paura and Janapada. The spies would broach the subject, for example, in these words:

"We hear that the king is possessed of all the necessary merits. But we do not see those merits, for the man is troubling the Pauras and the Janapadas (by demands of) army aud taxes."69

In the discussion if the members defend and praise the king, they were reminded of the Hindu theory of the original contract between king and people, the origin and basis of kingship:

"Well, (is it not so? that) the subjects went to Manu, son of Vivasvat, when the state of nature arose and troubled them. They settled his share in taxes as one-sixth of the crops, and one-tenth of merchandise in cash That much is the wage of the kings for ensuring prosperity."170

APPOINTMENT OF THE CHIEF MANTEIN AND PAURA-JANAPADA.

§ 268. The king, according to the Maha bhārata had to invest only that minister will the jurisdiction of 'mantra' or state policy and government ('danda'), that is, the powers of the premier ('mantrin') who has legally early ea ed the confidence of the Paura-Jānapada.

RESOLUTION ON STATE POLICY.

Resolutions on state policy having with the king, had to be submitted to the Rashti succeed the king if the latter dies CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul kangrisolledien, Hariswarada, for the opinion

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that body (lit. to consult, darsayet), through the Rāshtriya or the president of the Rāshtra the Rashtra This was necessary especially or Janapada. 72 This was necessary especially because grant of extraordinary taxes, as we shall presently see, was in their hands.

§269. The tenure of ministers depended to some extent, at any rate, on the good-will and confidence of the Paura-Janapada. minister Chakrapālita who was the provincial governor of Skandagupta in the Western Presidency, records in his public inscription that he gained confidence in his rule in a short time, and that he 'flattered and pleased' the Paura-vargas or the association of the Pauras.78 Finally he prays 'May the capital prosper and be loyal to the Paura !'74

PAURA AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT.

§270. In empires there were presidency capitals. There seems to have been an independent Paura body in such capitals. The Paura alone in such cases are mentioned. There was no separate Jānapada body there and it seems that the latter still sat at the capital representing the whole country. Pauras were prone to take offence at the ministry's behaviour. The Pauras alone of Takshasilā, the capital of the North (uttarāpatha) in the time of Asoka, are related to have become 'hostile'. Prince Kunāla was sent by his father king Asoka to pacify them. The Pauras coming forward told the prince in their address of welcome: "We are not hostile to your Highness (the viceroy), nor are we hostile to king Asoka; (we are against) the rascally ministers who have come and who are rude to us (insult us)."75 We find from Asoka's inscriptions that he had made an order that the ministers at Takshasila were to go out of office every three years, and new ministers were sent instead.78

AGITATION OF THE PAURA OF TAXILA. In other ministers were changed every five years; but an exception was made in the case of the government at Takshasilā, and that at Uljayini the same records, which mention this name called this, namely, the Kalinga Inscriptions, called Separate Edited, Kalinga Inscriptions, say that Separate Edicts' by Epigraphists, say that the king insisted by Epigraphists, say that the king insisted on the law of transfers, so that the "city of the law of transfers," Paura) that the "city-body" ('nagara-jana' = Paura) should not be suddenly excited and suddenly to translated a kasmā Put to trouble ("Nagala janasa akasmā

This evidently refers to a sudden excitement of the Pauras, as in the case of the Takshasilā agitation described in the Divyāvadāna. Unfortunately we are not in possession of the details of these constitutional 'insults' which entitled the Pauras to become hostile and justify their disloyalty. In any case the Pauras were such keen politicians that they would distinguish disloyalty to the ministers from loyalty to the crown.

TAXATION.

§ 270. The Paura-Jānapada are repeatedly mentioned in connexion with taxation. Taxes were fixed by common law. But the king often had the necessity and occasion to apply for an extra-ordinary taxation. Such taxes assumed the form of 'pranaya' ('out of affection') 'gifts' or a forced benevolence-tax, and the like.77 It is evident that proposals of such taxation were first submitted to the Paura-Janapada. According to the Artha-Sastra the king had "to beg of the Paura-Jānapadas" these taxes. 78 We have already noticed the discussion of grievances in the Paura sub-assemblies and the Janapada subassemblies about the oppression of the king's A ruler of a subjugated country, according to Kautilya, ran the risk of causing wrath of the Paura-Jānapada, and his consequent fall, by raising money and levying army to be supplied to the suzerain. 79 Disaffection might follow a Regent's threat to realize a war tax. Kautilya's agents, says the Arthasastra, who would have taken service under the Regent while the enemy king was out with his army in the field. would secretly tell the Paura-Jānapadas as friends, that the Regent had ordered the department to demand taxes the moment the king returned. And when the Pauras held a general meeting to give their votes on the subject, the leaders were to be done away with at night secretly, and the rumour circulated by the agents, "this is done because they were opposing the Regent's sal."80 This was expected to cause dissension and weakness in the enemy country.

Rudradāman, as he says in his inscription, proposed to his ministers the restoration of the great water-works of the Mauryas, the Sudarsana lake, which proposal was rejected by his council of ministers. Whereupon palibodhe va akasmā palikdesemanio rivatella purse. In doing so, ne saya jana or body with a demand of benevolences for the purpose,81 Just before he has already said that he realised taxes only so much as was rightfully allowed (by Hindu Law).

The Sudarsana lake was a huge irrigation The capital being situated on a hill, the people who were most benefitted by it were the Janapada people. It would be probably inexplicable why the king should have troubled the Pauras unless we accept the presumption that the Paura-Janapada together had to sanction the demand.

ROYAL SPEECH to the PAURA-JANAPADA.

§271. A sample of an address from the throne begging extra taxes from the Paura-Jānapada is given in the Mahābhārata. I quoted the speech in 1912, but its constitutional character could not be realised before Khāravela's inscription disclosed the corporate Paura and Janapada. The passage just before the speech is most important, for it shows the methods to which the Crown resorted to secure the grants from the Paura-Janapada. The method of securing a majority in the assembly of the Janapada is given and royal dishonesty in defeating the Janapada divulged. The very method, at the same time, proves the legal power and authority of the Paura-Jānapada.82

"To provide for a future distress, kings" [according to our Mahābhārata authority] raise and keep by funds. All the Paura-Janapadas (i.e., all the members), those in session ('samsrita'), as well as those taking ease ('upāsrita'), every one of them should be shown (royal) sympathy, even those who are not rich. Dissension should be created in the Outer (Bāhya) body of theirs and then the Middle body to be well (or comfortably) won over (bribed, 'entertained'). The king thus acting, the people will not be excited and disaffected whether they feel (the burden) easy or heavy. Then before money demand is made, the king going to them and addressing a speech should point out to the Rashtra (Janapada) the danger to his country (e.g., as follows),88

'Here a danger has arisen. A enemy army! They forebode our end just as the prospect of coming fruit on to the bamboo.84 My enemies with the help of dasyus (foreign barbarians)85 want to harm

will prove to be their self-destruction, In this serious difficulty and in the nearness of this grim danger, I beg of you money, gentlemen, for your safety. When the crisis is over I will repay, gentlemen, in full. The enemies will not return what they, if they do so, carry away by force from here. From family down to everything you possess might be destroyed by them. Money is desired only for the sake of person, children and wife. I delight in your prosperity as in the prosperity of my sons. I shall receive what you can spare, without causing pain to the realm and to you. In crises, the honourable assembly (Bhavadbhih Sangataih) should bear the burden. You should not value money very much in a crisis,'

"With such sweet, bland speeches," making salutations and doing courtesy ('sopachāra') kings presented their "money demands" (dhanādāna). Every Paura and every Jānapada (that is, every member) was to be humoured by the personal attention of the king before the time for the speech and demand arrived.86

We are already familiar with the Outer body of the Paura-Jānapadas. Rāmāyana, as we have seen, the same term occurs. But what is meant by the Middle body? The sense is not clear to me. Probably they were men of neutral views. They were to be "used", "given wages", for their dis-They were won over to honourable conduct. favour the king's proposal.

It should be noted that the language addressed to the Paura-Janapada is very polite the pronoun is 'bhavat', 'your honourable self'; bhavadbhih sangataih, 'your honourable Assembly.'87

PAURA-Janapada and 'Anugraha' PRIVILEGES.

\$272. The Paura-Jānapada demanded 'privileges' and obtained 'anugraha's or Khāravela in his inscription says that he granted numerous 'anugraha's in a particular year to the Paura and to the Janapada According to Kautilya, the Paura-Janapada (leaders) in an enemy country should be advised by secret agents 'to anugrahas from the king' when there be famine, thefts and raids by the 'Atavi's (buffer of wild tribes). This is to be read along will the kingdom,—an attempt which, of course. Vainavally which enjoins that CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Rangh Collection, Haridge, 90 which enjoins

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the king must pay "to the Janapada" (in the singular) compensation for loss caused by thieves. (See also §281.) The Paura-Jānapada should couple their demand, according to Kautilya, with the threat of migration to the enemy's country in case the demand was not allowed. 88

§275. That demands of anugrahas were mostly of economic character is shown by the direction of Kautilyase that only those anugrahas and 'parihāra's concessions) should be granted which would lead to the strength of the Exchequer and those which weaken it were to be avoided, for with a small treasury the king oppresses the Paura-Janapadas. 'parihāra' in famines recommends counts mining operations, facilities for commerce, establishment of land and water routes for trade, and opening seaports and irrigation-works as cases where anugraha ought to be granted. 91 Asoka in his Pillar Proclamations says that the Rājukas or ruling ministers made independent by him were to make anugraha to the Janapada body. Rudradaman calls his restoration of the irrigation lake Sudarsana an anugraha in favour of the Paura-Jānapadas. 92

KING ASKS PERMISSION OF NAIGAMA-JANAPADA TO UNDERTAKE LONG SACRIFICE.

§274. The Buddhist testify to the constitutional practice of the books similarly King approaching the Janapada and the Naigama or Paura for a 'fresh tax' 3 when he intended to undertake a big sacrifice. The royal speech on that occasion is characteristically polite. The form of demand was

I intend to offer a great sacrifice. Let the gentlemen ('venerable ones', Rhys Davids) give their sanction to what will be to me for

If the Paura-Janapada bodies gave their 'anumati' (sanction) the king was to perform the sacrif the sacrifice and the country had to pay a

approached and begged by the king to grant extra-ordinary taxation and the Paura-Janapada demanded and obtained anugrahas or economic privileges from the king. It is certain but certain but likely that in not certain, but it is very likely that in utilised the machinery of the Paura fanapada. Two

references in the Artha-Sāstra, noticed above, where taxes are coupled with the 'danda' (army) or raising of army suggest the possibility.

DAILY BUSINESS OF PAURA-JANAPADA WITH THE KING.

§276. That the Paura-Jānapada had not business of a mere occasional adventitious nature is proved by the fact that the Arthasastra marks out one period in the king's daily time-table to be devoted to the business of the Paura-Janapadas.95 Daily therefore matters went up from them to the king. These must have been of an economic and financial nature, and if they had to raise levies for the imperial army, as it seems very probable, the business must have included matters relating to the army also. The daily business before the king suggests a busy time for at least the Inner body or the permanent 'samavaya' of the Paura-Jānapada.

Asoka's NEW DHARMA AND JANAPADA.

§277. The above matters were not the only concern of the Paura-Janapadas. We find Asoka, after his pilgrimage to Bodh Gaya, discussing his new Dharma with the Jānapada body.96 Asoka proposed impose a new system on the community and to do away with the old orthodox system. He had to feel his way in proceeding with his intended revolution.

He sought countenance of the Paura-Janapada and proclaimed to the public that he had been having the honour of meeting the Jānapada ('darsana') and discussing the Dharma with them. They were thus a machinery not only for the restricted purposes of taxation and economic advancement but for all vital interests of the country.

IMPORTANCE OF THE PAURA-THE PAURA AND EXECUTIVE WORK.

\$278. We find the Paura receiving communication from the sovereign to execute measures of moment which properly belonged to the jurisdiction of the executive government or 'Danda'. Tishyarakshita, queen of Asoka, sent the letter which she forged under the name of the Emperor and sealed with his ivory seal, to the Paura of Takshasila. story as related in the Divyavadana may or may not be correct. But the story would not have been detailed in this way if the pro-

cedure of sending a royal communication of the nature the missive is said to have embodied, had been unknown at the time the Divyāvadāna was compiled. The Paura were asked to inflict punishment on the viceregal prince who had been denounced in the letter as a traitor to the dynasty.97

The Pauras in the Mrichchhakatika are asked by the populace to execute the real culprit (Samsthānaka) who had been treated as innocent by the law-court. The 'Pauras' here probably stands for Paura-Jānapada, as they are mentioned after the Janapada-

samavāya.

KING AND GOVERNOR ATTEND PAURA-ANAPADA.

§279. The prince-viceroy was supposed to go to their assembly.98 The passage in the Mahābhārata seems to imply that the king himself attended the Paura-Jānapada assembly. Asoka received them with great respect.

PAURA-JANAPADA COULD MAKE OR MAR GOVERNMENT.

§280. The political philosopher Vāmadeva quoted in the Mahabharata sums up the importance of the Paura and Janapada by saying that the Paura-Janapada could make or mar the government. If they were satisfied, "the business of the realm" would be done by them; if they were not satisfied, they would make government impossible, for they became opposers. The King had therefore to keep them attached by his conduct and by not

causing annoyance.

As the Paura administered relief to the poor and helpless in the capital, 100 the Janapada did the same in their jurisdiction, It appears from the view of Vamadeva that when the Janapada and the Paura withdrew from the duty of poor-relief the government of the king was in trouble. They could make the government impossible in the many ways to be inferred from their various functions which we have noticed. To these the trouble caused by the non-performance of poor-relief is evidently to be added as a factor of importance. If the Paura-Jānapada, says Vāmadeva, remain kind to beings, having money and grain (for the purpose), the thronewill remain firmly rooted,101

COMPENSATION BILLS OF JANAPADA TO THE CROWN.

Janapada made the government of a mis. behaving king difficult was that the offended Paura and Janapada would make out a bill and present it to the king to make good all the losses sustained in the kingdom by thefts, dacoities, and like lawlessness. Babu Govinda Das writes: "Even up to very recent times,] understand that in the Rajput states their had to be made good by the king's treasury, This strange procedure is sanctioned even by codes of Hindu law. We can understand it only if we bear in mind the Hindu theory of taxation. Taxes were paid to the king as his wages and the wages were wages for protection. (See below.) The corrollary was that if protection, which meant both internal and external, was not rendered fully deductions from the wages of the employee would be made by the employer. The refund bills were presented according to Yajnavalkya by the Janapada, as it is to them that he enjoins on the king to pay the compensation.102 The passage in the Artha-Sastra101 which says that the spies were to prompt the Pauras and Janapadas to ask for concessions if the frontier barbarians committed raids, also indicates the practice of demand ing compensations.

Krishna Dvaipāyana laysdown that "when the king has failed to recover the property taken away by thieves, it should be made good from his own 'Kosa' ('Svakosat) or purse by the impotent holder-of-thecountry."104 'Svakosa', as in the inscription of Rudradaman, was the private purse as opposed to the public treasury. If this was the sense of Dvaipayana the compensation realised (according to the corresponding law of Yajnavalkya) by the Janapada amounted to a personal fine on the King.101

CONSTITUENCY OF THE JANAPADA.

§282. From the evidence of the Maha bhārata, we gather that the members of the Janapada, as well as of the Paura, were generally rich people. And those who were not rich, were not poor either. The reference in the Dasakumāracharita 100 which represents the king making an illegal request to president of the Janapada for the oppression of a particular Grāmani, or the head of the village assembly village assembly, associates a member with the village unit. The Janapada according to the village unit. according to the Arthasastra; was composed Another method by which the Paura ruku Pkavill agree word to the Arthasastra; was complete the CC-0. In Public Domain Guruku Pkavill agree word to the Arthasastra; was complete the CC-0. In Public Domain Guruku Pkavill agree word to the Arthasastra; was complete the CC-0. In Public Domain Guruku Pkavill agree word to the Arthasastra; was complete the CC-0. In Public Domain Guruku Pkavill agree word to the Arthasastra; was complete the CC-0. In Public Domain Guruku Pkavill agree word to the Arthasastra; was complete the CC-0. In Public Domain Guruku Pkavill agree word to the Arthasastra; was complete the CC-0. In Public Domain Guruku Pkavill agree word to the Arthasastra; was complete the CC-0. In Public Domain Guruku Pkavill agree word to the CC-0.

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The Gramani was generally a rich man, a Vaisya according to a Vedic reference 108 and a Kshatriya according to the Pali canon.100 The members returned to the Janapada were, very likely, men from the Gramani class.

The Pali Sutra, (Kutadanța of the Digha Nikāya),110 which is regarded as almost contemporary in age with the Buddha's time, furnishes some details of the composition of the Naigama or Paura and the Janapada. The king invites the Kshatriyas who 'Negama' and 'Janapada' for the time-being ("anuyuta negamā cha eva jānapadā cha") in the king's country ('Rañño janapade'); likewise those Negamas and Janapadas who were officers and councillors (of the Paura-Jānapada); and, Negama and Jānapada Brahmins who possessed 'larger class of houses'; and finally, 'Gahapati' Negamas and Janapadas who were of the class 'nechayika's. The Gahapati class composed of ordinary citizens, Vaisyas and Sudras, freemen cultivating their land or following their trade, flords of households'. 'Nechayika' probably denoted the richer class of the 'Grihapati' members as opposed to the Mahabharata's 'svalpadhana's or the small-wealth members of the Paura and Janapada.

This shows that the Paura and the Janapada had almost all the classes of the population.

The poor but highly intellectual class of Brahmins, probably was not there, as the qualification required was based on property of some value. The class of Brahmins whom I have described elsewhere as the aristocracyin-poverty, i.e., those who lived up to theideal laid down in the Upanishads and the Dharma Sutras, would not be included in bodies where property qualification was the law. If we why Real point in view we can understand why Brahmins as a class are mentioned in the Ramana as a class are mentioned the the Ramayana separately, as joining the conference of the conferen conference of the Paura-Janapada to discuss the question of the nomination of Yuvarāja by them 111

The character of the representing the whole country, is quite clear. Pauras were a fairly large body and presumably the Janapadas were larger in number.

THE COMPOSITION OF THE PAURA.

§283. We have a clear picture of the composition of the Paura. The description left by Megasthenes, 113 of the city magistrates or the Executive bodies of the Paura of Pātaliputra, read in the light of the working system of corporate assemblies of the country, shows that the Paura was divided into several sub assemblies representing different interests of the capital. The Paura was a sort of mother association of different Patanjali, who uses the word Sangha in the general sense of a corporate assembly, not limited, as by Pānini and also probably by Kātyāyana, to the political Sangha, mentions, as we have seen, Sanghas of 5 men, of 10 men and of 20 men. 113 It may be remembered that Kautilya also employs the word Sangha in the general sense 114 like Patanjali, although the technical sense of Pānini is not unknown to either. The significance becomes clear when we refer to the Mahavagga113 (IX. 4. I.) which lays down that a Sangha may have a quorum of 5, 10, 20 and upwards. The Panchaka Sangha, therefore, of Patanjali, is the quorum of 5. The boards of 5 members each of Megasthenes were these Panchaka Sanghas. If the boards of 5 each were the Sanghas of 5, then they would represent independent bodies, and their joint meeting would be a meeting of the mother association. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the Paura is regarded to have more than one Mukhya or Sreshtha, chief or president, 115 and Megasthenes mentions more than one "City Magistrate".116 In Mudrārākshasa,117 when Chandanadāsa is called by the Chancellor Chanakya (Kautilya), he is shown great respect and asked whether the people were loyal to the new king. Chandanadasa thereupon speaks for the whole country; but he is only the president of the Jewellers' Association (Manikarasreshthi). In the Dasakumāracharita, out of the two Paura-Mukhyas, one is the president of merchants dealing with foreign trade only.118 In the Arthasastra, where spies are sent to the They are called the Rāshtra or the kingdom samavāyas (in the plural) of the Tirthas of the Desa or the country itself. The the Sabha Salas, of the Paga and the

People. These Samavāyas are, except the last one, evidently identical with the Boards of Megasthenes (as pointed out above) which looked after public buildings and temples, after manufactured articles, after trade and commerce. We have noticed the datum of Gautama which proves that there were Sudra members also. They were probably returned by the Jāti-Sanghas or the caste assemblies or they might be representing some guild of artisans. The Puga committee must have been mainly composed of the representatives of trade and commerce, apparently middle class substantial men. The Paura was thus composed on the basis

of different interests in the capital. §284. The Rāmāyana gives some details separate bodies which made up the Naigama, probably about 500 B.C. As the Paura-Jānapada (with the Naigama) appeared taking a leading part in the nominations of Rāma as Yuvarāja, so the Paura, Naigama or Janapada, or probably all of them, figure on subsequent occasions when the question of succession to the throne presents itself. In VI (Yuddha) c. 127. 4, when Rama is returning to Ayodhyā the Sreni-mukhyas and the "Ganas" or 'Members of the parliament', (probably the Janapada) go out to receive him. In verse 16 they are around Bharata along with the ministers, and are mentioned as the sreni-mukhyas and the naigamas. The naigamas consecrate Rama as representatives of the Vaisya and Sudra elements of the population (c. 128. 62). When Bharata is called from his maternal home on the death of Dasaratha, the Srenis sanction Bharata's proposed succession, which is intimated to him (Ayodhyā, c. 79. 4). The "Rama-Commentary" here explains "Srenayah" as "Paurāh" and Gobinda-rāja as "naigamāh". Probably 'srenayah' (srenis) has been used in the primary sense, like the ganas of VI. 127, denoting the 'assemblies', i.e., both the Paura and Janapada. Again, when Bharata goes to bring back Rama from exile or hermitage, the favourites of the 'gana' go with him along with the same associates, the ministers, etc. (81-12). These favourites or elected rulers of the ganas a little further (83. 10) are referred to in connection with the people of the City (Nagarikas, probably-Pauras) as the Naigamas 'those who think together' (sam-matā ye) in the coms pany of all the ministers. Immediately following are detailed (was seln Public Dorgal). Guyukul

different bodies or classes of trades and arts who evidently made up the Naigama, eg jewellers, ivory-workers, stucco-workers, gold. smiths, wood-carvers spice-merchants and so forth.121 They are rounded up with (verse 15) Presidents of townships and villages' (grāma-ghoshamahattarāh), which the "Rama-Commentary" explains as the Presidents for the time being.122 As the Naigama is detailed by its various trades and arts, the Janapada ('those who think together') is detailed by its component elements - the village and township Presimain bodies issue Both these forth from the capital. The representative assembly of the villages and townships of the realm, as observed above, have their head quarters at the capital. But the Naigama which was similarly at the capital, was the general representative body of different trade-guilds and guild-merchants of the capital only, as the commentators imply and the equivalent Paura proves.

§285. This conclusion literature is confirmed by certain seals lately discovered at Basarh, the ruined site of Vaisāli. These seals are learned puzzles in the pages of the reports of the excavation without the data from literature we have noticed. They become intelligible in la light of the data adduced above. One see bears the legend "Sreshthi Nigamasya", while another reads "Sreshthi-sārthavāha-kulika nigama,"; again another, "kulika-Harih" "prathama-kulika-Harih".123 The sealsending with 'nigama' are the seals of the mothe association of Nigama or Paura. Kulika " a judge of the Paura, as we have alread seen;124 'prathama kulika' would be the the first judge of the Paura court. "President", was evidently the General President. The seal of the Sreshthi-sarthi vāha-kulika-nigama legend represented different sections or samavayas Nigama. The separate seals related to separate entities, the corporate soles, e.g., judicial seal of the 'kulika' judge.

THE "LAWS" OF THE JANAPADA AND PAURA.

\$286. The laws of Paura, alluded to the general term of grāma or of townshin the laws of Jānapada, as we have in the last chapter, are recognised in codes of Hindu laws. They were really kangricolection Handwar resolutions of these bodies. They

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force of law. The law-courts enforced them force of fam. offending members. 125 The resoluand arts against regulated primarily the conduct of ma, e.g. the corporate bodies and their business They were called Samaya, 'law or inter se. They were called Samaya, 'law or nts and resolution agreed upon in an assembly' (sam + ay). These Samayas are called in up with ips and Manu and Yajnavaikya125 Dharmas or Laws. s as the We may recall here that, according to As the Apastamba, the oldest writer on Dharma is trades yet discovered, all laws originated no think Samayas. 126 mponent ip Presi.

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Another class of their resolutions was called 'Sthiti' (lit. 'fixed,' 'immutable') 'Desasthiti'127 (the sthiti of the 'country' or 'country-assembly') which were enforceable against everybody. The Sthiti was probably ps of the eir head. the same as the class of their enactments called Samvit, 'to be known' or 'proclamawas the different tion-laws'. The Samvids were passed by the capi the Janapada and they were recorded on a roll (Samvitpatra).128 They were enacted and the with the formality of the members taking some special oath. They were binding on the whole kingdom. There is clear evidence als lately d site of of the fact that sometimes Samvids were against the interest of the king, as some ouzzles in authors of the codes make the exception xcavation that those Samvids only will be enforced by we have the law-courts which are not opposed to the in the king.1889 The Samayas also were put on a One sea ya", while

These Samaya (Samaya-Kriyā) Samvid enactments were what we call at present 'statutes'. They were not leges which were embodied in the Hindu Common Law. They were administrative statutes of a fiscal and political nature.

be the §287. It is significant that the Samvid class of acts are mentioned in connection Sresthi only with the Realm Assembly or the Genera Janapada and the Township Assembly. hi-sārthi Guilds and conquered Ganas (republics) and similar to conquered Ganas (republics) nted th of the Similar bodies could not enact Samvids. The proclamation-acts thus were the most ted to t important of the Paura-Jānapada enactments. As the term implies they were to be made known to the country—to do a thing, e.g., to give a particular extra-tax, or desist from

PAURA-JANAPADA AS HINDU DIET.

which could depose the king, which nominated the successor to the throne, whose kindly feelings towards a member of the royal family indicated his chance of succession, whose president was intimated by the king of the policy of state decided upon in the council of ministers, which were approached and begged by the king in all humility a new tax, whose confidence in a minister was regarded as an essential qualification for his appointment as chancellor, which were consulted and referred to with profound respect by a king aspiring to introduce a new religion, which demanded and got industrial, commercial and financial privileges for the country, whose wrath meant ruin to provincial governors, which were coaxed and flattered in public proclamations, which could enact statutes even hostile to the king-in fine, which could make possible or impossible the administration of the king. An organism with these constitutional attributes was an organism which we will be justified in calling the Hindu Diet.

The Paura-Jānapada were a powerful check on royal authority. At the same time there were also other sources of influence which kept royal responsibility fully alive and active.

I Jayaswal, J. B. O. R. S., Vol. IV.

2 Cf. Taittiriya Samhitā of Yajurveda एष्वो भरता

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राजा, I. 8. 10. विकास के विकास

- 3 Brihadaranyaka Upanishad, VI. 2.
- 4 Patanjali on Pānini, IV. 2. 104.
- 5 Jain Sutra, Acharanga, See above §. Buddhist India, pp. 24-25; Janawasabha Sutta quoted by Oldenberg, Buddha (Eng. Trans.) p. 407, f. n.

See काणि-कीणजा as one unit in the Gopatha Brāhmana, II. 9.

- 6 Buddhist India, p. 24; Gopatha Brāhmana, II. 9.
- 7 Probably not so much religion as philosophy.
 The difference between the two, as Megasthenes says, was very slight. Asoka certainly made it a religion and a world-religion.
 - See below §.
 - 9 See Arthasastra, p. 45 and footnote at p. 46.

जनपदादेशाः।

The Jatakas do not know anything about the Samiti. There were numerous occasions to mention or a twin organism, the CP aura-janapada, does the Manachardta recollect it.

II See below; the Jatakas and the Pali canon have Janapada and Nigama. Nigama as would be seen, is constitutionally identical with Nagara. The Arthasastra has Janapada and Durga; the Ramayana, nagara, also durga and janapada (वनेवत्साम्यदं दुगे रामो राजा भविष्यति, II. 79. 12.

12 Cf. प्र' मुख्यनगरम्। Viramitrodaya, p. 11.

13 Cf. Arthasastra, p. 46. f. n. नगर' राजधानी ।

14 Cf. modern Garh (fort) to denote the seat of the ruler; also German Schloss.

15 Arthasāstra, pp. 45-6. n.

16 Jayaswal, J. B. O. R. S., (1917) III p. 438.

17 जपतिष्ठति रामस्य समग्रमभिषेचनम्। पौरजनपदासापि नेगमस कतास्त्रितः॥

Govindaraja in his comment on the variant उद्तिष्ठतं says :

'उदोनुषं कर्मी वि' द्वातानेपदम्। उपिखतमित्य छै:।... उपतिष्ठतीति पाठान्तरम्। Four MSS. give the reading उपतिष्ठति in the Kumbakonam Edition.

18 पौरजानपदासापि नैगमेस कतास्त्रिः or कतासिः। Variant reading in MSS. consulted in Kumbakonam edition.

19 See the critical edition of the Ramayana by Messrs. Krishnāchārya and Vyasachārya, I. p. 68 (MS. "z") which is really a valuable edition.

20 Ramayana, Ayodhyā-Kānda, Ch. II. vs. 20-22.

समेख ते मन्त्रियता समतांगतव्दयः। फच्य मनसा जाला वर्ष दशरयं नृपम्॥

स राम' युवराजानमभिषिष्वख पार्थिव॥ द्कामो हि महावानुं रवुवीरं महावलम्।

See also Dasaratha's speech in reply

क्यं तु मिय भमें च पृथिवीमनुपालति । भवन्तो द्रष्टुमिक्ति युवराजं महावलम्॥ 20a Manu, VIII. 41.

जाति जानपदान्धर्मां श्रेणीयमां स धर्मवित । समीचाकुलभमीं स खभमीं प्रतिपाद्येत्॥

24, f. n. 24 §.

21 Sreni literally means 'rows'. Evidently the members sat in rows and this feature gave the name to the corporate body. Probably sreni originally was a general term to signify all those bodies who transacted their business in their 'Session' or by assembly system. The Mahabharata in older passages gives sreni-baddha-rajānah or 'rulers organised in rows'; e.g., Sabhā-Parvan, XIV. 4 (Kumbakonam Edition).

राजान: श्रे चिवडाय तथान्ये चित्रया भवि।

These may refer to republican rulers or to a military organization, as the Arthasastra has sreni as a military division. In lawbooks, general life rubbe Dondin coriphul Kungle Collectora Haridwar It is therefore called a

tions sreni has acquired the technical meaning of guild.

Yajnavalkya, I. 360 & 361.

व्यवसाराण स्वयं पश्चेत् सभयः परिष्ठतोऽचस्म। क्रुवानि जाती: श्रेषीय गणाञ्चानपदानिप ॥३६० खभमीच जितान राजा विनीय खापयेलियां

23 ग्रामग्रे णिगणानाच सङ्गेत: समयकिया। Vrihaspati quoted in Viramitrodaya, p. 425. S below.

Manu, VIII. 218-221.

ग्रत जर्भ प्रवच्यामि धर्म समयमेदिनाम्॥ १६ यो ग्रामदेशमञ्जानां कत्वा सत्ये न रंविदम। विसंवदेवरो लोभात्तं राष्ट्राहिप्रवासयेत् ॥१९

एवं दण्डविधि कुर्योखासि कपृथिवीपति:। गाम जाति समृद्धेष समयव्यभिचारियाम ॥ २१

26 देशिखानुमानेन नैगमानुमतेन वा। क्रियते निर्णयस्तव व्यवहारसु वाध्यते॥

Quoted in Vīramitrodaya, p. 120. गामो देशस यत् क्रयात सत्वलेखा परस्परम्। राजाविरोधिषमाधि संवित्व वदन्ति तत्॥

Vrihaspati quoted in Vīramitrodaya, p. 189. S also Yājnavalkya.

> निज धर्माविरोधन यसु सामधिको भवत्। सोंधि यह न संरच्यो भमी राजकतस्य यः॥

28 Compare Ramayana, Bk. II, canto 83, v. 14 be below e याय-घाष-महत्तरा।

The Rama commentary has गामे घोषे च वर्त्तमा were to महत्तराः । Govindaraja : महत्तराः प्रधानभूताः।

[Ghosha according to Patanjali and Katyaya was a small township with corporate arms and seal 29 Viramitrodaya on Yājnavalkya kindly len by Mr. Govindadāsa of Benares.

30 J. B. O. R. S., III. 42. 31 Divyavadāna, p. 410.

32 पीर: प्रवासिनां समृह: | VM. p. 11;

33 Comp. मन्दीत् मुक्योऽस्मि नगरगमनं प्रति, Salt पर मुख्यनगरम् -Viramitrodaya, p tala, Act II. The term for ordinary town or township is and ग्राम पौरगणप्रे रामशातुर्वि भस्र वर्गिण: | Ibid. The Arthasis uses the word नगर and दुग for the capital and for ordinary town, Panini and Patanjali use प्र for capital and याम for ordinary town. Cf. Par ramitrod VII. 3. 14 and Kāsika on that also VI. 2. 100. jali on the use of und for town und of याम: on Panini IV. 2. 104. Sakala which was should ors capital of the 'Madra's ceased to be a ant or car Gods, 'A

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gee also Arthasāstra, p. 46. footnote, नगरं राजधानी। The commentator commenting on the nagarikas in The comments Kamasutras (Bk. II. Ch. 5) says: नागरिका द्ति पाटिखप्रिविकाः ।

On Durga as equivalent of Pura, comp. Narada हिंदित् समयं राजा दुर्गे जनपदे तथा Viramitrodaya, p. 425. नगर in Asoka's inscriptions means a Provincial capital also. Manu, VII. 29, divides the kingdom into हां and राष्ट्र। ततो दुर्गंच राष्ट्रंच लोकच्च सचराचरम। For gr and gr as capital see Manu, VII. 70.

भनद्रां महीदुर्गमन्द्र शं वार्चमेव वा। नृदुगं गिरिदुगं वा समाश्रित्य वसेत्य रम्॥

34 श्रामंसते जनः सर्वी राष्ट्रे पुरवरे तथा। ग्राम्यन्तर्य वाद्यय पीरजानपदो जन: H

"The whole nation in the Rashtra, as well as in the best of capitals praises him; likewise the Paura-Javapada body—both the Inner and the Outer— praise him." It should be noticed that the Paura Janapada is taken as distinct from the people in the realm and the capital.

The two bodies, Inner and Outer, are mentioned in the Mahabharata also, see belows. For jana in the collective sense see its use in Asolca's Inscription, Pillar Series, VII, जन धंमयुत —the body of the men

in the Dharma Service Department.
35 Gautama Dharma Sutra (Sastra), VI. 9-11. A Brahmin who ordinarily is never expected to do any honour to a Sudra has to get up when a Sudra who is an ex-member of the Paura came, though he 83, v. 16 be below eighty. Further, Sutra 15 lays down an exception with regard to etiquette between Pauras. Even if the difference in age were of ten years, fellow-Pauras त्र च वर्त प्राथम to treat each other as if born on the same day

Kātyāji चित्रक्षुरिवतृत्यमातुत्वानां तु यवीयसां प्रत्युत्यानं नासिand seal वावाः। १। तथान्यः पूर्वः पौराऽमीतिकावरः भूट्रोऽप्यपत्य कोत हिं। अवरोहणार्थः श्रूह ण ।११। नाम चास्य वर्जयेत ।१२। ..भोभविमिति वयस्य: समानिऽहिन जात: ।१४। दशवर्षवि

36 Vasishtha, edition by Führer, p. 84. विस्कं नाम विखितं पुराचै: पौरवेखकै:।

Vasishtha-Dharma-Sutra (Sāstra), XVI. 19-20.

महीव द्रवावि राजगामीनि भवन्ति । ११।

Arthan त्या राजा मन्ति भिः सह नागरेश्व कार्या ख अर्थात् । १०। त्यानाथ-दिर्हिणां संस्तारी यजनित्रया। Vrihaspati, Cf. Pse tramitrodaya, p. 425.

ति, प्राप्त क्षेत्रक, p. 425. was the should increase property attain capacity-at-law. They attain regard to the property of Arthasastra, p. 48.

CC-0. In Public Domain. 38 नित्यं नैमितिकं कान्यं मान्तिकं पौष्टिकं तथा:। पौराणां कर्म कुर्युम्दो संदिन्ध निर्णयं तथा॥

Vrihaspati in the Viramitrodaya, p. 424.

चाट-चौर-भये वाथाः सर्वसाधारणाः स्नृताः। तची प्रमन काय सर्वन केन केनचित॥ Ibid.

39 See last note संदिग्ध निर्णय तथा। Also याम-पौर-गण-श्रे व्यासातुर्वि भस विशेष:। कुलानि कुलिकां से व नियुक्ता नृपतिस्तया॥ Viramitrodaya, p. 11.

साइसन्यायवर्जीन कुय्: कार्यां वि ते नृषाम । Vrihaspati in the Viramitrodaya, p. 40.

41 ('पर्म' काय' मिप संभूय कार्य' मिल्यु क्त' तेनव।) सभा-प्रपा-देवग्टइ-तटाकारामसंस्कृति:।

Vrihaspati in the Viramitrodaya, p. 425. Arama meant both a 'rest house' and a park garden'.

42 Strabo, Bk. XV. 50. (4:10). Compare the 'magistrates' of self-governed cities as opposed to the royal officers (Arrian, XII).

43 A scholar who does not take so much notice of Hindu authorities as he draws on analogies and comparisons has misunderstood this Paura jurisdiction of the Maurya capital as a consular department borrowed from Persia !!!

It should be noticed that the Pauras administered estate in co-operation with the ministry, according to

44 Patanjali on Panini V. I. 58 and 59.

45 दी वय: पश्चवा कार्या: समुद्दहितवादिन: कर्त्तव' वचन' तेषां ग्रामम् विगवादिभिः॥ Viramitrodaya, p. 427.

46 Mahavagga, IX. 4. 1. पञ्च संघा । चतुवागी भिक्षुसंघी पंचवागी भिक्षुसंघी दसवंगी भिक्बु संघी वीसतिवगी भिक्बु संघी अतिरेक्तवीसतिवगी भिक्ख संघो।

See also IX. 3. 5. etc.

47 नैगमाः पौरवणिजः, Mitra-Misra, Viramitrodaya, p. 120; also नगराणि करवर्जितानि निगम-वणिजां स्थानानि Prasna-Vyakarana - Sūtra - Vyakhyāna, quoted by Sham Shastry. Arthasastra, p. 46 f.n.

48 Unskilled artisans were combined as Vratas.

See Patanjali on Panini, V. 2. 21.

49 The Jataka, Vol. I. p. 149. सब्बे नेगम जानपदे । Kutadanta Sutta Dighanikaya, para 12. नेगमा च एव जानपदा च ते भवं राजा पामन्तयतं।

Jagannatha, see Narada (ed. Jolly).
See below on the composition of the Paura.

52 Compare Arthasastra p. 89.

सीवर्णिकः पौरजानपदानां रूप्यसुवर्णमावैश्वनिभिः कारयेत । CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukuldsangt Golfestidna Haridwerk., Vol XIV. p. 148.

54 The Dojaka coin bearing the word नेगम (Cunningham. Coins of Ancient India, p. 64. pl. III) would signify that the name of the capital was Dojaka. And the Eran coin (A.S.R, Vol XIV. p. 148; C. A. I.

Arthasastra, II. 14. 32. See reference in the Mrichchhakatika discussed below, §280, and numerous references indica-

ting their location at capital.

Ramāyana, Ayodhya-Kānda, II. 19-22. ब्राह्मणा जनमुख्याय पौर-जानपदै: सह। समित्य मन्वियता तु समतांगतबुद्धयः॥ जन्य मनसा जाला वृद्धं दशर्थं नृपम्। स रामं पुवराजानमभिषिचख पार्थिव ॥ हक्छामी हि महावाहुं रघुवीरं महावलम्।

58 Ibid. ते तम चुर्महातानं पौर-जानपदै: सह। वहबी रूपकल्याणा गुणा: पुवस्य सन्ति ते। दचानुभ्योऽपि सर्वभ्यो द्यतिरिक्तो विशापते। बभूव भरतायजः। यदा ब्रजित संगामं गामय नगरस वा । गला सौमिविसहितो नाविजित्य विवर्त्तते॥ पौरांन् खजनवित्रत्यं कुशलं परिष्टक्ति। उत्सविष च सवेषु पितेव परितृष्यति। प्रजापालन-तष्वज्ञो न रागोपहितेन्द्रय:।

For Jana in the collective sense of a body compare Asoka's जन वस्त्रवतं (Pillar series, VII).

अधंसते जन: सवी राष्ट्रे प्रत्वरे तथा।

षाभ्यन्तरय वाद्यय पौर-जानपदी जन: ॥

The age of the present Ramayana should be studied in Jacobi's critical paper on Ramayana (Das Ramayana). It seems that the original edition was composed about 500 B.C. and the version took place circa 200 B.C.

59 Ibid, Canto III. verses 2-5.

अहोऽिख परम प्रीत: प्रभावयातुली सम। यन्त्रे च्ये ष्ठ' प्रियं पुतं यौवराजा स्थाम च्छ्य:॥

यीवराज्याय रामस्य सर्वमेवीपकल्पप्रताम्। राजसपरते वाह्यो जनघोषो महानभूत॥ शनैसिबान् प्रशानी च जनघोषे नराधिप:।

60 Ibid, verse 49.

ते चापि पौरा नृपतेर्वंचसक्त्रुला तदालाभमिवेष्टमाग्र।

Ibid, IV. I. गतेष्वय चपो भूय: पौरेषु सहमितिभः। मन्त्रिवा ततयक निषयत्तः बनिषयम॥

61 Ibid, Canto XIV, verse 54. उपतिष्ठति रामस्य सम्यमनिषेचनम्। पौरजानपद्यापि नैगमय कताञ्चलिः॥

62 Ibid, verse 40. पौरजानपद्ये छा: नैगमाय गणै: सह।

63 सार्थवाह विनयदत्तस्य नप्ता सागरदत्तस्य तनयः।

64 See J.B.O.R.S., Vol I. (1915).

65 पौरान समासासा ।

66 Mrichchhakatika, Act X. See also पौरा: वावादेध किं णिसित्तं पादकी जीवा वीश्वदि। which shows that the Pauras were present at the plan where Charudatta and Vasantasena were standing at

where Janapada samavaya was. 67 cf. Mahāvamsa IV. 5-6. 68 Chapter III.

चनुजा: पुन: चित बहव: तै: चिप घटने पौरजानपदा:।

69 Arthasāstra, Bk I. ch. XIII, 9. गूढपुरुषप्रिचि: क्षतमहासात्यापसर्पः पौरजानपदानपसंग सिवणी दन्द्रिनसीर्घसभाणालापूगजनसमवायेषु विवादं कुर् न चास्य नियत् गुणी हमते। सर्वगुणसम्पन्नयायं राजा य्यते।

पीरजानपदान् दर्खकराभ्यां पीष्ट्रयतीति। For interpretation of दण्डन्स: campare दण in Bi XIII. ch. V, 176. p. 407.

70 तत्र येऽनुप्रभंसियुः तानितरस्तं च प्रतिषेधयेत्। मार्ध न्यायाभिभूता: प्रजा मनुं वैवखतं राजानं **पक्रिरे। धाना** षण्यदशभागं हिरण्यं चास्य भागभेयं प्रकल्पयामासः। राजान: प्रजानां योगचेमवहा: तेषां किल्विषमदखकरा इर्गर Ibid.

For the interpretation of bhrita, compare its me ing in Mitaksharā (Vijnanesvara), 71 Mahabharata, Santi-Parvan, LXXXIII, 46.

तसी मन्तः प्रयोक्तव्यो दण्डमाधिताता नृप। पौर-जानपदा यिखान्विश्वासं धर्मती गताः॥ 72 Ibid, LXXXV, 11-12.

> ष्रष्टानां मन्त्रिणां मध्ये मन्तं राजीपधारयेत्॥ ततः संप्रेषयेद्राष्ट्रे राष्ट्रीयाय च दर्भयेत ।

73 विश्वभामत्योन श्रशाम योऽस्मिन् कार्तिन बीवी Junagadh Inscription of 457-8 A.C. Fleet-Old नागरेषु। यो लालयामास च पौरवर्गान् ...॥

The reading of Fleet separating 7 from 48 Vol. III, p. 60. काले is grammatically impossible.

74 Ibid, p. 61. नरेन्द्रमासन्त्र गरहाणि उत्ति विकास्तिक किली विकास मिली विकास स्थाप स्याप स्थाप स्याप स्थाप स्य

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79 II

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कृपितेस रे 80 II दुगव : माबेदयेपु: वीवनागमि बङ्बीमूते वियन ये तानि शस्त्र विलोपयति In the व् बहुत्व,

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75 Divyavadana, p. 407. रात्रीऽशोकस्थीत्तरापथे तचिश्ला-नगरं तजा स्वयमेवाभिप्रस्थित:। तताऽमात्यैरभिहित:। विकां स संनामिष्यति। श्रथ राजा कुणालमाह्रय कथयति। वत्स हुबाब गमिष्यिस तचिश्वानगरं संनामयितुस्। कुणाल उवाच। परं क्तपूर्वेव तचित्रवामनुप्राप्तः। सुत्वा च तचित्रवापौरा अर्थविकानि शीनगति मार्गशीभां नगरशीभां च क्रत्वा पूर्णकुमी: प्रत्राह्नता:। ब्खित च ।

श्रुला तच्चशीलापीरा रतपूर्णघटादिकान्। रश प्रताच्यामाय वहसान्या नृपात्मजस् ॥ प्ताहम्य क्रताञ्जलिक्वाच । न वयं कुमारस्य विकडा न राज्ञोऽश्रोक-

बापि, तु दुराबानीऽमात्या आगत्यासाकसपमानं कुर्वन्ति यावत कुणाली महता सन्तानेन तचिंशलां प्रविश्तः।

16 नगल जनस अकसा पलिवोधे व अकसा पलिकिलेसे व नो हियाति एताये च अठाये हकं धंसते पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु निखासिय साभिए अखखसी अचंड े सिखना लंभे होसति एतं अठं जानित ला कर्वति अय मम अनुसयी ति उजिनिते पि कुमाले एताएव भागे निखामियस ... हिदिसं मेव वगं नो च अतिकामियसित तिंनि वानि इमेन तखशिला ते पि श्रदा श्र ... ते महामाता निखिमस'ति etc. Dhauli Edition, lines 20-25.

I have discussed the significance of the inscription

in J. B. O. R. S., Vol. IV (1918). 77 Jayaswal, Ind. Ant. 1917.

78 Arthasāstra, Bk V. ch. 2. 90.

एतेन प्रदेशेन राजा पौरजानपदान् भिचेत। 79 Ibid, Bk. XIII. ch. 5. 176.

कोषद्ख्दानमवस्थामा यदुपक्तर्ञ्ञाणः पौरजानपदान् कोपयीत्।

इपितेसे रेनं घातयेत्। प्रक्ततिभिक्पन्तुष्टमपनयेत्। 80 Ibid, Bk. XII. ch. 5. 163.

कृषु नास ग्रन्थपालास नास्मितिण: पौरजान पदेषु सेती निमित्त-मित्रेयुः। ग्रमपालीनोक्ता योधाय अधिकरणस्थास क्रच्छ्रागती राजा वीववागिम्यति, न वा प्रसद्य वित्तमार्जयध्वमित्रां स दृत: इति । ख़बीमृते तीच्या: पौरान्निशास्त्राहारयेयु: सुद्धां साभिष्टन्यु:—एवं किरते वे युग्पालस्य न ग्रम् घन्ते । युग्यपालस्थानेषु च सम्रोणि-विति मस्त्रित्तवस्त्रान्युत्तरु जेयु:। ततस्रातिण: श्र्न्यपाली घातयति क्लिप्यित च इत्यावेद्येयु:।

In the above text बहु लीभूते should be compared with हैं रहेल' in the Jataka, II. 45, and सं-वहलीहि in the Majjhima Nikaya, Gopaka Maggalāna Sutta, where by the water 81 Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VIII, p. 44.

भिद्विता कर्विष्टिप्रचयिक्तयाभि: पौरजानपदं जनं खसात्कीशा र् भेहताधनीधन अनितमहताच काखेन ... सेतुं ... कारितम्। भेषिक्रयं महाचनपस्मितिसचिनकर्मसचिनैरमात्यगुणसमु-राहेरणितमहत्त्वाह वस्त्रमित्सचिवकससचिवरणाः etc. विम्हलाह देखां नुहाइ विमुखनिति । प्रत्याखातारमः etc. देयं चौरष्टतं द्रव्य राजा जारा विम्हलाह विमुखनिति । 14. CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri द्विष्ट्रिश्च समाप्रे कि लिखं यस तस तत्॥

82 Santi-Parvan, ch. LXXXVII. 23-25 (Kumbakonam ed.).

> श्रापद्धें च निचयानाजानी हि विचित्रते। राष्ट्र च कोषभूतं स्थात्कोषो नेरमगतस्त्र ॥ पौरजानपदान सर्वान् स'त्रितीपात्रितांस्या। यया शत्यनुकस्पेत सर्वान्खल्पधनानिप ॥ बाह्यं जनं भे दियला भी तब्यो मध्यम: सुखम्। एवं नास्य प्रकुष्यन्ति जनाः सुखितदः खिताः॥

Ibid, 26-34. प्रागिव तु धनादानमनुभाष्य ततः पुनः। सन्निपत्य स्विवये भयं राष्ट्रे प्रदर्भयेत्॥ २६ द्यमापत्समुत्पना परचक्रभयं महत्। श्रपि चान्ताय कल्पन्ते विणोरिव फलागमा:॥ २७ अरयो मे समुत्याय बहुभिर्दस्य भि: सह। इदमात्मवधायैव राष्ट्रमिच्छन्ति वाधितम्॥ ३८ श्रसामापदि घोरायां संप्राप्ते दावणे भये। परिवाणाय भवत: प्रार्थिय धनानि व: ॥ २६ प्रतिदाखे च भवतां सवें चाहं भयचये। नारय: प्रतिदाखन्ति यद्वरियुर्वेलादित:॥ ३० क्लवमादितः क्रत्वा सवै वो विनशेदिति। श्रीरप्रवदारार्धमर्थं सञ्चय द्रष्यते ॥ ३१ नन्दासिव: प्रभावेण प्रवाणासिव चोदये। वयामता पराक्रामि राष्ट्रसापी इया च व:॥ ३२ श्रापत्स्वेव निवोडव्यं भविः संगतेरिह। न वः प्रियतरं कार्यं धनं कस्वांचिदापदि॥ ३३ इति वाचा मधर्या साच्याया सोपचार्या। खर्मीनभ्यवस्नेद्योगमाधायकाल्वित ॥ ३४

84 The prospect is dreaded by the owner of the bamboo clump in our villages, as it means the drying up of the whole stock. The bamboo fruit is in appearance like paddy.

85 Dasyu is a technical term both in Manu (X. 45) Māhābhārata (Santi-P., LXV, 13-17) denoting foreign tribes.

86 Ibid. 26.

87 That voting prevailed in the Janapada and Paura can be gathered from the procedure of contemporary popular institutions which we have already noticed. It is implied in our text here by the directions about creating breach in the Outer body and about winning over the Middle body,

88 Arthasastra Bk. XIII, ch. 1. 171. p. 394. दुर्भिचली नाटव्य पद्यातेषु च पौरजानपदानुसाह्यनः सिवणी बुगुः राजानमन्गई याचामहे निरनुगहाः परम गर्काम इति ।

89 Arthasastra, Bk. II, chapter 1. 19. p. 47. अनुग्रहपरिहारी चैथा: कोषहिंदिकरी द्यात्। कोषोपपातिकी वर्जयेत । अल्पकोषोहि राजा पौरजानपदानेव गसते।

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This verse of Yajnavalkya corresponds to Manu, VIII, 40. (See Medhatithi's explanation) and

प्रत्याइतुं मणतस्तु धनं चौरेषुं तं यदि। खकोशात्रिं देयं स्यादशक्ते न महीसता॥

Dvaipāyana in the Mitaksharā.

or Ibid.

निवेश्मकालं ग्रथागतकं वा परिद्वारं दयात्। निवन परिहारा पितेवानुग्द्रज्ञीयात्। त्राकर्कमौत्त द्रव्य हिलवनवज-विषक्-पथ प्रचारान्वारिस्थलपथपख्यपत्तनानि च निवेश्येत्। सहोदक्रमाहार्यो दकं वासीतुं वस्पयित्। अन्येषां वा वभ्नतां भूमिमार्ग वचोपकरणातुः गहं क्यात।

92 Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII. p. 45.

पुन: सेतुवस्वनैराग्याद हा हा सूतासु प्रजासु द्रहाधिष्ठाने पौरजाभ-पदजनानुग्रहाधे पार्थिवेन etc.

- 93 Rhys Davids, Dighanikaya Kutadanta Sutta § 11. Dialogues of the Buddha, Vol. II, p. 175.
- 94 Dighanikaya, Kutadanta Sutta, § 12. इच्छानि अहं भी महायञ्ज यिजितुं अनुजानन्तु से भवन्ती यं सम अस दीघमत्तं हिताय सुखाय ति।

95 Arthasāstra, Bk. VIII. ch. 19. 16. p. 37. दितीय पौरजानपदानां कार्याण पश्येत। cf. Mahābharata Sānti-Parvan, ch. XL. v. 19. पौरजानपदानांच यानि कार्याणि निचम:। राजानं समनुजाप्य तानि कार्याणि घर्मतः॥ 96 Rock Series, VIII (Girnar).

वाम्हण समणानं दसणे च दाने च पैश्वनं दसने च हिरंण पटि-विधानी च जानपदस च जनस दसनं धंमानुसस्टिचधमपरिपुका च । See below on the mention of the Janapada in Pillar

97 राजास्त्रशोको वलवान् प्रचए आज्ञापयत् तचशीलाजनं हि। उद्वार्यतां लोचनमस्य भवोमीर्थस्य दंशस्य कलद्व एषः॥

-Divyāvadana, p. 410, The use of the word jana should be noticed here and should be compared with जानपद जन in Asoka's inscription and पौर जानपदी जन: in the Ramayana. The sense is collective, body.

98 पग्यामि कुणालं पौरं प्रविष्ट:।

Divyavadana, p. 410. 99 Mahabharata (Kumbakonam), Santi-Parvan, XCIV. 16.

> पौरजानपदा यस खनुरता श्रपीडिता:। राष्ट्रकर्मकराह्मेते राष्ट्रस्य च विरोधिन:॥

The context and grammar show that the verse 16 which ought to precede immediately verse 18 has been detached and put in its present position. Verse 17 really reads with 15.

- 100 तथानायदरिद्राणां संस्तारी यजनक्रिया etc.
- 101 पोरजानपदा यस भूतेषु च दयालव:।

Mahābhārata (Kumbakonam), Sānti-Parvan, KCIV

On the question of the wealth in the hands of Paura and Janapada bodies it should be noticed to corporate bodies not only held money and proper but could even legally borrow money as is evidence by the laws of Vrihaspati and Katyayan Vīramitrodaya, p. 432. ...

102 देशं चीरहतं द्रव्यं राजा जानपदाय तु। अददि समाप्नीति कि लिए' यस तस तत ॥

-Yājnavalkya, II. 36. Compare other passage auoted below.

103 Bk. XIII, ch. 2. 171. p. 394.

104 प्रत्याहर्मम्मतास्त धनं पीरेहितं यदि। खिलामात्ति देयं स्यादमत्ते न महीसता॥

-Quoted in the Mitakshara.

105 Manu VIII. 40. टातव्यं सर्ववर्णेस्यो राज्ञा पौरै ह तं धनम।

According to Nandan it means that the king should make good to all the varnas the loss sustained for thieves, etc. The great commentator Medhatithiz well gives the same meaning.

106 Dasakumāracharita, chapter III. 107 Arthasastra, Bk II. chapter 1. 19.

108 Maitrayani Samhita, II. 6.5; v. 38. (Mach nell and Kieth, Vedic Index, vol. II, p. 200.

109 See above §. 110 Digha Nikāya Kutadanta Sutta, § 12 et seq. ये भोतो रञ्ञो जनपदे खत्तिया अनुयुत्ता नेगमा च एव नात च···ये भोतो (etc.) अमचा पारिस ज्ञा नेगमा च एव जानपरा ये भोतो (etc.) ब्राह्मण महासाला नेगमा च एव जानपरा प ये भोतो (etc.) गहपति नेचियका नेगमा चैव जानपदा च ...

111 ब्राह्मणा जनसुख्यास पौरजानपदै: सह॥ सक्षेत्य ते मन्वियतं समतां गत वृद्धयः। Ramayana, Ayodhya-Kanda, chapter II. 195

112 See §

113 See footnotes under §

114 Arthasastra Bk. III, ch. 14.66. p. 185.

तेन सङ्घनता व्याख्याता:। Bk. II, ch. 1; 19 (०.4

सजादम्य: सङ्गः।

देशनातिक्तसङ्घानाम्। Bk. III, ch. 3. 62. p. 173.

115 Ramayana, Ayodhya-Kanda, ch. XV. सुख्या ये निगमस्य च ; ch. XIV, V. 40. पौरनानपट्ये हा

For the date of the Mudra-Rakib 116 See § 117 Act I. (circa 420 A. C.).

See Jayaswal, Indian Antiquary, 1913, 1917

118 Dasakumāracharita, chapter III. 119 Arthasastra, Bk. I, ch, 13. 9. p. 22.

121 Consult Gobindaraja on the technical nac

मध्ना धान्यवन्तस द्विमूचि: विपिश्चिंव Ppmain. Gurukul Kangn dolecining Pandains mahattarah as pradhana in ade presidents?.

Yajnava v. 186.

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. 185 19 (p. 4 ङ्घानाम्।

1. XV. v. पदम् हा। Irā-Rakibi

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123 A. S. R. 1913-14, pp. 139, 140 and 153, seals 105, 282 B, 320 A, 318 A, and 277 A. For discussion the seals see page 124, et seq.

124 See above §. Manu, chapter VIII, v. 218-21.

श्वत अध्व प्रवत्त्यामि धर्मे समयमेदिनाम्। यो गामदेशसङ्घानां क्रांता सत्ये न संविदम्॥ विसंवदित्ररी लोभात्तं राष्ट्रादिप्रवासयीत्। निग्रह्म दापयेचैनं समयव्यभिचारिणम्॥ गामजातिसमू हेषु समयव्यभिचारिणाम्।

Ysjnavalkya, Samvid-Vyatikrama prakarana, Bk. II.

निजधमीविरोधेन यस्तुसामयिको भवेत्। सीऽपि यत न सं रत्यो धर्मी राजलतस य:॥ For definition of Samaya in other codes see §

Answer well for the farment

126 Apastamba, I. 1. 1. त्रयातः सामयाचारिकान्धर्मान्त्राख्यासाः॥ १ धर्मज समय: प्रमाणम्॥ २ वेदास ॥ ३

Vīramitrodaya, p. 120. देशस्थित्यानुमानेन नैगमानुमतेन वा । क्रियते निर्णयस्तव व्यवहारस्तु नाष्यते॥

Vrihaspati.

128 यामी देशस यत्नुर्यास्त्रवलेखं परस्परम्। राजाऽविरोधि धर्माधं संवित्यवं वदन्ति तत ॥ Vrihaspati in Vīramitrodaya, p, 189. धर्मार्थ'-'legal and political rules'. 129 Ibid. See above note. Also निजधर्मा विरोधन यस्त सामयिको भवेत of Yājnavalkya.

130 यतैति ज्ञिखतं पते धर्मा सा समयित्या I Ibid, p. 425.

HISTORICAL RESEARCH AT POONA

HEN Grant Duff wrote his famous History, the Marathas were mourning the loss of their empire. But the race that dominated over India for about a century did not take long to recover from the great shock. Their empire had indeed been lost for ever, but its memory was still fresh, and they felt that its history could best be told by the sons of Maharastra themselves. To the eternal credit of Grant Duff, the English historian, it will for ever be said that he tried his best to tell the history of his enemies as impartially as he could. With indefatigable able industry, he collected all the available materials—Marathi, English, Persian and Portuguese, and although a century has passed since the publication of his work, it still remains the only the Marchi authoritative history of the Marathas. But Grant Duff was One of those few officers, who stood by Elphinstone, when he was calmly watching the battle of Khirki, the battle on that fateful day of Khirki, and it was psychologically impossible for to care prejudice him to cast off all bias and prejudice against his against his quondam foes, try as he might.

ed all his manuscripts with the Literary Society of Bombay. These might have formed the nucleus of a grand library and museum, but unfortunately no trace of them could be found when Maratha Scholars like the late Justice Telang tried their best to discover Capt. Grant Duff's papers. They were lost forever, nobody knows how or when.

The Hindus of old had shown very little predilection for historical literature, but not so the Maratha. He had not come in contact with the Mahomedan scholars for nothing, and naturally he aspired to emulate the achievements of the Muslim historians as he had outdone the military prowess of the Muslim warriors in the battlefield. Though they lacked that literary polish and graceful style of their Mahomedan teachers, the Marathas had left us many useful chronicles. History they had made but could not write. Not only was the science of criticism unknown to them, but they could neither arrange the events they described in a chronological order with the His labour concluded, Grant Duff deposit Guruk Masgri known remedied by the existence

of a great mass of contemporary papersaccounts kept in the Government archives, correspondence of military and diplomatic officers and occasionally fragments of autobiographical works even, such as the one left by the celebrated Nana Fadnavis. But these were still unread, unpublished, mostly unknown, and uncollected, when the great sons of Maharastra had brought their acquired western training and culture to the study of their country's past. This was about half a century ago.

At first their criticism was levelled mainly against Grant Duff. It was a hopeless task, for nobody knew on what evidence his conclusions had been based. Rab Bahadur Kirtane, then a young student, openly charged the great soldier historian with deliberate destruction of his papers, but in his maturer years he has himself withdrawn the discreditable charge that had no foundation whatever. But the Maratha scholars like their ancestors were not mere angels of destruction. As the Maratha administrator in the glorious past had restored peace and plenty in the lands once devastated by his brother in the army before the final annexation, so was the constructive genius of the new generation employed, after the bitterness of controversy had abated, in historical researches. The result of this new effort was Ranade's "Rise of the Maratha Power".

Ranade was followed by a band of brilliant scholars whose enthusiasm for their work was unbounded. They realised the necessity of collecting, editing, and publishing all chronicles and historical With wonderful energy records. devotion, they took up the work. Rao Bahadur Sane edited and published the Kavyetihas-Sangraha-which contained not only the chronicles and historical records, but also the old literary works. He was, by no means, the only worker in the field. Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis, Mr. V. K. Rajwade, and Vasudev Vaman Shastri Khare have earned the eternal gratitude of all students of Maratha history by placing at their disposal a great mass of hitherto anpublished and unknown historical papers Public Washingnokul Hanse Chilenton What he considered

way an easy task to edit or even to get hold of these papers. Nobody knew where they existed; their owners in many cases did not know whether the heaps of old worm-eaten paper filled with Modi scribble ings had anything important to commi nicate to the present generation, and the superstitious veneration of some of them would not ever allow the eager researcher to have a peep at them. It is not, therefore difficult to guess what obstacles these scholars had to overcome before they were allowed access to what they had been eagerly seeking. They have not laboured in vain. Not only have their efforts been rewarded with the discovery of many important papers, but they have succeeded in gathering round them a band of ardent students whose daily increasing number augurs well for the future of the study of the Maratha History. They were eager not only to study and digest all that their great teachers placed before them but to discover more, and what is more important, to allow other students a ready access to the original records, to create for thema common meeting place where they could assemble, study, and discuss not only que tions of Maratha history and literature but all questions relating to Indian Histon in general. The Deccan Vernacular Trans lation Society had already come int existence but it could hardly meet this new demand and the Bharat Itihas Sanshodhal Mandal was founded at Poona ten year ago mainly through the efforts of V. I Tatya Rajwade and Sardar Mehendale.

It will not be out of place here to saf a few words about Vishwanath Kashinath Rajwade, for few in Bengal knows anything about him, though India can to-day boas of few scholars of his industry and selfes devotion to learning, because Rajwalt has decided without exception to write it Marathi. only, and never has he, as yet been shalowing the been shaken in his resolution. A graduat of the Bombay University and a pupilo Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Rajwade could have carred linear and an and a survey of the country and a purpose have earned high distinctions in branch of C worldly prospect was bright enough to branch of Government Service.

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as the path of duty. He resolved to live and die a celibate and to sacrifice himself on the altar of Maratha History. A simple blanket forms the bed of this ascetic and his strong legs alone carry him on his distant journeys. He knows no rest and never does he feel happier than when he hears of the discovery of a new Bakhar or a new historical paper. He has already published more than twenty volumes of records alone, and it is said he has, as yet, with him, materials for five score more.

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Under his able guidance and that of Messrs. Mehendale, Potdar, and Majumdar, the history of the newly founded Mandal has been one of usefulness alone. It has on its role more than 600 members of all classes and during its short career of nine years, it held more than two hundred meetings where more than one thousand papers had been read and discussed. It has published more than "twenty-one books replete with valuable researches covering in all about 5000 closely printed pages." Sardar Nana Saheb Chandrachud has presented to the Mandal about 10,000 historical papers and more than 5000 Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts. Sardar Mehendale has promised to make a gift of his splendid library to the Association of which he has the proud privilege of being a founder. The figures speak for themselves and no comment is necessary.

The Mandal's collection of manuscripts and records is very rich indeed but it is no less rich in coins and old paintings. has at present in its show case more than 200 gold, silver and copper coins, the most valuable being one of those rare Shiva Rai gold hons.

The Mandal possesses very beautiful Maratha painters' and the however haligraphists' art. It must, however, be admitted that no new style was introduced admitted that no new style was introduced by the Maratha painters, nor did they take their lesson from the old paintings of Ajanta. They learnt their lesson momentation Ajanta. art from Mahomedan masters and these makes and these pupils. The artist be proud of their new pupils. The artist who painted the portrait of

Baji Rao I., must have been one of the best that Maharastra produced in that age. And we cannot praise too highly the patient scribes who have left us those beautifully illuminated copies of the Gita now in the Mandal's museum. The two portraits of Mahadji Sindhia also deserve mention, for their natural expression.

The Mandal has commenced to build a beautiful mansion at an estimated cost of Rs. 50,000, and the construction of one of its wings has already been completed. Here can be seen every evening a band of ardent students, the future historians of Maharastra, carefully examining records or critically studying an old treatise. It is a hopeful sign that the Maratha nobility have not kept back from this important movement. Not only have they placed their family papers at the disposal of scholars like Rajwade and Khare, but they have not been loth to unstring their purse to further the cause so dear to them.

I hope my Mahratta friends will not take amiss a word of friendly criticism. Hitherto they have published almost every paper they have discovered, without any reference to their intrinsic value or relative importance. But this should now be given up. Maharastra is very rich in historical records, and human life, as we all know, is by no means long.

We in Bengal, suffer under a very great disadvantage. Our old nobility have either died out or fallen into evil days. With them have disappeared their family papers and the climate of Bengal played no unimportant part in the process of destruction and disappearance. The Bangiya Sahitya Parisat have no doubt undertaken to collect old papers, but their efforts have by no means been systematic. We have been more fortunate in our collection of old inscriptions and old statues, but that is no reason why we should not try to keep pace with Maharastra in the work of conservation so far as Pre-British records are concerned.

SURENDRANATH SEN.

10

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And the conduct perior too A. and

At last, the long-fought foreign victor came Within the castle-wall and claimed her hand By right of conquest more than all the land He prized her loveliness whose bruited fame Had drawn his passion's greed. And as the game Of war was lost, despite her soldier-band Who fought with valour under her command, ... and ... Devoid of help she stood, subdued and tame:-

Feigning assent, she made the nuptial bed Upon the terrace for her bitter foe And in the banquet made him drink a bowl-Of poison—When with pain he gan to scowl, And lay upon its waters, floating dead.

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* From Tod's Rajasthan.

THE CAUSATION AND PREVENTION OF SUICIDE AMONG GIRLS AND WOMEN

MAJOR N. P. Sinha has done yeoman's Major N. P. Sinha has done yeoman's service to humanity by drawing public attention to the cause of the increasing suicidal mania that has been of late getting a strong hold on our young girls in Bengal and casting a gloom over our hearths. We have cried shame on the proverbially tyrannical mother-in-law or on the defective system of education that transforms the modern girl into a bundle of nerves. The energetic Police Surgeon has gone deeper into the root of the evil and tried to prove that the cause of the suicide of girls is physical as well as mental. At the Coroner's Court he declared that in every case he found on autopsy some disease of the ovaries. Two years ago he very kindly permitted me to examine the ovaries of such subjects and in every case I found them diseased in contrast with the normal ovaries of those dying from accidents.

How can the diseased ovary and suicide be linked together as cause at effect? Without entering into a technic discussion, I may mention the fact the some of our glands had hitherto her considered as so many useless appendage or as the late savant Metschnikoff won have it, so many errors of Providence. our early medical career we thought the the thyroid glands situated on both sid of the neck were created only to sur without provocation and mar the bear of attractive faces, and the spleen to ke and disable Indians with malarial poison to rupture at the slightest touch of the boot and to declare on oath that deal from a kick was natural and not homicide. The kidneys with their capsules thought to thought to be so many factories only the production the production of that noxious substant urine. But the recent startling physiological Collection CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangal Collection day id heas been that the thyrolection day id heas been that

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the spleen, the kidney capsule called drenal and some other glands are not adrenar useless creations but important only theels in the physical machinery forming a brotherhood and helping each other in the development and control of the whole system. An ordinary gland such as the salivary has got a tube called "duct" to conduct its secretion externally, but a gland of this group generates a secretion called "hormone" or "chemical messenger" not conducted through a duct, but being absorbed in the circulation helps controls the action of other glands in the development of the system. This harmonious accord of one organ with another, formerly termed concensus partium, now designated "hormonic balance". If owing to the defective action of one or more of these glands called "ductless" the hormonic balance is disturbed, the whole system is upset.

The ovary, a member of this ductless group, throws into the circulation a "hormone" which has a marked influence on the body and mind of the individual. The specific activity of the females in this country ranges from the ages of twelve to forty-eight on an average. Susruta

observes:

तद्बर्षाद् हाद्याद् जर्डं याति पञ्चायतः चयम्।

"It begins at twelve and ends at fifty." The period at which female activity evidenced by the monthly flow ceases is called the climacteric period. If this occurs before the proper age, a host of nervous symptoms such as headache, vertigo, flushing of the face, irritability of temper and even insanity make their appearance. The troubles have been traced to the defective secretion of the ovary and other glands. The same symptoms appear if the internal secretions of glands are diminished owing to disease. I have seen girls hitherto hale and hearty, cheerful morose, nomicidal and active, suddenly turned morose, its surlegling no interest in life or its ules Wor roundings, interest in line of heurasthan, branded as hysteric heurasthenic and left to their fate after a show of treatment. As soon as proper of the ovary and other ductless glands, the patients rallied and were their own

selves again.

The diseased condition of the ovary in the female suicides invariably detected at the Morgue shows that the girl must have been suffering long from symptoms of the defective action of the ductless glands merging into temporary insanity in which condition they committed suicide. In the majority of cases this was done during their monthly flow in which period the nervous system is in a state of high tension. The vast majority of cases occur during spring and autumn when

nervous irritability is aggravated. *

But why are the girls, and Bengali girls in particular, so prone to disease of the generative organs? Taking into consideration the fact that the ductless glands controlling the generative organs are played twelve times each year during the thirty years of their activity, and their action is disturbed during at least ten years of their pregnancy and lactation, we need not wonder why their glandular function is so instable. Adding to this the morbid sensibility of the half-educated Bengali girl whose imagination is played upon from a very early age by all sorts of careless talks concerning marriage and sex, whose life is proclaimed in season and out of season as useless unless yoked to a companion however undesirable and whose mind has been cultivated in a modern home which has lost that peace and poise formerly found in the comforting assurance of faith in Karmaphal or a kind Providence, one wonders not why so many but so few cases of suicide occur in Bengal. Pover ty which has been mentioned by the poet गुजराजिनामी very often plays an important part in these tragedies. Ill nourished cells generate a susceptibility to slight impulses and morbid sensitiveness with an exaggerated perception of comparatively stimulation. To such a girl, pre-disposed by diseased organs and morbid surroundings, any harsh word treatment. As soon as proper in-law, a brutal husband of a land to the improvement of the public Domain. Surukul Kangn Collection, Haridwar in the improvement of the secretions gunpowder magazine. It was only the

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other day I was called to treat a case of poisoning. It was not burning in kerosene flame but drinking kerosene mixed with opium. The subject was a girl of fourteen years who was scolded by her mother crying her down as a dhari (old maid) not married as yet, as if the single life was her own choice! As a strange coincidence I found two of her ductless glands lacking in their normal function. Fortunately she recovered.

For the prevention of these mishaps I would suggest the following measures:

(1) Any abnormality, however slight, after puberty, should receive the immediate attention of the family physician. (2) Special care should be taken of neurotic girls during their monthly periods and in the spring and autumn seasons. (3) Anything that increases mental tension, such as educational strain, exciting talks, reading sensational novels and seeing exciting scenes in theatres and cinemas, should be avoided. (4) Society leaders should turn their attention to the eradication of those customs which bring on melancholia in young girls, as in the case of Snehalata and to the ostracization of brutal husbands and mothers-in-law who set a monetary value on the lives of their wives and daughters-in-law. I know of a house in Sitaram Ghosh's Street which was marked as a daughter-in-law killing house (bau mara bari) and people would think twice before marrying their daughters in that family. (5) The idea that suicide is a most heinous crime should be impressed on young minds. Stories of suicidal cases turning out evil spirits and passing their days in indescribable anguish are still current in our villages where suicide is much less than in cities. Like Sri Chaitanya teachers should bring home to the pupilsthe idea that "देहलागादि तमायम पातमकारण", that life at every stage whether single or married is but a school in the vestibule of eternity where training must be undergone with patience and perseverance.

Authorities state that suicidal tenden. cies are most common in western Europe and America where the struggle for exist. ence is keener and "the bases of faith are weaker." In 1914 the suicidal rate in San 72.6 per 100,000. The Francisco was Mayor of Cleveland, Ohio, appointed an Anti-suicidal Commission whose duty it was to enquire into all causes of intended suicide brought to their notice and endeavour to remove the causes which produce the wish to shuffle off this mortal coil. (6) Social diseases like the physical are catching. The opportunity to pore over the details of robbery or suicide with greedy eyes until the impressionable mind becomes obsessed with a desire to do likewise, is one of the it does disadvantages of a cheap press; the easies and quickest method of finishing life amids kerosene flames preys on the imagination and culminates in a sub-conscious sugges tion that one might destroy herself in? similar manner. Neurotic girls should be kept away from such newspapers and kerosene bottles as far as possible; for many cases are on record which justiff King John's reflection:

"How oft the sight of means to do

deeds Makes deeds ill done."

SUNDARIMOHAN DAS.

WALLS

Some kinds of ancient walls Have songs in them, Wisdom and wonderful dreams. They go trailing through the woods Mossy, ferny, deep in loam, Beloved of many a quivering heart That knows no other home.

And the songs they sing the year around Have a music older than sound; And the dreams they dream by day and night lestern But their wisdom none can understand at all Whose beart but sheltering wall Whose heart hath never built a

E. E. SPEIGHT.

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The rogress Marvin.

e entre en meiere de la company de la compan THE CENTURY OF HOPE*

MR. F. S. Marvin is the author of the Living Past, a sketch of Western progress which was reviewed in this magazine when it was first published. Mr. Marvin possesses a synthetic mind and can take in, at a sweeping glance, all the main characteristics of a century or period, and intellectually he is well equipped, both on the scientific and philosophical sides, for the task which he undertakes. To us of the East, his books are convenient summaries of the landmarks of Western advancement, and though the author is absolutely ignorant of Asiatic civilisation and its historic contributions to European development and is hardly sympathetic towards us, for thoughtful students of sociology and human progress all the world over his new book will be a welcome addition to his previous work, dealing as it does, more particularly than the latter, with the most wonderful period of European progress.

Mr. Marvin's last work ended with a buoyant confidence which is reflected in the following passage:

Thus science became in fact as well as in idea international, largely through the genius and action of Germany. She remains, as she was, the mother of Gootha and Helmthe mother of Goethe and Humboldt and Helm-boltz as well as of Stein and Bismarck. Thirty Years after Humboldt's and Bismarck. Franco-Mars after Humboldt's work, the Franco-Prossian war inflicted the sorest and deepest Wound of the century in Western unity. Time and the century in Western unity.

thought can heal even this. It grows together

science and social action. Grow. Already the as science and social action grow. Already the hogress is more at triple bulwark of Western progress is more secure than those imagine who would make Sadacure than those imagine who and make Sedan, Fashoda, and Agadir our strong for the social Bronges this is being landmarks for the period. Even as this is being itself effectively written the growing unity shows itself effectively h overcoming the most dangerous crisis of the most dangerous crisis of 1913. It tecent times, the most dangerous crisis by such wise Balkan difficulty of 1913. It s by such wise Balkan difficulty of 1910.

Nestern 'concert', comes into being, and will The Century of Hope: A Sketch of Western Stress from 1915 Hope: A Sketch of Western War: by F. S.

increasingly assert itself-strong, foreseeing, and united for the common weal."

"If the nineteenth century is the age of steady progress, of profound research and wide speculation, hers [Germany's] will be the leading name"—this was the deliberate verdict of Mr. Marvin in the year 1913. Next year, this greatest of the 'triple bulwarks' of western progress ran amok, to the Allies the name German became synonymous with Hun, and Europe was plunged into the throes of the most horrible war that the world has ever seen. Today Mr. Marvin sings to another tune. and in the preface to his new book says:

"In one respect the war made clear what many have always held to be a cardinal truth in European politics, that good relations between France and England are a most valuable asset to Western progress-perhaps the most valuable of all—and that a study of the parallel development of the two countries is the most enlightening approach to an understanding of modern history."

It shows England's political sagacity that she should always sail before the wind and be on the winning side, and so we need not wonder at this apparent volt face of our author, who now transfers his admiration from Germany to France. But in spite of the breakdown of President Wilson's idealism and the poor promise of the League of Nations, inspite of the disappointment caused in all right thinking minds by the iniquitous Peace, in spite of the fact that Mr. Marvin, in the passage quoted above, proved a ridiculously false prophet so far as the immediate future of Europe was concerned, we yet believe that in the following lines of the Preface to his new work, barring the superlative terms he uses, his optimism is on the whole justified, if the trend of events disclosed by Progress from 1815 to the Great War: by F. S.

With Bibliography and Index, pp. 352

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national law which brought it to a victorious conclusion. So also, we believe, will the world-union be the greatest, and most permanent, which will arise from the devastated earth and the saddened but determined spirits which are now facing the future with a new sense of hope....."

The necessity of international justice, and the evil effects of international wrongdoing, have been brought home by the present war more strongly than by any previous war in history. Nations, like individuals, learn only a small part of the lesson that a catastrophe brought about by their own conduct teaches, but the little that is learnt gives an impetus to the power making for good, and so the prevalence of right over might, of spiritual over material forces becomes easier for the future, and the international conscience grows by the price it has to pay for its growth; but the essential factor in the development of even European, not to speak of universal, unity, is the application of the same moral standard in the East and the West, and till this is done, national vanity and racial discrimination will continue to do their evil work, and the progressive unification of the world and the growth of humanitarian principles will be retarded—a truth which, to our mind not sufficiently emphasised thoughtful and instructive book.

At the end of the eighteenth century, France was intellectually the most advanced of European countries. The French Revolution was no sudden outburst of human passion. "For if we accept the truth that not economic conditions nor the ambition of governments primum mobile in human affairs but the spirit of Man itself seeking greater freedom and expansion, then we are bound to turn to the movement of thought which preceded the Revolution as the chief explanation of its occurrence and its results." The dominating mind in France was inspired by several of the general or philosophic ideas of the time which will be found among the foundations of the nineteenth century.

"There was the notion of the infinite perfectibility of human nature which finds so noble an expression in Condercet in Publices managements and to science, the corresponding perfectibility of human nature which finds so noble has been given in England to business and elsewhere and expression in Condercet in Publices managements.

passion for freedom and nature in Rousseau There was the belief in the unlimited power and right of the sovereign people."

The breaking of chains must be the preliminary to every free movement; but the chains of Rousseau were to Burkethe sacred and indispensable traditions which hold society together. The conservative attitude of Burke, intensified hundredfold is the attitude of the vast majority of educated Indians.

"What we need is a temper or a principle which will take us above this unceasing class some ideal for the sake of which we shall be content to abandon our father's house even if we love it, some plan to guide us in building the new one for ourselves if we are compelled to do so."

Liberty is the liberty to develop the ful capacity of the individual, and this capacity, as we are taught by the doctries of perfectibility, is infinitely great. Equality really means that every human being should have an equal opportunity—so far as society can make it equal—of realising his powers, and that every man should be equal before the law.

"Fraternity.....was the most positive of a the watchwords, and, allied with freedom the true sense, will be found a continuous for in society, growing in intensity down to or own time."

The new birth of humanity at the Revolution brought even a larger stored thought and force and idealism together than in the days of the birth of Christian or medieval Catholicism in its best day. A widespread application of great idea which had before been regarded as the visions of isolated dreamers now began to be manifest.

"The worst of all errors is to deny or igns the validity of the ideal aspect which is just real a fact in the minds of men as the came shot or the actions of leading individuals—this only put in motion by human thought in mass."

The first of the leading traits which characterise the modern world is growth, application, and appreciation knowledge—While the best mind in has been devoted to ideal construction and to science, the corresponding preference has been given in England to business has been given in England to business precedicade. Historian politics and elsewhere

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The English political habit has overspread the world. To Lord Acton, the end of all our life and effort is freedom. There is a our ressive effort to gain for one's self and to secure for others a fuller life on all sides, the fullest life of which the individual is capable. Every part of Europe has, since the emancipation of Greece, been struggling for a strong national system.

"Yet even nationality is overshadowed by the still larger growth which marks the century of our study. For by a strange, apparent contradiction the bitterest and most determined struggles of nationality have taken place in a world tending to greater unity. We might, in fact, speak with equal truth of the age of rising internationalism as of competing nations."

Above all, this is an Age of Hope. Men have been living for the future and believing init as they had never done before. While India is obsessed by the depressing notion that this is the Kali Yuga when nothing good can come to fruition, Europe finds food for its hope in the view of history as the revelation of "an illimitable upward process in which mankind and all creation are labouring together from moment to moment and age to age." To look forward and work for a better future is therefore a mark of the times.

John Howard's work for the improvement of prisons at the close of the eighteenth century was followed by the abolition of the slave trade in 1807. It was a new manifestation of the growing belief in the value and dignity of the raried human soul, and both are varied symptoms of one common and general movement in the mind of man. The barbarity of the English law and the weakness and partiality of its administrathe darked [not of course in the darked in t the dependencies]. There were still, in 1818, 223 capital offences known to the were emanded. In 1829 the Catholics Were emancipated. Education, poor law, and factoripated. Education, poor law, and factory legislation were the three directions: directions in which social reform began to make its influence felt. The principles of hationality and freedom were also begin-Marvin in her of the hopes of the world. Mr. Marvin in briefly referring to the political activities of England in the first-half of centure England in the first-half of

by her to struggling nations for maintaining the balance of power in Europe complains that "the proper prudence with which we pursued these aims gave some colour to the charges of our critics that we did nothing for the good of others without

an eye to our own advantage."

From the sordid game of politics let us turn to literature, where the true spirit of the times can be studied in a pure form. A new spirit of freedom is, next to its creative power, the most striking general feature in the literature of the age. Freedom, directness and greater simplicity in language were the badges of the greater freedom of the spirit. The aim was to get nearer to the truth of human nature. The truth that was aimed at in the delineation of life was not the miscroscopic, photographic study of human nature which. passes by the name of naturalism.

"The search for truth of the earlier writers, found it rather in the appreciation of those traits in character which tend to greatness. Idealism there must be in every work of art. Are we to look for it in a brilliant picture of the weak and little in our nature, thrown by a powerful magnifying light upon the screen or in the delineation of those characters and those features in any character, which, subject to given trials of circumstance, become heroic, sometimes in action, sometimes in suffering, but always in growth? This is also truth to nature, but truth developed to a higher power."

Speaking of the realistic portraits of Balzac the author says:

"But at the end of it we ask ourselves whether the picture is on the whole a true one, whether any great society can really be compounded of such a mass of selfishness and jealousy, the worship of money and the obsession of sex: and beyond this, again, whether the greater artist is not the man who sees the better things in human nature more clearly than the worse, and whether, as he must select by the very nature of his art, there is not a place, the highest place of all, for the artist who, while preserving the general truth of his picture, yet idealises in such a way as to inspire by the beauty of goodness and the hope that goodness may at least survive..... Tolstoi and his somewhat earlier contemporary Turgueniev approach perhaps more closely than any other novelists of the century to our ideal. They have both the wide the century and the assistance when derectoring to the political their characters are to that ideans are century and the assistance when derectoring to their characters are to that ideans are to the century and the assistance when derectoring to their characters are to that ideans are to the century and the assistance when derectoring to the political their characters are to the ideans are to the century and the assistance when the control of the contr falsifying their picture to that idealisation of take rank beside the great art of the past and help to build up the humanity of the future."

We agree with the author that this is a better test to judge a good piece of literature by than that of art for art's sake which is the realist's excuse for grovelling

in the mire of human depravity.

Poetry is the breath and finer spirit of all knowledge, the impassioned expression which is in the countenance of all science. Science has to pass into the common stock before it will be matter for the poet to deal with. As the years roll on, the noble stream of French poetry which has flowed in swelling volume throughout the century comes more and more in contact with those deep problems of life and thought which Wordsworth has taught us are the proper subject of poetry. Indeed France has done more even than England in our century to promote the union of poetry with science and philosophy. Love of nature, sympathy with common human nature, passion for freedom, the ideal of perfect beauty, characterise the new poetry of the age; prose romances become the leading form of imaginative literature. To this must be added the effort of the historians to recreate the past.

But "one note may be detected, deeper than the rest and linking all the rest together. It sounds in the history of Carlyle as in the poetry of Shelley, in the novelists as clearly as in the philosophers. A new order is being born in which mankind is all to share in a life of greater freedom and beauty, worthier activity, and more unselfish happiness than the world had known before."

Social regeneration was the final note of this new spirit in literature. It issued from the same spirit of progress aiming directly at the redress of social inequality, at curing the diseases of poverty, at substituting co-operation for competition as the master-motive in human life. Karl Marx had gained a more complete and philosophical view of the social revolution than any other socialist leader ever reached. The capitalist organisation of industry was to be followed by the organisation of industry by and for those who create its values, namely, the workers themselves. But he laid too great an emphasis on the century, and it owes most to opposition of classes, and sought the any individual may acquire during

mainspring of human progress in a material ist and not a spiritual impulse.

The industrial revolution was the result of the application of science and larger organisation to some of the fundamental occupations of mankind The scientific discoveries of the Greeks was not followed in ancient times by any industrial organisa. tion because industry was then despised by the intellectual classes and owing to the frequent wars the social condition of the country was most unstable. But with industrial organisation machines, created by mankind for their own ends, too often assumed the mastery of those who worked them. Organisation however became the leading note, organisation of society parallel to organisation of thought. Society has become, in all those countries where industry has been developed and organised by science, a far more united and stable thing thanit was before, or than it is in other regions advanced in this respect. But this organisation and closer union are only to be considered good "if they express them selves ultimately in a fuller and nobler like on the part of all the individuals who are enmeshed in the system and made to work as wheels, and parts of wheels, in a great machine."

"But there can be no turning back. The human mind, to gain a step forward, has to accept the work that it has accomplished in the past, and use it for still higher purposes in the

Darwin was the leading exponent in his generation of the doctrine that all living things are the result of an immemorial development by gradual steps from simple forms. This is, in a broad sense, the his torical spirit which has transformed in the last hundred years all the sciences of life The keynote of modern biological and socio logical thought is that the organism is to be interpreted historically as the issued an infinite process of growth and adaptation the fullest tion, the fitting of the being to the fullest us the f use of its environment. "The cell-theoly must be put side by side with evolution among the greatest scientific discoveries the century the century, and it owes most to Gerner that any individual may acquire during

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life-time can be transmitted to his descendants is now in doubt and very generally and But the opinion seems to gain ground that something like purposeful effort les behind the variations of life. The effort involved in all life becomes with man not only conscious but ideal, an effort to reach a higher state which lie deliberately thinks out and places before himself. Huxley maintained that moral, æsthetic, or social progress could not be explained by a mere struggle for existence, or any process of mechanical causes. There were in fact two natures in man, and the higher had to fight not only or mainly against external nature or hostile animals, but against the lower nature in man himself. This was to be brought into subjection to a higher purpose by a painful and persistent effort in conscious co-operation with fellow-workers in the same task. It is this effort which adds to the Descent an Ascent of Man. To the doctrine of Evolution we owe the idea that any sound notion of progressive life requires an environment upon which the developing organism acts and which reacts upon it. The reality of progress could and should be measured by the adaptation of the living being to its environment, including in the environment those fellow creatures with whom it lives. The isolation inculcated by the Hindu law-makers is sure

to lead to deterioration and decay. In 1848, Helmholtz reached the greatest and most far-reaching generalisation which had yet been reached in the realm of sience—the principle of the conservation of energy. And now in the constitution of the atom, reservoirs of force have been discovered which surpass conception and stagoner stagger our imagination by their unfathomable depths. In spectral analysis and radio-activity radio-activity we find man's boldest approaches to the secret structure of the naterial universe, and both lead to fresh the force and visions of unity. Electricity adapted to the force which is ultimately to prove the most most which is ultimately to matter, the most potent in the universe of matter, the common form into which, as it now into which, as it now resolved. We seems, all the rest may be resolved. We seem bound to turn to the conception of a

some intelligible law which our minds may fathom and express in ordered form, if we apply to the facts the same methods which have brought success in the past. The growing tendency of the human mind to see things whole is visible in the growth of one comprehensive science of inorganic matter. Between this, indeed, and the science of life a gulf still remains, and another barrier lies between the sciences of the lower animal life as a whole and the sciences of human nature which involve a conscious ideal. But Pasteur and a host of other chemists and biologists have invaded that realm. In his abstract thought man is constantly attaining more perfect harmony in the midst of expansion and growing distinctions and multiplicity of detail. Man's power of thought being his characteristic and supreme quality, it may be supposed that his whole nature will ultimately be dominated by it, and there should be in the conduct of his life some corresponding rhythm, in other words, his unity of thought will be reflected more and more in a unity of purpose.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the idea of a common humanity became current in the western world, a being of all races and lands, deriving traditions, instincts, powers, from common roots in the past, and destined in the future to closer and closer co-operation for the common

good.

"Such ideas were reiterated, expanded, and explained by hundreds of thinkers in the nineteenth century. But it is a far cry from a doctrine, however true, held however fervently and intelligently by small groups of men, and the application of the same truth to the "Government of nations and the healing of mankind. The truth to be operative must be expressed in public actions and embodied in institutions and forms of law."

But what do we find to be the actual tacts in the Western world?

Within ten years of the Brussels Conference of 1889, which recorded the most benevolent principles, "the Congo population had been decimated by oppression, official records of inhuman have been committed at the conception of a have been committed at the black. Increased the changing, but CC-c in Public Domain Gurundanity warning the Powers, united though they were, as they stood round the crimes in the German colonies are known to all

prostrate form of China after her defeat by Japan....."; "the British gunboats of 1840 forced tons of opium on the reluctant Chinese at the cannon's mouth." "England took the first step in using force to open Chinese doors to western trade." "For a moment it seemed possible that China too might be partitioned."

was averted by the mutual jealousies of the competing States, and above all, by the presence of the Japanese.

"The British empire, so far as it is white, is an empire only in name, (and is) in reality a free alliance of self-governing peoples."

But what of India, "the most important part of our empire in the stricter sense of the term"?

"We should note," says Mr. Marvin, "in our empire general rest and contentment for the last twenty-five years, the only exception outside the British isles being the Boer War and spasmodic sedition in India."

But Mr. Marvin fails to note that the Boers have been placated by self-government, while the most important part of the empire is yet without the elements of it, in regard to really essential matters. It is no wonder under the circumstances that the author describes the British rule

in India as a 'chequered success'.

All the political and social activities of the Gladstonian times pale into insignificance before the Elementary Education Act of 1870, the object of which was to give every citizen a minimum of instruction and the possibility of more. It involves the growing realisation of that desire for a fuller life for all, which became prominent towards the end of the eighteenth century, and "it points the way at its highest levels to a new and more permanent basis for internationalism and human unity than the medieval discipline had been able to afford." But the opposition to State control of education proceeded from the conviction that the State was not the aspect of community life which naturally turns to things of the spirit and cannot rightly touch those deepest springs of our being if it would, and that, if it tries to they wither and form them, misshapen by the act. In 1876, compulsory attendance at school was made the law of the land. "The century since Waterlow art, and philosophy are of has seen indeed few greater changes than "A noble creed. looking back with

in the attitude of all civilised nation towards popular education." England pioneer in the industrial revolution, was the last of the nations to recognise the need of national effort in technical educa tion. In this matter the French led the world, but Germany had learnt the lesson to most purpose, and the research institute at Charlottenburg was soon to become sign of wonder and of imitation to the world.

Religion involves the recognition of some highest thing to which we owe allegiance and our consciousness of this highest thin will advance and become fuller and noble as our minds rise and expand. The result of the comparative evolutionary method is the recognition of the fact that there is something true and divinely revealed in every religion. The new sense of historical continuity in religion and of the gradual evolution of the divine in man must be put among the greatest of the conquests of the nineteenth century. The lapse of con turies had profoundly modified the meaning of the traditional creeds. The legends the faith are no longer what they were the first believers. Those who cling to the literal truth of the religious stories and formulæ which have come down from antiquity, and hold that if there is obscur ity or contradiction, it is in the mind the misguided believer, are nowadays for except perhaps in India.

In the rest of the world, "men of the mo varied shades of belief, or of none at all the habitually for common work of every without demur, without a question ask Partly, you may say, through indifference; more, we would add, through the growth other common links which put religion put religion differences in the background."

To the historical spirit, the scientified of social study of social evolution, both science of religion appear as immemorial growths the human spirit. Comte recognised other canon of right conduct but the more progress of the human community as whole More whole. Mere pleasure, personal or general is to be wholly rejected as and Scient is to be wholly rejected as an end. art, and philosophy are of the high "A noble creed, looking back with

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sympathy to ancient stoicism and medieval asceticism, but with a world of new human asceticism, between; a doctrine of self-denial, but sympathy between; the losing of one's with a positive content; the losing of one's with a positive finding of it again in the larger self self, but the finding of it again in the larger self self, but the finding of it again in the larger self self, but the finding of it again in the larger self self, but the finding of it again in the larger self self, but the finding of it again in the larger self self, but the finding of it again in the larger self self, but the finding of it again in the larger self self, but the finding of it again in the larger self self, but the finding of it again in the larger self self.

The new temper in religion sees its goal in philanthropy and social service and evinces a growing devotion to good works especially of an organised kind. progress of religion, in fact, consists essentially in bringing its conceptions more and more into harmony with the highest moral ideas of mankind. The missionaries have, it is true, been a powerful factor in the expansion of the West, but on the whole they have represented the humane and civilising side of Western influence; "thanks to the missionaries, the exploitation, which hangs so heavily on the Western conscience, has been less inhuman than it might have been." Nowadays the most noteworthy feature of religion is the increased emphasis on the ethical side. "It has been the mark of every step towards a higher and purer religious life to discard superstitions and approximate to reason." There has also been a revival of mysticism, which is the doctrine of the supremacy of self-consciousness carried to the furthest point in depth, without extension and without the proper balance of the objective world. developing consciousness must be regarded as correlative to external facts as well as deeper within, a mirror of the world as well as a mirror of man.

"And this, too, is a patent mark of the new spirit in religion. We are now accustomed to a nature and the joy of living, as well as knowledge the Highest to which our being tends."

But we must also note that the individual self does not stand alone; it is part "The wider, the more social self.

The same century has seen the attainment fieldly opposed, inherently but two aspects of ton which or personality, and a humanity that self derives its depth and desired.

The perception of the developing self, the projection of the Ideal before us, in the fitful light of our own personal-CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

ity, sometimes in the radiance of another and a greater, the gradual filling out of this ideal by all the achievements of a slowly perfecting humanity, the pursuit of this ideal by one's self becoming wiser and greater minded, but always in fellowship with others in family, in country, or in the world, with whom or for whom we have to live—these are the characteristics of the new religious growth. Just in so far as these things are actually in process, under whatever formulæ of faith they may be expressed or concealed so far Western man is becoming more religious."

Force the Western nations have, irresistible force, when used collectively, the force of applied science and organised numbers.

"But in order that this force should be used for the best advantage of all mankind, it is necessary that the ideas of the leading nations should be humane as well as powerful, enlightened as well as organised. They have to recognise, if they are to be a blessing and not a curse to the world, that a higher life for all, and not mere power or acquisition, whether of land or wealth or rule, must be their aim. And this higher life must be aimed at, and to some within the bosom of the extent enjoyed, governing nations before they can extend it to the races whom they influence. They must recognise, too, that the higher life of one man or one community will differ widely from that of another, that no one can advance to a higher stage of his own being, except on lines which the nature and previous history of that being will dictate; and this implies wide sympathy and knowledge, as well as a profound love of freedom in the minds of those who must, whether they will or no, put their hands to the task."

Social reform has proceeded hand in hand with colonial expansion. John Ruskin best represents the spirit of social reform in England. He criticised the spiritual tendencies of the ideal implied in the orthodox economics, which was governed by the unrestricted action of the laws of supply and demand.

"There is no wealth but Life—Life, including all its powers of love, of joy, of admiration. That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings."

The same ideal of the service of man lies at the bottom of his appreciation both of art and of industry. Both were to be tested by their effect on life. The Reform Bill of 1830 had a strong humanitarian element behind it, for, as Sydney Smith had

said, the effect of placing political power in the hands of a large number of people must be to increase the attention paid to their interests in a hundred ways. The triumph of the Trade Unions came in 1875. Legal protection was granted to Trade Union funds, to the permission of combination, of striking, even of picketing. The self-government of industry, voluntary orgainsation for the advantage of workers, was carried still further by means of Guilds or Syndicates of the workpeople and the Co-operative and Friendly Societies. They all proceed upon the principle that we can only live and thrive with the help and through the well-being of our fellows. Women's Institutes, Girls' Friendly Societies were also established. Old Age Pensions to the poor, and budgets increasing the burdens on the rich for the sake of the less well-to-do, were culminating measures of the movement. Social service, and spiritual growth through such service, is the keynote of the movement. growth of the social spirit, of triumphant association, is indeed so indubitable and impressive that we might be inclined to rest on it alone as sufficient evidence of the progress of humanity. The health statistics confirm the hopes of the reformers. In 1908 the death rate was the lowest on record, being just over 14 for every thousand of the population of Great Britain.

"But this bald fact of keeping so many thousands more alive is but a small part of the truth. The lives they live have been rendered by medical science happier as well as safer. Many diseases, leprosy, cholera, typhus, small pox, have practically disappeared. Many others, typhoid and scarlet-fever for instance, are far less prevalent or fatal. Other scourges, such as cancer, syphilis, tuberculosis, are now being studied and guarded against with a care and a possibility of prevention quite unknown before our time in the

Robert Owen was a pioneer in the theory that by altering the environment you could modify to any extent the being of those who lived under it. Auguste Comte added the proviso that it was within man's power by the determination of his will to modify his fate, subject to the necessities imposed by physical laws. Here was an

laws of nature in order to command by obeying her.' The new school added 'study also man's nature and history in order to modify that by due observance of its laws.' In the first decade of the present century many steps have been taken which take us farther on the way to Ruskin's ideal, things which have in them also the germ of beauty, of a fuller life as well as a longer and more vigorous one. The Town Planning Act was passed by the same ministry which came into power in 1906 and gave old age pensions to the poor Town planning is part of the movement which has given the garden cities in Europe and America. The linking of beauty with health, of happiness with industry, was the point aimed at. Mere illiteracy has disappeared, but the spread of inferior literature and vulgar taste has gone hand in hand with it. But on the whole the leading traits are the love of freedom, the association with fellow-men, the develop ment of varied national types in differing lands and climes, the kinship of all in the growth of science and the expansion of the human spirit.

In international progress, the influence of the United States is most marked.

"They, more than any other Western people have been disinterested in their treatment of the weaker races.....it cannot be without reason that we connect these things with the suffern and effort by which they consolidated their ow national existence on a moral basis. They made in their Civil War [of which the abolition of slavery was the result] the freedom and its human right. human rights of every member of the community the cardinal issue......" "Was every man will in the borders of their community to be and in himself, to call his soul his own? And the whole commended whole community, surmounting the danger of permanent rupture, decided in the affirmative "Wherever the United States have added strength to strength to an international movement, it he been more strictly in the interests of humanit and of peace than the action of any other Power" Power."

The United States returned to the fe constituted Government of China indemnity imposed on her for the Box Rising State Rising. Sums raised by the United State from the coloring by from the colonies by way of tariff har always been rot always been returned for the good of the extension of Bacon's dictum study the always been returned for the good control of Bacon's dictum study the sale always been returned for the good control of Bacon's dictum study the sale always been returned for the good control of Bacon's dictum study the sale always been returned for the good control of Bacon's dictum study the sale always been returned for the good study th

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cation and humanitarian work. The idealism of President Wilson is a reflex of the national mind. Practically all the international laws and customs of war have been violated in the late war, and our hearts may well sink within us.

"But it is a faint heart after all. Men will not remain content for ever to see a wise and perfectly attainable ambition unattained."

The supreme goal of political activity should be the moralisation of politics. The growth of international union has been accelerated by the vast expansion of the material links of the world order; and by the growth of man's common mind, showing mainly in the mass, and the influence of science, and also in the spread throughout the globe of common ways of lie and thought. The Hague Tribunal, constituted in 1899, was established in obedience to a general demand for the reference of international disputes to arbitration. The boundary between Canada and the United States, stretching three thousand miles across a continent, was fixed by a mixed commission so far back 48 1794, and is not defended by a single fortress. And shortly after the Great War began in 1914, two most momentous agreements were arrived at between Great Britain on the one hand and America and France on the other, referring all possible matters in dispute, at least in the first instance, to arbitration waiving the clauses as to vital interests and honour, which had been excluded in similar previous treathese tes. It will however be seen that these international agreements are Powers equally strong, where the motive for arbitration is obvious; though referthe period is obvious; though the period under review, it cannot be said that the most that the weak nations possess such guatantees of protection against the strong as tould be wished. And it is to be deplored under to the the doctrine of mandatories under Box Meaker paor of Nations scheme leaves the that the wished. And it is to be depresented the doctrine of mandatories under Meaker peoples very much where they were The Great War.

(as demonstrated of the last hundred years again that the history of the last hundred years the instinct of again and again that

for freedom or for private property, is ineradicable.

"Two things only can we postulate universally about nationality; one, that it is a spiritual bond, a link betweeen men, commonly of the same blood, who have grown together by common action and common suffering; the other, that it involves attachment to some definite portion of the earth's surface, a homeland to which its members turn with more affection and yearning than to any other place Being a spiritual thing, nationality must have freedom to live and grow, and this growth will, in the normal case, where external conditions have not prevented it, lead to self-government. But freedom it will have at the cost of unceasing suffering and unrest."

The author claims that "this freedom Great Britain has, on the whole, succeeded in securing for the nationalities embraced in its political orbit, and it is constantly extending it." Mr. Marvin is evidently thinking of the self-governing colonies and not of India, 'the most important part of our empire in the stricter sense of the term.' The lessons which the war is said by Mr. Marvin to have burnt into our minds for ever do not seem to be very much in evidence in England's dealings with India, if we think of the martial law atrocities in the Punjab and similar incidents. He says:

"Wherever, as in the east of Europe, there is an area of unsatisfied, unreconciled national there you have a focus of war. The oppressed peoples, wishing to change their condition, will be eager to provoke a disturbance which, bringing in more powerful antagonists than themselves, will be likely to create some change in their own condition, and the oppressdenying to subject-nationalities natural demands—freedom of speech and life and self-control—will be the more apt to fail in the general obligations of fellowship with mankind, the observance of old loyal understandings...this skeleton at home makes them suspicious and secretive abroad."

British Empire has three such skeletons-Ireland, which being of the white race will sooner or later have justice done to it, Egypt, and India. It is yet to od of the last hundred years her dealings with the instruct of again and again that

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links of co-operation and progress involved in the advance of knowledge and science.

"Human skill and perseverance in piercing the St. Gothard, human insight and synthesis in tracing the curves and learning the constituents of the most distant stars, human care and ingenuity in analysing disease and chasing the poisonous bacillus from the blood, the noble human emotion, in all its compass and gamut, which speaks in a symphony of Beethoventhese things are the true uniting forces; and, as a rule, in recording the achievements of the past, we put these in the smallest type or leave them out altogether. But they have been growing all the while, and the nineteenth century was their best flowering time" "It is in this sphere, the sphere of pure intellect, that, as Dante showed, the unity of mankind is most fully realised. All sects of learning, whether universities or learned societies, or associations for spreading knowledge in wider circles, are in reality the organs of a true internationalism, and strengthen the human spirit by knowledge springing from a universal source and tending ultimately to the universal good."

Let us hope that the Universities of India will more and more take their place in this intellectual communion, of which the author says:

"The learned societies and universities of the world have been acquiring habits of co-operation more and more rapidly with the spread of science,

and it would never occur to any professor either on the physical or biological side, to allow the passions of a national conflict, whether just or blinded, to bias him for a moment in judging of a new hypothesis or criticism. Here we all are, and must be, at one, and on the lines it would seem that science is leading to through our places of education and research into a new unity of thought which will have more permanence than the medieval system."

The modern spirit stands in sham contrast with the medieval, which still persists in India. "The old ideal was our of supreme blessedness in a state of contemplation, of rest in a vision of what the universe might be, if penetrated by Love and irradiated by Beauty." The Vaishnavism of Chaitanya was the last great manifestation of this spirit in India

"The modern spirit knows no such rest. I has the real world with all its 'Hearts of Darkness' to enlighten, and we see it at its best when in some national effort it determines to end ignorance and squalor at home, or in some international union resolves to redeem the horrors of the African tribe enslaved and decimated by Western greed. It is from such manifestations, too rare and often too feeble, but more frequent and stronger as the century went on, that we may augur the rising of ! Heart of Light."

CRITIC.

SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION IN INDIA

III

THE RELATION OF THE SEXES.

AM not aware of any discussion in the Vedic literature on the relative positions of the sexes. In early Hindu literature man is treated as man, and woman as woman. No idea of the superiority of the one or the inferiority of the other is discernible until we come to later writers. In fact the Hindu theory of creation which credits Brahma with having divided his body into two parts, with one creating man and with the other woman, places woman on a much superior footing than If a man is free to live his life, choose the one implied by the Christian theory of kangricollection, Handwar live his life, exercised the one implied by the Christian theory of kangricollection, Handwar live his life, exercised the one implied by the Christian theory of the control of the order of the

Genesis which makes Eve come out of the ribs of Adam, thus making her only a part of him. In any case it is safer and sound to have a clear grasp of the matter the be confused by a discussion of the equality of the sexes or the superiority of one of the other. Mr. Ellis puts it well when says that it is for the good of the work that men and women are different. ence does not, however, involve the ority of women, nor does it justify a delight lines of equal opportunities of equal opportunities of progress to be or a depict of or a denial of freedom to her to live by life the same as man claims to live

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his rights, perform his obligations, so must a woman be. In order to be able to mise to the full height of her womanhood, the woman has as much right to education and freedom as man has. There can be no limit to her development; no curtailing of her liberties without harming the whole

The present position of women in India is extremely harmful to the progress of the It substantially hinders the religious, the social, the physical, the mental and the material progress of the nation. From the point of view of final social values, no question is of greater urgency than that of the restoration of their rights to women, viz., their right to education and freedom of action. The ancient Hindus recognised no limitations to a woman's right to education; nor restricted her freedom of action except what her status as wife or mother entailed on her by virtue of these positions. A nation which tolerates the bondage of her mothers cannot make rapid progress towards freedom of any kind.

The writer is not unaware of the difficulties in the way of the restoration of their rights to Indian women. The ignorance of the masses is the chiefest of them; the narrow education which the Indians receive in schools and colleges is another; the deep-rooted sentimental prejudices are

The writer has noticed with regret that a very large number of his educated countrymen seem to have very crude the graduation of women. That the girls are entitled to education and should receive education, is now generally to the J. even in orthodox circles. But as to the degree and kind of education which Women should receive, the diversity of opinion prevails. In certain expressed that the same opinion is often greatest typessed that the education of boys and the intersect that the education of boys and y a department of the proceed on entirely different Some people would limit the education of siels people would limit the ed of the three D. selementary knowledge with of the three R's, an acquaintance with ligious literature and a training in and a woman

literature, raise children in an atmosphere of health and religion, is proficient in cooking and sewing and is generally obedient to her husband. For a long time, for the first three quarters of the 19th century, the same was the ideal of the West. The last quarter of the century has brought about a revolutionary change in the position of woman in the West. There seems no reason why educated India, with access to the history of the development of woman's position in the West should accept the ideals

of the first half of the 19th century.

me it seems that the educated Indian's ideas about women and their right to full freedom in the matter of education are reactionary because of the atmosphere of snobbery in which he is brought up. It is a fashion in certain educated circles in India to talk the western woman in language of strong disapprobation. The western woman is by no means a paragon of virtue. She has her own faults and so has the eastern woman. The pictures of western women drawn by biased Indians are as true or untrue to life as the pictures of eastern women by Christian missionaries and globe trotters. In both cases they are the result of bias, hasty generalisation and a false pride in the superiority of one's own standards. The missionary indulges in these generalisations with a motive. He wants funds and workers to carry on his propaganda. For this he depends on the sympathy he excites by his description of the pitiable and oppressive condition of the eastern women. This motive creates a bias which often, perhaps unconsciously, leads him to unjust and exaggerated views about the condition of eastern women. The oriental traveller in the West, on the other hand, loses his balance, when he sees the freedom enjoyed by women in the West. He ascribes it to their barbarous sensuousness. His opportunities of coming into contact with the best type of western woman are perhaps as rare as those of the domestic duties. Their ideal of a woman straining in Gurukul kangni collection, Handwar oriental should approach it from a scholar-oriental should approach it from a scholar-oriental should approach it from a scholarly scientific point of view and free their minds as much as possible from preconceived biases. The question has received a scientific treatment from western scholars. There is evidence that our ancestors had studied it in a scientific spirit. We owe it to ourselves, to our women and children, to investigate it on the same lines and in

the same spirit.

The easterner has an inherent prejudice against revolutionary changes, but revolutionary changes are a part of the evolutionary process. This truth holds good in all phases of social life. What one part of the world has achieved by evolution may well be accepted by the other parts without necessarily going through the same process of struggle and conflict. It took the world a long time to invent the steam engine and the use of electricity for the purposes of man. These scientific truths were first brought to light in Europe but that is no reason why Asia should not at once use steam and electricity without waiting for some Asiatic to re-invent the same things again in Asia.

I see no justification for the belief that the educational needs of men and women are so radically different as to require two entirely different kinds of education. may be that the education of our boys is proceeding on erroneous lines and we are anxious to avoid the mistakes of which we have been guilty in the case of our boys. If so, we should be equally solicitous to educate our boys also on right lines. Our ideas of the educational requirements of our women should not be based on what we would like them to be-affectionate wives and good mothers only. We certainly want affectionate wives and good mothers, but women are more than that, just as men are more than affectionate husbands and good fathers. Just as a boy needs an education which will help his complete development to manhood, so a girl needs education which would help her complete evolution to womanhood. The same principle must guide the education of both, may be with minor differences in details. But to say that the two systems should be radically different is to display either prejudice or ignorance or both cownate of is

wrong with us, is that our ideas of education are not sound. The woman has as much need of individuality, freedom, resourcefulness, initiative, courage, economic independence and intellectual growth as man has. The needs of the Indian woman in this respect are exactly the same as those of the western woman. Climatic conditions may require certain differentiations, but subject to that we will profit immensely by the experience of the Westin the educational development of women. The question is important enough to need a specialised study by some of our eminent educationists.

IV.

Having discussed the general questions of sexual ethics, of the position of woman and of the education of women in India, I propose now to take up the question of marriage. According to Bertrand Russel,

"There are two questions to be asked in regard to any marriage system; just how it affect the development and character of the men and women concerned; secondly, what is its influence on the propagation and education of children. These two questions are entirely distinct, and a system may well be desirable from one of these two points of view when it is very undesirable from the other."

Following Bertrand Russel's example I propose first to describe the Hindu and the customary laws of India and public opinion and practice in regard to the relation of the sexes.

I will take the Hindu Law and the prac tice among the Hindus first. Marriage under Hindu Law is a religious sacrament It is an indissoluble tie which lasts for the lifetime of the parties. Among the three higher castes no divorce is allowed by the law as administered in these days. Under certain circumstances the law sanctions more than one wife for the husband, but under no circumstance does it countenant more than one husband for the Again, under certain circumstances the law allows the husband to remarry in the time of one or more wives, but under to remarry in the circumstance in the circumstanc circumstance is a woman allowed to go marry in the life-time of her husband. Kangri Collection thanks unlawful for women to remarry after the remarry after the death of their husbands

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but now the remarriage of widows has been made lawful by statutory law. In theory Hindu Law enjoins marriage on every man and woman. There are ceron exceptions in the case of men, who at an early period of their life decide to devote themselves to a lifelong study and practice of religion and to propaganda work. A wife may accompany a husband when the latter enters Vanaprastha Asram but the pair must seperate when the husband deedes to become a Sannyasi. I know of no authority which expressly sanctions Sannyas for women. To all intents and purposes it is assumed, nay expressly stated in the later Smritis, that a woman can never be independent. In her childhood she is under the control of her parents, when married she is subordinate to her husband, when widowed or otherwise deprived of the guardianship of her husband, she must submit to the control of her grown-up sons or other male relatives. If so, there is no chance for her to lead a life of independence and freedom except by violation of the law. Custom enforces the law in this respect rather rigorously. There are certain sects, particularly amongst the Jains, in which the women are allowed to

Accordingly a woman has no voice in her marriage even when grown up. The later Smritis leave no occasion for such an exercise of choice. They presuppose that every girl shall be given in marriage by her Parents or other guardian before she attains the age of puberty. A father or brother or uncle who neglects to arrange sister or hieral Lage of his daughter or sister Or niece before they arrive at the age of mberty is threatened with all kinds of real or imaginary punishments. In the very extreme case of a girl not having been harried before she reaches the age of puberby and in case of continued neglect for three rears on the part of her male guardian she is permitted to take a husband of her own

become Sadhinis (i. e. female ascetics), but the number of female ascetics in India is

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infinitesimal as compared

We do not know of any period in the know of any period in the

were absolutely free in the matter of marriage. The Vedic texts on the subject presuppose the consent of the bride, but whether they contemplate a choice of a husband by a maiden against or independent of the consent or wishes of her parents is extremely problematic. The only exceptions, if I am not mistaken, are those in which the choice of a husband was made by Swayam-vara. The very expression means self-choice. The well known case of Sanyogta who selected Prithvi Raj even in his absence and insisted on marrying him and him only even against the wishes of her father is a case in point. Sanyogta's father and Prithvi Raj were political enemies. Sanyogta had never seen or met Prithvi Raj. She had only heard of him. At the time of the Swayamvara ceremony Prithvi Raj was not present. To show his contempt for Prithvi Rai, Sanyogta's father, Jai Chand, had a clay image of his put in the hall, assigning him the menial duty of washing the dishes. Yet when Sanyogta entered the hall with the garland of flowers in her hand, and the whole assemblage of princes and nobles were thrilled with the expectations of good luck, Sanyogta went straight to the clay image of Prithvi Raj and garlanded it. Her choice was made. It was irrevocable. Her father refused to ratify it. He was angry. But Sanyogta's decision had been She sent a secret message to Prithvi Raj to come and claim her. Prithvi Raj did come and his attempt to obtain possession of the person of Sanyogta was successful, though not before rivers of blood had been shed between the adherents of the two royal houses. This romantic affair cost India her political independence.

Marriages of love are not entirely unknown to Hindu Law but they are always treated as exceptions and the Sutras and Smritis speak of them in rather apologetic language. Going as far back as the time of the Epics every man seeking the hand of a maiden, however grown up, had to obtain the consent of her parents. Even Santanu, the do not know of any period in the daughter of a common hisherman whom the Hindus when other women whom he had fall with a sight,

without obtaining the consent of her father. How the father of the girl dictated his own terms to the love-lorn monarch is very graphically described in the pages of the Mahabharata. He would not give his daughter in marriage to the king without the latter promising with the consent of the heir-apparent Bhisma that the succession to the kingship would devolve on the eldest son of his daughter. Nay, he went further and insisted that Bhisma should not only renounce the throne for himself but also for his issue, which Bhishma did by taking the vow of life-long celibacy. This incident alone (with numerous others to support it) ought to be a sufficient answer to those detractors of India who say that Indians had no respect for law. A comparative study of the marriage laws of the world in the different epochs of the world's history would show that nowhere have women been altogether free in the choice of their husbands. But it appears that in India until the inauguration of the custom of child marriage, no maiden could be forced to marry a person she did not

The institution of child marriage, however, changed the whole aspect of the question. Boys and girls could not be expected to choose their mates. So the choosing was done by their parents. Now, generally speaking, parents must be presumed to be the best friends of their offspring. But as we know, sometimes, even the best friends may be your worst enemies. Considerations of their own good may swing them away from the path of altruism. Sometimes with the best of motives they may be guilty of conduct which ruins the lives of the two persons whom they unite in wedlock for their mutual good. But instances are not lacking where parents have been swayed by the meanest and the most sordid considerations in arranging the marriages of their children. Even in the West, where child marriage* does not at present prevail, parents have, in not a few cases, exercised their authority in a most

arbitrary fashion out of sordid and mean motives. The evil, however, reaches its climax where the parties concerned minors and altogether unable to look after their own interests.

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Educated India has, with one voice condemned the institution of child mann age. It has also declared in favour of young men being allowed to choose ther own wives, but it has not yet done any. thing to confer the same right on girls This is probably due to the lack of education among girls as also to their economic dependence. It is obvious that the first condition of a happy marriage is the free choice of their mates by the parties. Many Indians have been heard to say that marriages among westerners are no mon happy than among the Indians; that the percentage of happy marriages is perhaps greater in India than in Europe and America. I do not agree with this

opinion.

What is the test of happiness? A forced happiness brought about by a sense of helplessness and inevitableness is not real happiness. Two young people brought together by the will of their parents, find that, willy-nilly, they must accept the situation. The girl knows that for her there is no way out of it, unless she make up her mind to be a life-long widow or s prepared to take to a life of disrepute. she starts by presuming that her husband and lord is the most handsome, the most virtuous and the only man for her. She begins to love him and gives all that she has in his service. The devotion of Hinds wives to their husbands is something sublime, superb. But after all it is the devotion that is born of a feeling of helf lessness. The economic dependence is a factor. On the other side, the man also finds that although legally he could marry another woman, yet a second marriage would bring such an amount of social obloquy in its train and beside would be would be economically so costly that the very idea. India are not cheap. In some province the number of we the number of men exceeds that of to the position

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in life of her husband. So in good many the man decides to best of the situation and eventually the best of the wife completely wins his devotion dhe in his turn makes a fairly good husband. But it is a fact that in an equally large number of cases the parties fail to adjust themselves and live in le long misery. In each case the loss of happiness and satisfaction involved, leads to much waste and wickedness which effectively tells on the efficiency of the nation. There are however cases, few though in number, in which the man sets aside his first wife and marries another, leaving the first to a life of enforced widowhood. Now the very existence of these cases, however few, makes it necessary that in this respect the position of the man and the woman should be equalised. A law which affects injuriously and unjustly even one human being is bad and must be changed. But the change of the law means the freedom of divorce. The freedom of divorce, however, is an absurdity, where there is no freedom of marriage. So we must start with freedom of marriage. Forced acquiescence in a marriage, in which the parties to a marriage or at least one party had no voice, is a denial of that freedom which is the fundamental right of every human being. It is a serious handicap to the development of the personalities of men and women and as such repre-

A Hindu's sense of propriety is shocked when a young man refuses to marry a girl whom he has not seen and who has been selected for him by his parents. 'Why, this is have and of,' says the old man, 'who could have expected such a degradation of ideals or fall from the path of virtue!' But a gri's desire to see her proposed husband before marriage is still unheard of in India. It is time that girls should be encouraged to demand the girls should be encouraged to demand that girls should be encourse mere seelow each of Parties to a marriage must Wedlock Ty. Parties to a marriage in wedlock Ty. her well, before they unite in which wedlock. This introduces courtship, which Stevolting even to most of the best edutated Hindus and Moslems. The western bole have and Moslems. The in this line. people have advanced greatly in this line.

young woman to become permanent partners in life they must know each other thoroughly, before they take the final plunge. To a Hindu this may look like the coming down of the heavens. But we must make a beginning by insisting on the rights of the parties to see each other and to know each other. The first thing which the Indian mind requires to be accustomed to think is that the personality of a woman is as important, even if not more, as that of a man in the progressive evolution of mankind and the attainment of that state of emancipation which leads to salvation. The second thing which Indians need to be told is that bearing children is not the sole or even the principal function in the life of a woman. The idea that the only justification for marriage is the desire for offspring is a superstition, which deserves to be demolished. That the union of man and woman means certainly much more than the legal gratification of desire is a truth which should never be lost sight of. The ancient Hindus were quite right in their sociological ideas in imposing restraint even on married couples. These ideas are based on hygiene. Their chief purpose is to secure a healthy body and a healthy mind to the married couple as well as to the issue of the marriage. The union of man and woman helps them in the development of their personalities and that is the chief object of life. The bearing of offspring is a social duty; a duty which men and women owe to the race. It is also a personal duty, as the existence of children helps them in their own personal development also; but surely this is not their only or even their main business in life. A social system which reduces women to the position of child-bearing machines bears its own condemnation. The fact that celibacy is permitted by the Hindu Shastras in the case of both men and women, for advancement of learning and for spiritual development, amply proves that the bearing of children could not be the summum bonum of life either for men or for women. Even in this direction the Hindus went to the People lave advanced greatly in this line. place in the list of virtues. The pest that for a young man and gurfar the greatly of men and women is to

be natural and to avoid excess in either

In order to ensure even a moderately happy and fruitful marriage it is necessary

(a) the couple be physically fit to

become parents,

(b) that they start with love and attachment to each other, which can only be known by at least a certain amount of social companionship before marriage,

(c) that they be free from the taint of disease, inherited or contracted, or, in other words, that they be eugenically fit, and

(d) that they be economically able to

make a home.

The economic conditions that at present prevail in the West, whereby a large number of middle class and almost all of the working class women have to work for their livelihood from 8 to 12 hours a day, is hardly conducive to marital felicity. The marriage problem is as acute to-day in the West as it is from a different angle in the East. The nations of the West are trying legislative and educational experiments of different kinds. The problem is unsolved. The experimental stage is causing a great deal of laxity and promiscuity, which seems to be inevitable if the matter is at all to be determined without injustice to the fair sex. The western woman is in revolt. She hates the present domination of men and is in open rebellion against man-made laws of marriage and divorce. It is only when men will realise that what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander, that a co-operative attempt will be made to arrive at a solution which may be satisfactory to both as well as to the race in general.

Thechief difficulty comes into view when we start to consider marriage from the point of view of the welfare of the children. It is not rare that the interests of children come into conflict with the personal interests of the parents, either one or both. The welfare of the children demands (a) that the parents should be in full possession of health both physical and mental, at the time of conception, (b) that during conception, delivery and at least for a year'

free from economic and other kinds of worries, and (c) that up to the age of majority the child should get nourishing food, ample clothing, good housing and last but not least, every facility for educa. tion. Under the circumstances any defect in the parents at the time of union and any subsequent estrangement between them regardless of the circumstances over which they have no control, for example poverty and unemployment, are likely to be very harmful to a healthy and vigorous development of their children. Advanced European thinkers are of opinion that the best time of life for having children i when the man and the woman having crossed the boundary of childhood, an throbbing with the passion of life. They are of opinion that the issue of even illien unions should not be looked down upon; that every child that comes into life is sacred and pure, and that the prevailing social ideas which brand some children as illegitimate and bastard is barbaric. In their judgment, all children should be treated equally. Everyone of them is entitled to protection, maintenance and education on equal terms and that it is the duty of the society into which they are born to look after them and enable then to grow into men and women with health bodies and healthy minds. These writer are of the opinion that under the present conditions the and economic progress and development of the race! seriously handicapped by the restriction that society imposes on the free marriage of men and women; that these restriction result in unsuitable and undesirable unions in unions late in life, after both men and women have wasted themselves in illicon satisfaction of their sexual appetite of of it; unnatural suppression marriages are often delayed because me and women are not economically well of to have ahome and to provide for children that even when married, many men and but to so women, although fully healthy and desirons of having although of having children, use artificial means of preventing the coming of children for walk of means to support them and to educate them. them; that, as at present, the vast but afterwards, the mother should be absoluted will kappy children Hardward into life either too last

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or too early; that the great majority of them suffer either from the poverty or the folly of their parents. Healthy men and women have to go without children;

while diseased and foolish but rich parents get children and thereby, perpetuate a diseased and inferior humanity.

LAJPAT RAI.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

I. Rising Japan.

Rising Japan: by Jabez T. Sunderland, D.D., LL.D. Billing Lectures (1913-14) in Japan, China, and India. G. P. Putnam's Sons. New York and London. 1918. Five Shillings. Pp.

Dr. Sunderland's deep sympathy with all weak and oppressed nations and with all who are victims of misrepresentation, is well-known, and this interesting book is devoted to a sympathetic presentation of Japanese civilisation and Japanese political aspirations with a view to remove the misconceptions about them which have been circulated by interested parties in the United States, where the prejudice against the sixty thousand Japanese in California is very strong and has led to unjust State legislation against which the federal Government has been, powerless to protect the subjects of a friendly foreign power.

Dr. Sunderland begins with a panegyric on Asia, 'the greatest mother of nations,' of civilisation, of religions, of the alphabet and of letters, of astronomy and navigation and mathematics and most of the arts and industries of the world. Europe, borrowing the knowledge of the Chinese and of the Indians through the Saracens, has improved it almost out of recognition, whereas improved it almost out of recognition, whereas improved it almost out of recognition. tion, whereas Asia went to sleep and the light went out of her, till the land of the Rising Sun once more succeeded in focussing the attention of the world in focusing the attention of the world by adopting every means of effective It is a country adopting every incant West.

It is a common error in India to suppose that apan has been completely denationalised. As Sunderland says: "She has not become civilised; she was civilised before. What has believed is, she has opened all her doors to a of civilisation of civilisation of by form of civilisation—the civilisation of her down, Butoppe and America—not to supplant her own, men and but to supplement and America—not to supplant her our supplement it, to take from the new what the supplement it is and with that seemed to her of most value, and with that the carry for most value, and with that edarge, to her of most value, and with to long to long to her of most value, and with to long to long to long to long a strong and and enrich her own. It tequired a strong and a great people to plan transition, and control a transition, such a transition, and control a transition and control a transition. and a great people to plan realistic.....

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A missionary doctor of divinity told the strong carried of the strong carried off their feetc-never being submerged, of what was going on in the world than he did, and the strong carried off their feetc-never being submerged, of what was going on in the world than he did, and the strong carried off their feetc-never being submerged.

false to their own civilisation or their own historic genius, and never losing or laying aside their own ideals, through all the long and trying transition period. That is what layer has done?" The result of the long and trying transition period. what Japan has done." Those among us who boast of our 'original' civilisation do not indeed understand what they say. If we think of it, there is really no civilisation, as there is no mind, that is absolutely original. History teaches us that the civilisation of India, like that of every other country which is not surrounded by a Chinese wall of isolation—and the Western passes of India were always open to invading foreigners before Europeans from beyond the seas gained a foothold in the land,—is a composite product of many strands, and the process of absorption and assimilation still goes on. Imitation is no sin or shame; civilisation grows by imitation-provided we do not lose our soul in the process, and have patriotism enough to preserve the best in us, and sufficient wisdom and discrimination not to take in the bad with the good, so far as the two can be separated. It requires courage and foresight to accept as well as to reject; and in many things it is sincerely to be wished that educated Indians could elevate the nation and protect themselves from aggression by a courageous imitation of the

"It seems to be a common impression in this country," says the author, "that the Japanese are a nation of materialists. It would probably be much nearer the truth to call them a nation of idealists. This characteristic of their nature comes out in many ways. It appears in the universal fondness for poetry, from the Emperor and Empress down to the humblest daylabourer. But perhaps the clearest indication is seen in art. It is doubtful whether among any other people in the world the art instinct, the art feeling, love for beauty and the constant enjoyment of beauty, is so universal as among the people of Japan. Japanese drawing and painting are conspicuously idealistic, not

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cals, thanks to universal education, both among males and females. "Nor do the people confine their reading to newspapers and periodicals; they are great readers of books, and solid books, books of value, not merely ephemeral novels. It is amazing what numbers of the best books of Germany, France, Russia, Italy, England, and America one finds translated into Japanese. Every public library and every book store is Equally surprising is the rich in them. number of new books by Japanese authors, in every department of thought and knowledge, that one finds issuing from the press of Japan." In Bengal, translations of good foreign books are not much in favour. Every author aims at being original, but in most cases the originality is found on analysis to resolve itself into mere unacknowledged plagiarisms either from Sanskritic or European sources which are seldom presented in a readable form, whereas a good translation of a foreign classic would always be welcome, and uplift the character and stimulate the intellect of the reader, besides enriching the vernacular literature of the country.

The question of sex morality and divorce in Japan has a peculiar interest for us in India. "It should be said, however, that the frequency of divorce does not grow so much out of immorality on the part of either husband or wife, as from the custom long prevalent in Japan (but now being rapidly changed) of young husbands bringing their brides to live in the homes of the husbands' parents. The dominance of mothersin-law over the wives of their sons is a fruitful breeder of trouble between wives and husbands, which only too often leads to separation. Now that the custom is growing, of newly married couples at once establishing houses of their own, it is believed that divorces will grow less frequent."

"Judged by one test," says Dr. Sunderland, "Japanese civilisation seems to us of the West not to be high. That test is the status of woman." But the difference even in this respect between India and Japan is enormous. Nearly half the primary schools of Japan are in charge of women, and nearly all the women of the country can read and write. Sixty-four occupations, which were formerly confined to men, are now open to women. The Imperial Railway Bureau employs four thousand women as ticket-sellers, cashiers, and book-keepers. The Bank of Japan has 120 women employees. Women typists are numerous. There are fifteen hundred students in the wellequipped Tokyo Woman's University. are now in Japan women artists, novelists, journalists, poets, musicians, actors, doctors." There is, of course, no purdah in Japan. The Reverend author sums up the position thus; "I think it may truthfully be said that both the intellectual and the social life of woman in Japan are being steadily elevated. She is coming to be given a position in all respects more nearly equal to that of man. More and more she is being made man's real companies '0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kanotheo Weish, Haridwar

"In the war between Japan and Russia, Japan set a new standard of morality and honour for modern armies, and especially in her treatment of her prisoners..... If the fine example set by Japan in these respects had been followed by the European nations in the war of 1914, how different would have been the terrible record!

The following observations of the Reverend gentleman have now become a commonplace, but it is a commonplace which shows that none but the strong are respected in the world as it is constituted at present, and that, in Milton's words, "to be weak is miserable, doing or suffer.

ing":"It is one of the strange anomalies of a professedly Christian nations of the West vir. tually compelled Japan to create an army and navy and to show herself formidable as a military power before they would consent to grant her equal international rights with themselves, or admit her to fellowship as a first-class nation. Her education, her art, her industries, the intelligence of her people, her civilisation older than that of many of the nations of Europe, did not avail: she had to show that she could fight; then but not before they were willing to treat her with justice and to give her a place by their side."

Much of the book is devoted to criticism aimed at destroying the bogey of the menace of Japanese invasion of America, sedulously preached by a group of Americans. Referring to this 'organised campaign of misrepresentation and calumny' the author asks: "Do the Ameri can people believe these representations? Yes millions of them do. That is the strange, dark dangerous thing, for when nations circulate and believe such evil reports about one another wars become inevitable. Why do we in America believe the common than the second in the control of believe these suspicion-breeding, fear-breeding hate-breeding, war-breeding declarations about Japan?" The author proceeds to show the for offensive war on American soil Japan totally unprepared and her resources are entire insufficient, though "doubtless she can defend herself and protect her rights at home. She had a large and well." a large and well-trained army and an efficient navy, probably ample in strength to repel at possible invaders from her shores." "And let the know that if know that if an armed conflict ever arises by tween the two nations, it will not be a ward invasion of America, but, as already said, and of aggression on our part, which we shall which will not be larger own which will not be Japan's door, the transfer our own. The writer points out that the national idea which Japan heart that the national care. which Japan has set before her is "not a care" of military consumer of military conquest, but one of ever-grown industrial career of leadership in the East in the arts and sciences, in manufactures sciences, in manufactures, in trade, and in finance, similar to that of England or Obsession (Germany apart from the East in the arts in the arts of the East in the East in the arts of the East in the East in the Arts of the East in t industrial (Germany apart from her military obsession

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Though the recent history of Shantung may tell a different story, the general attitude of Nippon towards the Celestial Empire is lucidly Nopposition the learned doctor in the following

passage: "As for the integrity of China, that in the past has been violated repeatedly, and with results of the most serious character. Who have been the violators? For the most part the nations of Burope. At least four of those nations—Great Britain, Russia, France and Germany-have wrested from the Chinese people large areas, including strategic military and naval bases of great importance, and have laid plans threatening still further seizures. Of course Japan from the beginning has recognised in all this a peril to herself and to the whole Orient. If China were destroyed as an independent nation by being apportioned among the powers of Europe, nothing in the Orient would be safe. Even Japan herself would have to fight for her life, and would be fortunate if she could preserve it. Indeed it could hardly be more than a question of time when all Asia would become subject to Europe, as two-thirds of it already is.

"These facts and considerations should help us to see how greatly to the interest of Japan it is that China's integrity shall be preserved inviolate, and that the Chinese nation shall become prosperous and strong. In the very nature of the case any signs of weakness on the part of China's Government causes anxiety in Japan; for a helpless China, ready to fall an easy prey to the nations which have despoiled her in the past, renders Japan's own future

"Is it strange, if the facts that Japan is situated near to China, that their interests are closely related, that her government is well established and strong, while that of China is as Jet somewhat she Jet somewhat insecure, and above all that she Possesses large military and naval strength, while China has comparatively little—is it strange if these facts cause Japan to feel a degree of responsblity for and to China, and a desire to lend her ahelping hand if she may ?

Nothing is more clear than that the future destiny of Japan is largely bound up with that of thing, and the fitting with that of China, and the future of China with that of Japan. The the future of China with the future of Ch Japan, and the future of China With the factor of China with the factor of China with the factor of the Gulick, as friends, or else, in the words of Dr. Gulick, one under the hood of a united come under the heavy hand of a united Furnisher the heavy hand of a unitary and keep the friendship of China, then Japan and keep domination..... If Japan does not the keep the friendship of China, then Japan does not be the friendship of China, then Japan does not be the self is ruined for the combined for the self is ruined herself is ruined, for China and Europe combined
The above

The above seems to be the only safe policy for the Mongolia to be the only safe policy for but the both the Mongolian empires to follow, but the treatment of Kongolian empires to follow, but the treatment of Korea, the occupation of Shantung, the imperialist, the imperialist, the lapan has been and the imperialist policy which Japan has been pursuing since the policy which Japan has been Russia, do not pursuing since the war with Russia, do not sare to square with the conciliatory, and appear to square with the sane, conciliatory, and We shall consider with the sane, concurred we shall consider with another merchine.

this interesting and instructive book containing the author's views on the American possession of

the Philippines:

"By our action we stultified ourselves as a liberty-loving people, trampling under foot before the eyes of all nations the principle for which we had always stood, the principle on which our nation was established, that just government can be founded only on the consent of the governed

"We try to console ourselves and we apologise to others, for our blunder and our wrong, by the plea that we are benefiting the Filipino people. But are we? I do not wish to answer that we are not, but I do wish to ask very seriously, Are we sure that we are? If we are benefiting them in some ways, are we not more than offsetting this by the injuries we are doing them in others? Who should be the judge? Should not the Filipino people themselves? What do they say? Almost to a man they declare that their freedom, their independence, the right to shape their own career for themselves, are to them more precious than all the boons that we have conferred, or that we possibly can confer. And if we were in their place, would we not say the same?.....

"The questions are asked: Will this [restoration of independence to the Philippines] be safe? Are the Filipino people competent to rule

themselves?

"I answer, Yes, more competent than any foreign nation in the world to rule them. New York City makes many blunders, and under the influence of its Tammany and other bosses does many corrupt and evil things. But it rules itself better than it could possibly be governed by Philadelphia, or San Francisco, or Montreal, or Paris, or any foreign city. For centuries England has declared that Ireland was unfit to govern herself. Now the whole world sees that com-pelling her to submit to alien rule, even the supposedly very wise rule of England, has been a terrible mistake. The worst blunders scandals connected with the government of the Philippines since they came into our possession have been the work of the Americans, not of the Filipino members of the Government who knew the needs of their people as we could not, and who were interested to guard those needs

We must remember that the United States, within two decades of the occupation of the Philippines, have granted all but absolute freedom to the people and yet Dr. Sunderland thinks that gross injustice has been done to them by the Americans. We leave our readers to imagine what would have been his verdict on bureaucratic rule in India which, after nearly two centuries of occupation, can perpetrate the horrors of martial law in a province which has shed its best blood in the We shall conclude with another leckthic Composition of the conclude with a conclud allied cause in the late war, and whose generals are not ashamed to propound the doctrine of as a free-born and liberty-loving American, he could have contemplated with unctuous satisfaction the grant of the barest rudiments of responsible government in some non-essential departments in the provinces as the very acme of political wisdom and generosity, while the supreme Indian government remains as absolute and irresponsible as hitherto both internally and externally, so that there is no constitutional bar to the passage of future Rowlatt Acts and declarations of martial law and the shooting down of hundreds and bombing from the air of dozens of innocent people without warning and the passing of Indemnity Acts.

CRITIC.

The Seed of Race. II.

The Seed of Race: An essay on Indian Education. By Sir John Woodroffe. Ganesh and Co., Madras, 1919. Neatly printed and bound in cloth. Pp. 65. Price Re. 1.

This essay is Sir John Woodroffe's answer to a senior member of the Indian Educational Service, and others, who regard him as 'a reactionary who would throw back the land into mediæval darkness.' Sir John has not only no objection to the teaching of the English language and western culture to Indian youths, but-seems to be of opinion that they, including western philosophy, literature and art, should be taught by Englishmen. Similarly Indian culture which is neglected in Indian education should be taught by Indians of the right type, who are 'not mere sedulous apes of a foreign civilisation.' Sir John says again and again that if the Indian teacher is such an imitator, it is far better to have an Englishman in his stead, the right type of Englishman, 'as the original and stronger character.' The education of Indian youths should therefore be imparted by Englishmen in so far as western culture is concerned and also in the matter of eastern culture which should be taught, it would under certain circumstances be preserable to select Englishmen of the right type, who would preach Swadharma to Indians while strictly holding to their own themselves, down to the exclusion of Indians from their clubs, which Sir John seems to approve.

I trust I am doing no injustice to the learned author of this essay, but reading all his books I cannot but feel a deep sense of humiliation. The knowledge of Sanskrit philosophy and literature he possesses is obviously secondhand. He has the Englishman's breadth of culture, historical spirit, clear sight, and power of presentation, and with the aid of these gifts, he has been lecturing us to stick to the racial soul, the seed of race, the spirit of the race and so forth. He may be a friend, but a friend who has to be taken with a grain of salt, for his excess of zeal on behalf of the spirit of our race may cause us more harm

of his right to advise and lecture us. Whence comes this confidence, since he has no scholarly acquaintance with our own culture? It comes from that very cosmopolitan culture which most Indians lack, and which enables him to envisage civilisation as a whole, and civilise man as a factor in national growth. Our humiliation proceeds from the consciousness of the fact that we are so helpless, both material and intellectually, that it is our lot to be lectured by friends and foes alike. When we are able to stand on our own legs, and can discriminate between the false and the true, we shall refus to go into ecstacies over the flatteries of our friends just in the same way as we ignore the calumnies of our enemies. That would be the true way of preserving our racial personality

for which Sir John is so anxious.

Sir John is of opinion that "in some respects probably no two persons (are) more dissimilar than a Hindu and an Englishman." He also understands that "it is natural that an Indian should best appreciate what his race has produced." Knowing all this, he should leave the "sedulous apes of a foreign civilisation" to lean from men of their own race, like the 'great man' Vivekananda, and Rabindranath Tagore, who are steeped in the culture of the Orient, and have also assimilated all that is best in European Perhaps even these 'sedulous apes' understand their national culture better than Sir John, and when brought to the test would it [the] be found to have a greater sympathy with it than one so wholly alien as Sir John Speaking of the Japanese, Sir John says: "I appears to me that the Japanese are endeavour ing to preserve their racial spirit and that, to speak generally, what they have done is with that object. They have recognised that the may be Japanese, and yet take what is of advatage to them from the West." If that be so the case of the Japanese, why not also into case of the Indians? "The Japanese gover themselves, and if they take anything for the West it is because as a free people the choose to do so." The Aller and the choose to do so." choose to do so." In other words, is it because we are an enslaved race, that we must no aspire to choose freely even in such direction as may be open to us? Modern education India as the Country of t India, as the Calcutta University Commission rightly say in their Report, even though "leading in some cases to what Sir John Woodroffe describes as a 'paralysing conflict' has been as a 'paralysing to the way to conflict',...has in the main prepared the way a culture which will harmonise with supplement the national culture and stimulate the latter into stimulate the latter into new manifestations and achievements " Winto new manifestations sphere Western example, in the sphere is of education at any rate, has therefore done some good.

In spite of his exhortations to conserve the cial spirit or serve racial spirit or samskara, Sir John Woodron has a vision clear conserver. than good. Sir John Woodroffe is quite confident is inevitable, and earn desirable. We shall to

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present his point of view in his own language:
True conservatism, however, is not necessarily
with the maintenance in the true state. bound up with the maintenance in the twentieth bound up forms a thousand years old, but the century of forms in its purity of the Position century of total control of the Racial Spirit maintenance in its purity of the Racial Spirit which produced or adopted certain forms in the tenth century and which will produce, tentu control new forms or modifications of ancient forms today." "The Seed of Race today is thus the Indian sangskara which has produced the minds and bodies of the Indian people of our time, amongst whom some are rejecting their Dharma as a whole, others are rejecting only what they deem to be corrupt accretion with a view to recover essential principle, and others again are adhering with a irm and sometimes fanatic devotion everything which they have received from their fathers. The middle path is here, as in so many other cases, the best. For it is the path of evolution whilst the first is an attempt at revolution with little chance of present success, and the last is an endeavour to crystallise for all future time what is itself the product of ages of change....In short, the call is for the maintenance of those elements of the Aryan culture which have value. This does not spell any static attitude, which in fact is not possible, but natural development of the Racial Spirit or the product of Aryan culture by assimilation of foreign stuff, if necessary....it is...not likely that it [the Racial Spirit] will merely reiterate the Past." "When racial character is re-established, an autonomous centre of receptivity established, capable of receiving (without risk of being overwhelmed thereby) every form of breign culture. This is possible because there is then a healthy organism capable of assimilating every form of food presented to it. A knowledge of foreign life and thought is as essential to India as a knowledge of what is its own..." "It is not the product of past ages which as such has to be maintained or reproduced. It may in fact
we maintained or reproduced. We are all maintained of reproduced. concerned with the present and the maintenance of the Seed of D of the Seed of Race. If this be free and strong, it will develop into a last which will live, it will develop into a plant which will live, that is, a plant suitable to the time, place and circumstance under which it grows: for nothing can live which does not fulfil these condifong. It may be that, nourished in part by the tood of a new and western civilisation, it may be that, nourished in part of the produce subject to the produce su reproduce subject to certain modifications, or may put forth, ect to certain modifications. Mat is produced in interest in modifications, what is produced it is What is produced is immaterial provided it is issue of the first produced is immaterial provided it is the issue of the freely developing Seed of Race.

It will. Essential It ust be free to developing Seed of Race is the maintain and the Seed of Race defined by the maintenance of the Seed of Race defined by the maintenance of the Seed of the race, findamental be fundamental characteristics and outlook which diet: characteristics and or race the all others of the people of one race the which distinguish the people of one race the varying forms in which persist through all leaving forms in which it clothes itself], let

that Racial Soul is to be kept in egral, but such of its past products as are really unsuitable for the times are to be cast away and the Racial Soul is to equip itself for the struggle of life today, then the position is a true one and none other than that for which I contend." "Let me repeat that India may take what she desires from the West or elsewhere, provided that she is not false to her own Racial Soul." [The italics are

The Racial Soul, the Racial Spirit, the Seed of Race, the Racial Samskara, -this, in the author's opinion, "is the root of all questions. If there is success here, then 'all else shall be added to you'." Let us, therefore, examine a little more closely what is meant by the Racial Spirit. It is, as the author defines at the beginning of his essay, something peculiar to the race which persists through all change. If this be so, it is superfluous to say, as Sir John says in the passages quoted above, that all salutary changes, in accord with the spirit of the times ['time, place and circumstance'] should be adopted, provided they are also in harmony with the Racial Spirit. For whether we choose or no, the spirit of the race persists and cannot be ignored. The soul of an Indian, as Sir John takes care to remind us, "can never for any length of time wander far from the essentials of its inherited civilisation." This is more true of us than of any other people on earth, and to this many would attribute our present position among the civilised nations. Instead of laying the emphasis on the racial spirit, therefore, what we have got to see is whether the change proposed is good. A healthy organism is capable of assimilating all kinds of food, as the author tells us. Our organism is weak now, and we have to strengthen it. This we cannot do by merely offering it invalid food, bottled milk, and sick diet. We must accustom it to strong, invigorating, nourishing food, so that it may absorb into the system all that is good and wholesome, no matter what may be the country of its origin, and may possess sufficient vitality to reject what is unwholesome, instead of suc-cumbing to it. "Whether a particular reformation is justified, depends on the facts of the case. It is a true expression of the Indian spirit if it proceeds from it." Here Sir John Woodroffe puts the cart before the horse. Whether a particular reformation is justified, depends upon whether it is right or wrong. Of course what may be right for one country may not be right for another, not being suited to the genius of the race, but this can only be so in regard to minor matters of detail, and not in regard to essential principles. The details should be developed in accordance with the individual it develop how it may." "If, however, it is meant CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

helps us to find justification for it by referring to the country's past history. Take a concrete case, female education, for instance. recognise that female education is right. We know that such education is absent among us in the form in which it is understood now-adays. Those who are deeply imbued with the spirit of the race among us can make out a case for such education by reference to Gargi, and others, Lilavati Kshana, Maitrevi. fact that in still older the women were initiated by being invested with the sacred thread, as the Harita Samhita shows. And Sir John Woodroffe knows that the spirit of the Indian race is a very complex affair. "India contains all types of culture extending almost from the neolithic to the present age several races and cultures have gone to the production of the Aryan body and soul as they now exist." So that just as a hostile critic of Indian civilisation may point to any number of absurd and pernicious practices and customs in the social body of India, a patriotic Indian, steeped in Indian culture, may find a historic justification for everything good that may be found elsewhere, in the chequered evolution of Indian civilisation. Sir John argues that English education is beneficial to us because it holds the field and rightly understood, what is, is right. "This does not mean," says he, "that what exists in fact today is to be approved and continued, but that, until there exists the will and power to effectually change such fact, its past history justifies its present existence." By parity of By parity of reasoning, we may say that it is useless to kick against the pricks and decry our 'anglicisation'. It is happening, and therefore it is right. To a certain extent we have neither the will nor the power to change it. Nothing succeeds like success, and if the transformation succeeds, i. e., if it proves beneficial to us and helps to save us in the struggle for existence as it has saved the Japanese, then it will have justified itself. John Woodroffe and others of Then Sir his way of thinking will say of us, as he now says of the Japanese, that what we have been really doing "is not to slavishly follow foreign culture, but to engraft such of it as they desired on to the parent stock of their ancestral culture."

Sir John Woodroffe is very nervous about wounding orthodox feeling. When he says that the Racial Spirit may produce other new forms or modifications of ancient forms today, he at once proceeds to reassure the orthodox that they need not be alarmed at this statement, for as to essentials there can be little or no change. It is on what he means by 'essentials', that everything does in fact turn. We have only to allude to some of Sir John's views to show istic and historical spirit which is anathema to this evolution or revolution. It is really the orthodex of all nations ubit the orthodex of all nations ubits and all nations u

the orthodox Indian be as liberal as those of John, we do not anticipate any harm from the acceptance of his theory of the Racial Samskara In the opinion of Sir John Woodroffe, probable none of the Indian peoples are of pure Arra descent; 'like other peoples, the modern Hindy are in varying degrees of mixed stock'; there has been considerable admixture of high and low types; modern India is in a state of arrested development and degeneracy; the Aryan cultur has itself been affected by the non-Aryan people "What critical and informed person looking the images of Kali, Tara, Chhinnamasta ca imagine them to be in their origin Aryan co: cepts? Many 'sooty superstitions', as an English writer has called them, have their origin in the black races of India.'

We have shown above that in the opinion Sir John Woodroffe, "a conscious and independent ent self may, and will, assimilate any foreign food which is good for it." Does not the far that we are learning to assimilate foreign fool by giving up our cultural seclusion, tend in show that our national self is growing con

scious and independent?

We commend Sir John's views on education to our orthodox brethren: "The known ledge of the English language, which is that of a vast and increasing part of the world, and of western science, is essential to the pro gress of this country, and only one who was either without sense, or an enemy of its advance ment, could hold otherwise." "As I have els where said, all separatism is becoming increase ingly difficult, having regard to the form present world-development. Knowledge belong to the world and not to any one people, at the more the Indian people know of the rest the world and its thoughts, the better for the provided that what is taken in can be assim lated, that is, adopted without prejudice to individuality of the Indian organism.'

According to the theory of evolution, insting is inherited custom transfixed by time, and custom changes, new instincts are in the processor of being built up. If there are instincts in composite fibre of the Indian race which do not make for racial. make for racial survival and growth, the growth of new and wholesome customs, tending to conservation of the race, will change instincts in instincts in course of time, and instead appealing to them as the essentials which the spirit of the Race must subserve, we should refer to the refer to the subserve, we should be subserved by subserved to the subserved by subserved to the subserved by subserved to the subserved by subs refer to them as noxious accretions which sulling the racial spirit and should be done away in in order that it may shine forth once again to country all its pristine purity. The Aryan culture, which according to Sir John Woodroffe himself, will be grown overlaid with evil customs and beliefs, should be purged of them so that the true traders that it is of the racial spirit may stand reveal. tials' of the racial spirit may stand revealed. It does not matter spirit may

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persons agree as to where evolution stops and transformation persons agree as A transformation which, evolution stage by stage is an evolution hold at stage by stage, is an evolution, will, hose of Sir looked at stage of through a sufficiently long perwer viewed through a sufficiently long persective, appear to be nothing short of a spective, Even revolution would be from their Samskara, spective, appear of a revolution would be a mild probably word to describe the process of change through ure Aryai n Hindu word Indian culture has passed since the days of the Vedic Aryans. We have to guard against ; there has and low the danger that lurks in such eatch words as of arrested Brolution, not revolution', and the preservation an cultur of the 'spirit of the race'. We need have no in people far whatsoever that any wholesome reformalooking a tion cannot be proved to be in consonance with masta car the spirit of the Indian race. Aryan cor There is considerable truth in Sir John an English

faith in his own historic past, he cannot have any faith in, and respect for, himself." "The young Indian," rightly says Sir John, "has been opinion o independ ny foreign ot the fac reign food i, tend to wing conon educa-The know.

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Woodroffe's observation that "when a man loses

subjected to such a strong and continuous suggestion of his inferiority, that it is a wonder

that any spirit of self-assertion has at all survived......These suggestions can, and should

be, countered by others based on an accurate appreciation of the Indian character and its

cultural achievements. The Seed of Race will

then commence to sprout and flower." While

we should, therefore, cultivate the spirit of

national self-confidence, we should not also

forget what a learned Christian missionary, who,

apart from his inevitable religious bias, has

presented us with a profound study of Hinduism,

las to say on the subject: "Twenty-five years

ago no educated Hindu dreamt of defending

idolatry and the grosser features of caste and

Hindu family life: to-day almost every type

of Hindu revivalist defends the whole of Hindu revivalist defends the whole of Hinduism," (The Crown of Hinduism, by J. N. Farquhar, Oxford, 1913, page 455, also page 334). The revivalist oxford, a page 455, also page 334). The revivalist oxford, a page 455, also page 334).

34). The reaction against excessive self-depre-

dation is but too complete and how greatly we

stand to lose thereby will be apparent to every

thoughtful Indian who really cares for his

toutry. It is because what we see around us

in the everyday life and thought of our country-

men makes us share the apprehension that too

our progressification may be as much a bane to

our progress as its reverse, that we are not overjoyed of a reverse, that we are not

overjoyed at Sir John Woodroffe's champion-ship of the Spirit of the Indian race and all that

and depreciation between excessive appreciation is the best,

and depreciation, the middle path is the best, is the most discoult to follow; and the

as it is the most difficult to follow; and the

Revalence of the laudatory spirit among the laudatory spirit among the

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has increased from 10 lakhs in 1901 to 45 lakhs in 1911, and that "the next census may show something like two crores of landless labourers, descendants of the old and famed artisans of India. This is the class which gets one meal a day and which is the first to fall a victim to the recurrent famines." Is this a sign that we are growing wealthier, as our rulers would have us

Lastly, if we think deeply enough, may we not even question the fundamental proposition round which all Sir John Woodroffe's arguments revolve,-the conception that the essentials of the racial spirit are unchangeable, and that it is only in non-essentials that any modification is possible? The mutual inter-relation of heredity and environment remains very much undetermined to this day. In the last analysis, are the essentials of civilisation so very different in different parts of the world? Are not the growth of science and the means of communication creating a condition of things over the entire globe the like of which never existed in the historic past so as to afford a basis of comparison and safe deduction? Among the best minds everywhere is not the spirit of man recognised as superior to the matter which he controls? Is not man in those respects in which he can function freely the maker of his own destiny? Is not human nature very much alike the world over? It all depends, really speaking, on the more or lessin one country emphasis is laid on one aspect of cultural life, in another country on another aspect. In other words, racial cultures differ in degree, not in kind. The eternal verities on which all civilisation is based are the same everywhere. Looked at from this point of view race-spirit is co-extensive with civilised humanity and is another name for the spirit of humanity. It is only in details that one race varies from another, and it is these variations in detail which give each race its local colour and individuality, and are capable of modification in the light and on the lines of racial tradition. The essentials of the spirit of the human race are the same for all. If they were not, there would be no hope for man, and the eternal clash of interests and conflict of ideals would divide man from man till the end of time. A world from which all diversity and local peculiarity had been banished would indeed be a dull world to live in. But the preservation of such racial individuality as again tountrymen and the less able section.

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It is solid the list the this implies is surely compatible with the unification of ideals in the higher strata of civilised humanity, leading to harmonious co-operation towards a common goal-the infinite upward march of mankind towards a higher spiritual perfection, after all our exigent material needs are satisfied and man ceases to be so largely the victim of his physical environment and his soul

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III. Redemption, Hindu and Christian.

Redemption, Hindu and Christian: by Sydney Cave, D.D. ('The Religious Quest of India' Series). Published by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. Pp. 263. Price 10s. 6d.

The book is divided into two parts. In the first part the author describes the religions of Rigveda, the Upanishads, the Brahmasutras, the Gita and some modern phases of Hinduism. 'In the second half (chapters vii-xi) of the book the attempt is made to supply an answer to the long quest of Hinduism. Christ's Gospel and the Apostolic experience of it are described in chapters seven and eight, and in the three concluding chapters this Gospel is brought into relation with the great Hindu doctrines of karma, bhakti and redemption.' 'Our empirical christianity,' continues our author, 'does not suffice to meet the demands thus made upon it by the ancient religion of a people so richly endowed with emotional fervour and intellectual acumen, so deeply conscious of the transiency of the present and the reality of the eternal. But though Christianity, as we know it, is not sufficient, it is the faith of the writer that Christ is adequate.' P. 22.

Our author is very liberal and frank. But his faith does not seem to be justified by reason. Our conviction is that, Higher Christianity is more akin to Higher Hinduism than the Religion of Christ is. The God of Higher Christianity is immanent as well as transcendent, whereas the God of Christ is an extra-cosmic transcendent Deity. He has a local habitation; he lives in heaven. He is a limited God. The God of Jesus is the Semitic God. There are three stages in the development of the Semitic religion:

Viz.—(i) The stage of polytheism,

(ii) that of monolatry,(iii) that of so-called monotheism.

Monolatry is the worship of a single god to the exclusion of other gods. It does not deny the existence of other gods, it simply ignores them and considers them as unworthy of worship. In this form of religion one tribal god becomes the supreme God and sole object of worship. Then comes the stage at which the existence of other gods is denied.

"Magnify one.

this has been the principle of the development of the Semetic monotheism. This type of monotheism has not been able to satisfy the philosophic instinct of the cultured Hindus. To them the Semitic religion is "Eka-Deva-Vada." It is, as if, one of their gods has been elevated to the supreme position and other gods have been annihilated. It is, the Semitic Theism—Pseudo-Theism and Cryptopolytheism. It is Pseudo-Theism, because this so-calked theism is 1800-0 the Public Demain Christic theism is 1800-0 the Public Demain Christic their contents and Cryptopolytheism.

hall-mark of monolatry in stamped on its fore head, though it is gradually being effaced. It is Crypto-Polytheism, because it is really a poly theism appearing in the garb of monotheism with other gods concealed. According to our ideal, true monotheism is that in which the existence of a rival god or of a Satan is physically impossible and in the physical p cally and metaphysically impossible and logically inconceivable. But the God of Christ and popular Christianity does not satisfy this test. We can easily imagine the existence of rival gods and Satan living side by side with this God and disputing with him for the possession of the whole or part of the Universe. The Highest Being the Hindus is not a being who can be conceived as living side by side with other beings. Hei one in many, one underlying all, one including all. He is the metaphysical basis and unity what is and what will be. True it is that the Hindu mind has subordinated God's personality and ethical attributes to his metaphysical nature. To the Christian, it is a defect; but to the Hindu mind, it is the highest type of religion To the Hindu, God is Super-personal,—never less than personal. He is super-ethical,-never less than ethical. To such a mind, the Semitic mono theism is quite unacceptable. Dr. Cave lays too much stress on Christ's Kingdom of Heaven But has it not been explained, by competent authorities, to mean the final catastrophe, the passing away of the then existing order of the things, the end of the world and the advented a New World in which the inequalities and miseries of the old world would be more than counterbalanced.

The author says, "The Christian messay does not bid us to flee the World." P. 240. But what about the order of monks and nuns? Has it not the sanction of the major half of Christer dom? Did not St. Paul say, "I say, therefore, to the unmarried and widows, "it is good for the if they abide even as I." But if they cannot contain, let them marry, for it is better to many than to burn." I. Cor. VII. 8, 9. Celibacy with the ideal, and marriage a concession to the weat ness of flesh

Did not Jesus himself say, "If thou woulds be perfect, go, sell that thou hast, and give the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in hear and come, follow me." (Mat XIX. 21; also and come, following pasage is significant. L. XII. 33). The following pasage is significant. The following pasage is significant.

Yajnavalkya and others also left the world but not with the view of receiving 'an hundred fold'.

other gods have been annihilated. It is, therefore, no wonder that they should call the Semitic Theism—Pseudo-Theism and Crypto But did not Jesus say, "my God, this so-called theism is not-0 tealphane Reisin. Graph (Mat. XXVIII) this so-called theism is not-0 tealphane Reisin. The the view of received with the view of received w

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According to our author Jesus gave his life According to definition of the world. But did he give for the salvation of the most pray. Did he not pray. for the salingly? Did he not pray—Father, all his life willingly? unto thee: remove there, all his life winings; the unto thee; remove this cup things are possible unto thee; remove this cup from me (Mark XIV. 36; Luke XXII. 42). from he not actually make arrangements for pid he not actually make arrangements for offering resistance and for self-defence? Jesus offering resistant of that hath a purse, let him said, But now he that hath a purse, let him take it and likewise a wallet: and he that hath none, let him sell his cloak and buy a sword.......And they said, Lord, behold, here are two swords. And he said unto them, it is enough. (Luke XXI 36-38.) Our author says, "Through Christ it is that the Fatherhood of God has become the commonplace of religion.....It is true that in some of the earliest hymns 'Father-Heaven' is extolled, but it is in conjunction with 'Mother-Earth', and 'Father' here means little more than 'Fertilizer'. (P. 145.) We draw the attention of our author to the

following passages among others :-

लम हि पिता, लम माता

Thou art Father; Thou art Mother (RV. VIII. 87.11).

स्खा, पिता, पितृतम पितृचास

Thou art our Friend, our Father, the most Fatherly of Fathers (RV. IV. 17).

पिता न: ग्रस, पता न: वोधि

(Yayur V. 37.20) Thou art our Father and as Father, instruct

The assertion that the Fatherhood of God was an idea foreign to the Hindus, shows an utter ignorance of the Hindu Scriptures, Hindu tradition and Hindu ideal.

To a Christian, no relation can be higher than Patherhood. But to a Hindu sage, even this is an external relation. He wants One who is nearer, dearer, sweeter than Father. To him God is Father and more than Father, Mother and more than Mother. He is the soul of our soul, He is the self of our self—the warp and Woof of our very self-hood.

The author has described Hinduism sympathetically and the book is well written.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

IV. Baroda Library Movement.

Baroda Library Movement—a short account the Origin and of the origin and growth of the Central Library behartment of the Baroda State—By Janardan State—By Janardan With Illustra-Kudalkar, M. A., LL. B. With tions, Baroda Central Library. Price Rs. 2-8

The library movement as a factor in educating and attended to intellectual the library movement as a factor in educating aspiration, has community wista in the history upon as mere depository of books, and librarians as janitors whose business was to keep his treasures away from the public. The rapid growth of education during the best quarter of the 19th century and the rapid stride which education has made during the present century, has entirely changed the aspect of the library and of late it has begun to play a very important role in modern education. The library movement has not taken hold in British Indian education in the sense it is used in America and other countries. But the case of Baroda is a little different from that of British India. The percentage of literates in Baroda is about 10 p. c. as compared with 3.22 p. c. of the British India.

With the growth of education and the rise in number of literate persons the need for proper guidance regarding further studies was seriously thought over. In America and other countries there are continuation schools and night schools where aspiring young men flock to qualify themselves either for higher posts or for higher studies. But for various reasons that sort of enthusiasm is entirely lacking in our society and so the state approached the people where the people were passive, but since then the outlook began to change and with the spread of education under the parental care of the present Maharajah, the people have come forward with funds and above this with a willingness for culture which is the most hopeful sign in them. The state lent its helping hand and the people were not slow in responding to its call.

Along with the rapid spread of education, there was a growing desire for reading and to give impetus to it a new department was created in 1910-1911, with an American Expert at its head. It consists of the following sections:

I. Central Library at Baroda with (a) a Reading Room having 225 papers and periodicals, (b) a Circulation or Lending Section, (c) a Reference Library, (d) a Children's Branch, (e) a Ladies' Section, (f) a Sanskrit Library.

II. District Libraries Branch, which has opened and is maintaining and supervising 496 Libraries and 52 Reading Rooms in towns and villages of the State. Of these 3 are Prant Libraries, 39 Town Libraries and 754 Village Libraries.

III. Travelling Libraries Branch, which has (a) 444 Library Boxes, (b) 14,000 books in stock, and (c) circulates about 10,000 books per

Visual Instruction Branch, which gives (a) Cinema and Magic Lantern shows free in the State, (b) distributes Stereographs and other Pictures.

The total expenditure on the Library department in the year 1916-17 was Rs. 1,04,945.

As regards the Library movement of Baroda aspiration, has opened a new vista in the history

The Library had long been looked

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Mohila (Woman's) Library might be set aside as of education, has opened a new vista in the history children or guidance is available to them.

The Library had long been looked Mohila (woman's) Library might be set aside as CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Hardwar

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impracticable and unnecessary in Bengal! Besides these, the good which the Travelling Libraries and Visual Instruction Branch in Baroda are doing to the State can better be imagined than described. In the whole of Baroda State besides the city of Baroda, there are 3 District centres, 38 towns, 427 big villages and 2628 small villages. In the Central Library of Baroda, there are 2 lakhs of books. These books are available to any of the numerous Libraries that are scattered throughout the country. Next to the Central Library, there are 3 District Libraries, each with 20,000 books, which are available to any libraries in the district. Next to them there are 38 towns with 5,000 books each. Then come 426 bigger villages, each of which contains 500 books and last come the small villages with libraries of 250 books each. Any library which finds a certain amount of money for its use will have a like amount granted to it by the Local Board and a similar sum from the provincial-

The Department has recently taken up another work in their hands, namely, the publication of Sanskrit Books, which are known as Gaekwad Sanskrit Series. It also publishes a monthly magazine dealing mainly with Library science. This is the only magazine in India which deals with Libraries in a scientific manner. Besides this they publish Bulletins from time to time to help the Librarians in their work.

The classification of books is no doubt a difficult task with an honest Librarian. It requires training, education and culture. This is denied at least in practice-in our Colleges and Schools. Any man, it seems to be thought, can do the work without any training or culture. This is not the case with Baroda, where it is regarded as a Science and men are trained in it. In America

there is a special course covering a graduate, there is a special term for the training of Librarians. Mr. Borden term for the Baroda Library more the organiser of the Baroda Library movement was a disciple of the great Library organizer Mr. Melvile Dewey; whose principle of classification along with the cutter system was followed by this gentleman in Baroda. I may have occa. sion in future for a broad treatment of this subject of classification and cataloguing in our country and may put in a word or two about the utter neglect of the mnemons secret which is the principal basis of the Dewey Decimal system. The Presidency College cata logue and the adoption of it by the authorities of the Sahitya Parishad are the two instances stupendous failure of this system.

"The Baroda Library Movement" is a near volume, which will well repay the reader his trouble in reading it. We thank Mr. I. S Kudalkar, M.A., LL.B., for preparing this book as it might serve as a good incentive forth people and Government of British ruled provinces There are about 40 illustrations in the book with a diagram showing population and are provided with libraries and reading rooms.

In conclusion I reproduce the foreword by H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwad, which should be the motto of every government and social

"The people must rise superior to the circumstances and realize that more knowledge is their greatest need, their greatest want. The must be brought to love books. They must be taught to make books a part and parcel of their lives. The libraries would not then be a luxur, but a necessary of existence.

> P. K. MUKHERJI, Librarian, Santiniketan.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

TALES OF THE SAINTS OF PANDHARPUR by C. A. Kincaid, C. V. O. Published by the Oxford University Press. Pp. 120. Price Re. 1-8.

These tales have been translated from the Bhaktivijaya of Mahipati. The events described in the book are mostly miraculous.

PRECIOUS THOUGHTS OF MASTER MINDS by R. J. Lalcaca, retired Superintendent of Post Offices, Gujrat, Ahmedabad-Khanpur Road. Pp. 140. Price One rupee only.

A collection of passages from authors,

BARDA FAROSHI, OR TRAFFIC IN WOMEN Lala Jiwan Lall, Inspector of Police, Jammust Kashmir State. Pp. 25. For free distribution

A FIRST BOOK IN GEOGRAPHY FOR SCHOOLS India by C. Morrison, M.A., LL. B. Publish by Macmillan and Co. Pp. 60 (illustrated) Private the North Private not known.

An excellent handbook for teachers.

THE PROBLEM OF NOTHING by G. R. Malkat. M.A. Published by the Indian Institute Philosophy, Amalner. Pp. 35. Price not known

There are three chapters, viz.—(i) Analysis e Idea of Nothing the Idea of Nothing and its place in Bergon.

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The author adversely criticises Bergson and The anthor the calls Advaitism. According to defends what he calls annot reach out to the delends what cannot reach out to the real The Zero it knows is the one it creates by Jefnite process of subtraction. Jero. The process of subtraction; but this an indennite form' and, paradoxical though it Mero has yet a than the form of Nothing." In may appear, it has the form of Nothing." In another place he says—"The Self, the Zero is the another property; nothing exists beside it and nothing can it create. It is not only the first and the

beginning but also the All and the End.
"This is the Zero of Advaitism and not the fictitious zero of mathematics which implies the whole edifice of numbers and regards it as the true reality."

A MANUAL OF VEDANTA PHILOSOPHY AS REVEALED IN THE UPANISHADS AND THE BHAGVAD-GTA by S. S. Mehta, B.A., Bhatwadi, Sandhurst Road, Girgaon, Bombay. Pp. 85. Price Rs. 3.

By the Vedanta Philosophy expounded in the book the author means "the Vedanta of Sri-Sankaracharya." He gives the substance of (1) Kathopanishat (7 pages). (2) The Mundakopanishat (7 pages). (3) The Brihadaranyaka (9 pages). (4) The Chandogyopanishat (6 pages). (5) The Aitareyopanishat (3 pages). (6) The Taittiriyopanishat (6 pages). (7) The Isopanishat (2 pages). (8) The Kenopanishat (2 pages). (9) The Mandukyopanishat (7 pages). (10) The Svetasvatara and (11)

The author says he has tried to follow dosely Sankaracharya, but in many places he has committed serious mistakes and thoroughly misunderstood not only Sankara but also the texts of the Upanishads. For example, he translates one well-known passage as follows:-

Than Him there is no higher seer, hearer or mower,"—as if there can be more than one seer or hearer or knower according to the Rishi. Frery scholar knows that its meaning is:

Than Him there is no other seer' hearer or The mistake is significant.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

CEYLON AND THE HOLLANDERS (1658-1796), by P. E. Pieris, D. Litt. (Cantab).

the author of the book is a brilliant member of the Ceylon Civil Service and a devoted by various treatment records of this island. various treatises and monographs he has light treatises and monographs he history. The process dark corners of Ceylonese history. The present volume is a continuation of blook "Ceylon, the Portuguese Era", a distangences and sobriety characterizes his istory of the Dutch regime. No one can be be an iota of Dutch regime. No Dr. Paul Pieris. houte an iota of partisanship to Dr. Paul Pieris. the narrative is colourless and cold. Yet the comes out a fact which is of profoundest the coverned millions of the cover

East and governing few of the West: It is the futility of the path of inhuman exploitation. Empire over these helpless downtrodden Easterners seemed to be a political prize and a glorious privilege. It turned out to be a matter of profound responsibility and a moral problem! Thus the verdict of History contradicts the convenient expectation of nations. Thus ethics seems to be the uncomp romising basis of politics! The Portuguese came to Ceylon and elevated *plunder* and *persecution* into a political principle. The Dutch came and with unique duplicity tried to play the game of economic exploitation and political dissimulation which verged on subserviency and cowardice. These corrupted principles imported by the conquering Westerners not only vitiated the conquered Ceylonese but reacted disastrously on the character of the conquerors. Hence within a short time appeared vulgar nepotism. glaring dishonesty and ravenous greed in the wake of commercial Imperialism, while immorality sapped the foundation of character. Thus History, as says Theodore Mommsen, "has a nemesis for every crime." The proud conquerors of Ceylon ultimately became the refuse of miscegenation-the degenerate Burgher population of the present!

On the Sinhalese side of the picture we find a condition of hopeless disintegration: Kings oblivious of the suffering of the people, the people almost on the point of exhaustion through simultaneous sucking of their blood by the native officials as well as European governors; the ministers a vile hierarchy of self-seekers! The only redeeming feature in this dark age of Sinhalese history is the remarkable revival of Buddhism by Saranankara—the indomitable spirit determined upon re-establishing the noble religion of Tathagata-now almost dead in the island once considered to be the stronghold of We expected a more detailed Buddhism! account of this religious renaissance from the author. All the same we congratulate him on the publication of his instructive work.

KALHAN.

CANARESE.

MAHATMA GANDHI, HIS LIFE, SPEECHES AND WRITINGS, by M. M. Hardekar, Davangne (Mysore State.)

The author of this little book is a well known Canarese writer. He has written numerous books and brochures; but in none of these, except perhaps his 'Counsels', he has been so completely successful as in the volume now before us. The short preface with which the book opens is inspiring. Mahatmaji's life is divided into three well marked periods: (1) his boyhood and Recomes out a fact which is of profoundest To the end is tagged a summary of his special to the governed millions of make out which is of profoundest. The end is tagged a summary of his simple contained both to the governed millions of make out which is simple contained by the governed millions of make out which is simple contained by the governed millions of make out which is simple contained by the governed millions of make out which is simple contained by the governed millions of make out which is simple contained by the governed millions of make out which is simple contained by the governed millions of make out which is simple contained by the governed millions of make out which is simple contained by the governed millions of make out which is simple to the governed millions of make out which is of profoundest. and chaste; and though it lacks terseness and nervous force, is well adapted to the story of a great saintly life which it tells. There are a few misprints. Inverted commas especially are not closed. Words are joined where they should have been separated. To enhance the value of the book Mahatmaji's speeches and writings should have been given in extenso.

M. S. K.

PERSIAN-URDU.

KHULASAT-UT-TAWARIKH by Sujan Rai Bhandari of Batala, edited by Maulvi Zafar Hassan, B.A., with Urdu and English Prefaces. (Delhi, 1918.) Pp. 16+540+32+8, Rs. 5.

This Persian history of India, written in 1695 A. D., enjoyed great popularity in the early days of British rule, when the primary sources of Indo-Muhammadan history were unexplored or difficult of access. But a mere compilation, such as this work is, sinks into deserved oblivion after the detailed and authentic histories of the period have been popularised by scholars. The only value of the Khulasat now lies in that part of its topographical notes which is not borrowed from the Ain-i-Akbari,—which amounts to little except in the chapter on the Panjab. Manuscripts of the work are very frequently met with. I bought one at Benares for Rs. 7 only.

Mr. Zafar Hassan, the editor, is inaccurate when he remarks that this is the first history of the Muhammadan rulers written by a Hindu. Brindaban, the son of Dara Shukoh's diwan, had anticipated Sujan Rai. The editor knows English, but he takes no note of the preceding studies of this work in English, viz., Mr. Beveridge's article in the J R. S. A. (1898) and my India of Aurangzib: Statistics, Topography and Roads, with extracts from the Khulasat-uttawarikh and Chahar Gulshan, translated and

annotated (1901).

JADUNATH SARKAR.

SANSKRIT.

TANTRIK TEXTS edited by Arthur Avalon, Vol. VIII. Tantraraja Tantra with the Commentary named Manorama by Subhaganandanatha, Part I, Chapter I-XVIII, edited by Mahamahopadhyaya Lakshmana Shastri, Luzac & Co., London. Pp. 37+331.

The Tantras are sometimes divided into three classes technically named Kadi, Hadi, Kahadi. The volume before us belongs to the first class, and hence is called Kadimata, besides, Svatantra, Tantraraja, and Purnatantra, Sivaramaprakasa, another commentator of it, says in the beginning of his commentary (कादिमत स्वतन्त्र, राज-तन्त्र - पूर्ण तन्त्र - रूपनाम चतुष्टय वाचा -तत्त्व ... A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit

give," as says the general editor, Mr. Avalon, in his introduction, "detailed injunctions touching the worship of Shakti in Her various forms There are sixteen such froms called Nityas, and there are three forms of their worship, viz., Sthula or gross, Sukshma or subtle, and Para or supreme. The Tantraraja gives all these three price As. forms of worship "whereby the Sadhaka is / This b led by his Guru through ascending stages to Advaita Siddhi."

The work is divided into 36 Patalas or chapters of which the first 18 Patalas are presented to us in the first part under notice. The colophons of the Patalas from IX to XVIII in the commentary have been very carelessly edited, for each of them contains the words expressive of the subject matter (as नित्यक्तिया नित्याविधान प्रकाणनपरं etc.), which, in fact, is not dealt with in that Patala, but in others. may be due to some extent to the MSS. which are evidently not correct here and on which the edition is based, but it might very easily have been checked only by taking a little care to read the beginning of each of the Patalas in the commentary.

We are glad to see that it is through the thoughtful writings and unflinching zeal and energy of Mr. Avalon that Tantric literature is no longer a subject looked down upon by the whole ed

indologists.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

GUJARATI.

ARUNA OR VARANGNA KE VIRANGANA, Written by Ramanlal Nanalal Shah, and published by Chamanlal C Champaklal G. Jarivala, Surat, paper cover, p. 154. Price As. 12 (1919).

The historical incident of Aruna, the mistres of Rana Udaya Singh of Chitore, fighting to sand the honor of that ancient Rajput house, and successfully turning back Akbar and his Mogal hordes, is the fine subject matter of this interest ing novel, and no one will regret his time spent in reading it.

EMERSON'S NIBANDH OR ESSAYS, by Shant Shanker Bhanu Shanker Bhatt, printed at the Vasant Vijaya Printing Press, Bhavnagar. Thid paper cover, pp. 171. Price Re. 14-0 (1919).

This is a second attempt to render Emerson into Gujarati. Emerson's American Englishis teres his terse style, epigrammatic language, sentences which are synonymous with aphorisms render his translation render his translation into any other language very difficult very difficult. Added to this is the fact that attracts very face. attracts very few readers of the ordinary tro Considering all this, we think Mr. Bhatt has the whole done him think Mr. the whole done his task well: we say so to cause on reading the cause on reading the essays, one is able fully of the conter into the spirit MSS., Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Madras cause on reading the essays one is able fully vol. XII, Rengion, p. 43830c-6. The unique of Sanskrit cause on reading the essays one is able fully vol. XII, Rengion, p. 43830c-6. The unique of Sanskrit cause on reading the essays one is able fully vol. XII, Rengion, p. 43830c-6. The unique of Sanskrit cause on reading the essays one is able fully vol. XII, Rengion, p. 43830c-6. The unique of Sanskrit cause on reading the essays one is able fully vol. XII, Rengion, p. 43830c-6. The unique of Sanskrit cause on reading the essays one is able fully vol. XIII, Rengion, p. 43830c-6. The unique of Sanskrit cause on reading the essays one is able fully vol. XIII, Rengion, p. 43830c-6. The unique of Sanskrit cause on reading the essays one is able fully vol. XIII, Rengion, p. 43830c-6. The unique of Sanskrit cause on reading the essays one is able fully vol. XIII, Rengion, p. 43830c-6. The unique of Sanskrit cause on reading the essays one is able fully vol. XIII, Rengion, p. 43830c-6. The unique of Sanskrit cause on reading the essays one is able fully vol. XIII, Rengion, p. 43830c-6. The unique of Sanskrit cause on reading the essays one is able fully vol. XIII, Rengion of Sanskrit cause on reading the essays of the cause of

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PUSHTI MARGIYA SIDDHANTA (प्रष्टिमार्गीय दिश्वांत श्वा भूबाइ तनां मृजतन्त) Part II, by Patwari Rantoddas Vrandavandas, B.A., LL.B., Dwari, Gondal, Kathiawad. Printed at the Gondal Town Printing Press. Thick cardboard, pp. 146. Price As. 4 (1919).

This book is supposed to be a reply to Bankim Rabu's Krishna Charitra, by one who is steeped wholly in the unreasoning and blind faith of a Pushti Margiya. It consists of a string of quotations from several religious books, and dialogues, all of a partisan nature, which may carry conviction to those pre-disposed to it, but not to those who would care to examine both sides of a question.

K. M. J.

THE COMING REVOLUTION IN EDUCATION

BY CAPTAIN J. W. PETAVEL, LATE R. E., Principal, Maharajah Cossimbazar's Polytechnic Institute.

COOD and bad are relative terms in our world of imperfections: things we call good at one time, we begin to call had at another when we see our way clear to better. Now we have a rapidly increasing number of people who condemn our whole educational system as bad, and we all know what is the cause of this attitude towards it: namely, the growing idea that education could and should include allfound training, and not merely classteaching, supplemented perhaps with a few hours a week devoted to some physical

We are living in an age of science and of knowledge. We have had, among other things, a Royal Commission m Physical Deterioration to drive home to us the fact that, in its own words, the Joung human being, under the age of about tighteen, is 'plastic', yielding rapidly to body alike in character, in mind and body, and the environment up to that age s largely determining for good or the tyerse in after life; we have been made to tralise what a serious thing it is to neg-English the training of youth in any way language those infinitely precious years of have had phorisms those infinitely precious years of that the great War to with that we have had langue ct that is ct that is great War to rush us headlong into at that to reveal to reveal the hitherto undreamt of and to reveal, as by a flash-light, what thormous wealth and spending power we spending to use it.

must use some of it for the infinitely important purpose of moulding the young in every way whilst they are plastic and it can be done.

No subject, of course, has been studied with more loving care, and by more able and devoted people, than education; but limited by the lack of means, they evolved a system, that, as we know only too well, fails from the point of view of training. It gives such poor opportunities for character-training that we have not been able to evolve any general method in connection with it, it is conceived with too scanty regard to health requirements, and is defective even from the point of view of training the mental faculties, because it does not train them all, neglecting the practical side.

Those who evolved it, and work with it, well aware, of course, of its limitations, appeal to all conscientious teachers to give their personal care to the training of the character of the youths entrusted to them, whilst, for physical development, and also for character-trainthey look to sports, which serve fairly well, and efforts are often made to introduce certain practical elements into the school curriculum.

But this plan of leaving the most which never gave quite satisfactory result, then, we are thinking that we cation has extended downwards among classes of people who have not the means either to place their children in the charge of experienced masters for character-training, or to give them very much in the way of sports to train them physically, so it has become absolutely necessary now to have a system that includes all this training. In countries like Great Britain, where the population is largely urban, the need of this change is of the greatest possible urgency. Country children, after all, have wholesome surroundings, but town-children are severed from natural opportunities of health and character-training, and have not even always opportunities for healthy play. Great Britain, with four-fifths of her population urban, is clearly called upon to lead in utilising the new forces we now see to be at our disposal to revolutionise education; India's duty is hardly less clear, with her problem of popular education yet unsolved.

Now the position with respect to the education problem is as profoundly interest-

ing as any that has ever existed.

The limitations that are responsible for the deficiencies of our system have been removed.

We are on the eve of a revolution in education so wonderful that it will be comparable only to the revolution that was brought about in the domains of travel and intercommunication by steam and electricity; but one that will be fraught with immeasurably more good for mankind.

Owing to our industrial progress the economist is able now to say to the educadescribe exactly what you tionalist, want, and I shall tell you how you can have it.

If we were able to ask for exactly what we want, with the knowledge we have now about this "plasticity" of the young human being, we should say that we want. a system designed first to give the children vitality; to make them in every way alive, wide-awake, energetic, keen, strong and healthy.

To give them vitality what we need is to arrange that they shall be employed in such a way that they will be maintained as constantly and as keenly interested as possible, and son five ided matio Gethekul

fullest and most joyful exercise of their various faculties.

That, however, does not mean that, he cause children are not keen on class-work it should be neglected. It is of supreme importance for mental discipline, and, of course, for developing a great many of the faculties of the intellect, indeed, most of them, and therefore it will have always the same importance; but we should make the school hours an alternation of different kinds of occupations. Sports should plar a very great part, because they stand first in inducing keenness; set games, well conceived and organised, should be the basis, but looked upon, as far as possible, asa means of leading the children to finding their own avenues of joyful and sponta neous exertion. Joy and spontaneity an the rain and sunshine that alone can bring the young human plant to its greatest possible perfection, developing the body through the influence of the mind, as much fact of n as the mind itself.

The school hours might be ten or evel manual twelve, four might be devoted to class proper c work, coming in short periods, separated by periods of sports, or practical work, s that lessons would be welcomed as change and rest, as a complete change occupation is, instead of boring the child ren as they do now, and tiring them.

regards, however, their intelled tual development, we should say, make them vital, and cultivate in them them mentality that is quick to learn, and knowledge of subjects will come. In ever respect we should put training first an foremost, and mere learning nowhere comparison. The learning age does 10 terminate with adolescence; the formation of a wide-awake, learning mentality, the thing to see to whilst the age of plast city lasts.

Whilst developing vitality, the more sense must be developed and that, course, is the educationalists' greatest the regarder All will agree that, to give them the best opportunities, they want to have the least children as long hours in their charge at as variously as variously occupied, as possible, and the nothing could be nothing could be better than if they could be better than if Kappri Collection Haridwar of the time co-operation

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together doing some practical work towards their own maintenance. All know the incomparable educative value of useful work; the special interest aroused by producing something visible and to be used by themselves, comes second only to sports in creating keenness, and to many, indeed, tis sport in the true sense. Character, keenness, practical faculties, everything in fact, is developed by that best of all ducational means, productive work; as educationalists of all times have well appreciated.

There might be three hours at first, and more later, devoted to the practical productive work, and the remaining hours to lessons, sports and intervals of rest and refreshment; rest coming at the right times, as for instance after games or

Now we come to what we have perhaps the body the right to speak of as the most hopeful fact of modern times: Owing to the industrial progress of the last decades, the manual part of the training can, under to class proper conditions, be made to pay for the whole, so that we can have the entire programme for the poorest as well as for the

If the children were well trained from the first, they would soon have value in an industrial organisation helped by modern methods, which can make considerable use of the labour of children. By when they Were sixteen or seventeen, working in the organisation in which they had been brought up from the first, they would have the value of men and women, so that, with a proportion of adults as leading hands, they would form a useful labour staff, children of twelve, even, helping usefully in some of the work—though, it is important to note, that would not be economically

But we must understand the economics of production for use to realise how these test table approved methods could help an education leep some test the proved methods could help an education at least of the least hem the at least of, and enable us to keep some and least of the children till sixteen or some for economic it is necessary to do with all, if and the some for economic success, and with all, if hey could be obtained best educational results

Briefly, then, we are very safe in saying that, on a general average, the shop prices of articles are double what it costs to produce them in a good organisation, so that an organisation paying its workers in kind, would be able to give them double as much as their money wages would buy and they would be able to take home for a half day's work as much of the produce of their own labour as the wages of a full day's work will purchase. Generally speaking the father of a family must earn money to variety of articles the family needs, but a boy or a girl can perfectly well bring home their little contribution in the form of some useful articles used every day, and therefore it is possible for them to work under those exceedingly advantageous conditions, and thus to be full earners whilst devoting half their time to training.

The fact that I have spoken of as the most hopeful of our day may be stated

thus:-

Owing to industrial progress, we have now only to make an education system perfect, and then it will be perfectly cheap, and all children, rich and poor alike, and in all countries, will be able, during those precious years of plasticity, to have the training that, begun young enough, and continued long enough, can make them strong and healthy, developed in every way and educated in the best sense. There need be no more neglected children, either as to education or in any other way: town-children can be taken, daily or on a system of rotation, to farm-schools in the country, where they can be employed in this way; and where their parents desire it, or if their homes are unhealthy and undesirable, they can remain as boarders, and be well fed and cared for, paying for it sooner or later by their labour in the organisation in which the seniors will produce necessaries for themselves and the juniors.

Could such things be practically possible, it will be asked. Surely, it will be said, if they were, some such plan would be adopted at once, at least in England where Sour-fifths of the population is urban, and where, therefore, it would be nothing less

CC-0. In Public Domain. Guruku Kangro Mestiga Hadtion to the children; and

in India where the masses are illiterate, because the country cannot afford educa-

tion that costs money.

But it cannot, indeed, be done all of a sudden; that is to say, it would need an amount of capital and enthusiasm that are not forthcoming in such causes as that of helping the educationist solve his problems. We shall have to go to work patiently to build up the organisation, and the problem for us is how best to do

I will now describe very briefly the plan I suggested in my report to the Calcutta University Commission,* and the steps that, by the generosity of the Maharaja of Cossimbazar, I am taking towards carrying

it out.

In India we have, on the one hand, an education system leading many of those who follow it into a blind alley, and on the other hand, industrial and commercial development opening up opportunities on all sides for suitably trained youths.

An obvious plan, therefore, establish schools in connection with which there will be as much industrial work as possible, and co-operation to give the boys

practical commercial training.

The best plan would be to have land attached to the schools, to grow as much food as possible for the boys, and for use in their homes; when the school is in the town I suggest taking the boys outside daily or by rotation, and for week-ends and holidays. In the industries and on the land, hired labour should be used, but the boys should learn the processes practically, specialising of course in different branches, some in the workshop, some on the farm, others in the garden, so that, when in the upper classes, they will become effective helpers in the work of supervising the hired The fundamental principle is instruction of the boys and supervision of the hired workers arranged for to-The boys would be under instruction longer, but those looking after them would at the same time be looking after some paid workers doing productive work. That is another way of explaining this first step.

It would be possible in that way not only to give them a training of highest value from the point of view of general, as well as vocational education but ultimately to enable them to help very usefully towards their support, producing for use-not for sale-in the way described above.

A useful first step can be made with

small piece of land.

With sufficient capital and the help of modern methods, a great deal of produc costs but little to grow, but the difficultie generally are, first, supervision of this kin of work in which the workers are scattered and engaged in an extraordinarily lare variety of processes, and secondly, the new of much additional labour at certain time The schools could supply of the year. this.

All the boys would be carefully trained to observe and to be methodical, and each made thorough in some department the work, so that, after a time, the assistance to the would be of real That is clearly the ver superintendent. best possible training for them. As regard the extra labour required at certain

seasons, all boys should help.

In my own school, Maharajah Cossi bazar's Polytechnic Institute, we have so far as to give all our boys some man training and the next step I intend will to secure some land near a canal that me close to us, and take boys out there start agricultural operations in a su way; seeking also to co-operate in ero manner with the villagers and carry out ideas which I also advocate in control tion with this plan, * doing all kinds co-operative trading, both buying sof things from the villagers, and opening operative stores as a practical comment training for the boys.

a munificent patron Maharajah Cossimbazar and the liber M the and sympathetic help of the Education Department, we hope to go on increasing This meas local new

our activities.

* See also Report of Calcutta University Commission and my Lectures to por University 1917 * See volume VII, p. 1806 its PRojection Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar suited to

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MUSEUM OF VARENDRA RESEARCH SOCIETY, RAJSHAHI (BENGAL)

So much, then, for our school; our first But, after all, this is not a matter in step. we must lose ourselves in the details of an individual effort. The really useful thing is to draw attention to the principles, the great and hopeful economic facts, with their profound significance for the the initiative of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Calcutta University has established a fund to propagate knowledge of them, and formed classes of students to study them. His Highness the Maharajah of Mysore has shown interest and I have been formally requested by His Highness's Government to suggest a scheme for carrying out the plan in Mysore. His Excellency the Viceroy and Lady Chelmsford have sent expressions of their appreciation and their good wishes.

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Let us keep in mind the facts, they are fraught with hope. The Swiss and French. have given us illuminating examples by applying the principle to the teaching of agriculture. From such beginnings, equally applicable to other kinds of technical education, the system can extend, and we must see it does extend, and rapidly. We must rise in this case above all pettiness and prejudices that oppose new ideas for the sake of our children and their future.

In practically every country in which Popular education on the old plan has spread to all classes, we hear of moral deterioration, shirking work, whilst often recruiting statistics tell us terrible tales of Physical deterioration, and "race suicide", the last word of degeneracy, is rampant. It

is impossible not to put a share of responsibility for these things on an education system which, just at the age when it is of supreme importance to make the children's spirits run as high as possible, bores them, and just when everything should be done to induce in them earnestness and keen application, keeps them a great part of the day sitting on benches, doing work, the fruit of which is too much in the distant future to interest them, so that it induces the spirit of shirking. With all the respect due to those whose genius and loving labour have evolved the system of the past, under the handicaps of the past, that system, applied under our conditions, and with our modern knowledge, puts us in mind of the words about giving "A stone for bread and a scorpion for an egg."

It is our most urgent duty to exchange a system that is certainly open in such important ways to the charge of doing the worst for the children, for one doing the very best possible for them during those years of plasticity that are the

great chance of their lives.

With the knowledge we have now of physiology we see our system to be utterly defective, with the knowledge we have of economics we know we can alter it, so we must do it and without delay. The work is going on, all can help, and educated men in India have a very special reason to do so zealously in the fact that this education system will solve completely and finally the problem of middle class unemployment.

THE MUSEUM OF THE VARENDRA RESEARCH SOCIETY, RAJSHAHI (BENGAL)

BY ORDHENDRA COOMAR GANGOLY.

the afternoon His Excellency openad increasus the new building and the museum of the Varendra Research the Varendra Research Society of the local news information, conveyed to the ordinewspapers by the Associated Press very ill Society." on the 27th November last, was very ill to convember last, was very ill publications.

characteristically indifferent to such matters, any idea of the importance and significance of the event in the educational history of Bengal. In other countries such to convey to the general public multitude at least amongst the upper tens

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Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray, M.A. President, Varendra Research Society.

of the educated public, and very probably the principal dailies would have sent special representatives to the scene of occurrence to write appreciative notices of a first-hand impression of the opening ceremony. But Bengal has yet to progress in these matters and, therefore, apologies are needed for resurrecting that stale news from the burial of its oblivion. We require a lot of argument to convince ourselves how the opening of a "Jadughar" could be an event in the educational history of a province. Indeed, the 'magic palace' has no place in our educational scheme. Where progress of education has still to be marked by the pages covered in the Calcutta Gazette by lists of matriculates and other successful university examinees and the multiplication of Ph. D's., culture and education will continue to be aggressive antonyms, rather than, as in other countries, sweet synonyms. It is said

an outcast from beauty. And a good deal of the dissociation of intellectual acquisition from artistic feeling is the direct product of the superstition of confining education to literary scripts. Our educational pundits appear to have taken elaborate precautions not to let any kind of knowledge, training, or education steal or filter "through the eyes" except perhaps cumbrous through the and machinery of books, commentaries and lecture-notes. And the vital and organic relationship that exists between University education and museums in western countries, (there are museums attached to most universities in America) is still awaiting recognition in educational ideals in India. As matters stand at present, the museum, far from being a part of the system of education, is not looked upon as any useful help or supplement to the ordinary university curriculum, and practically no educational uses are made of any



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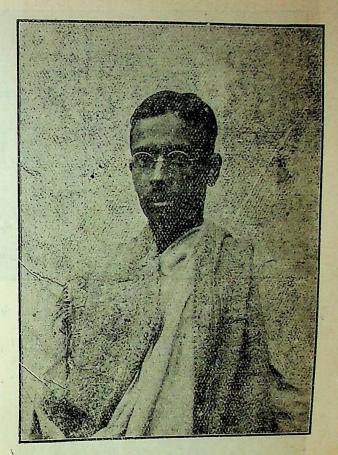
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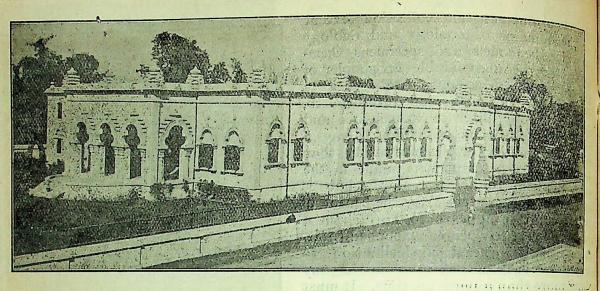
objects of our museum collections except objects of Zoology and Geology in the domains of Zoology and Geology in which the models and specimens themselves are the unavoidable text-books of the subjects. Museums are regarded as show places and are resorted to, as such, by our illiterate women-folk and children as a means of whiling away a spare half-an-hour for pleasure rather than for profit. An attempt was made in the local museum to arrange for what is known as 'docent service' for the benefit of visitors, but it appears to have been a failure, as very few people responded to it, there being a general dis-inclination to regard a visit to the museum as any thing more than a pure pastime. It must be recognised, however, that the primary and perhaps the best use of a museum lies in its opportunity of enjoyment rather than for any other purpose—an opportunity of broadening our culture and sensibilities by the exercise of the faculty of





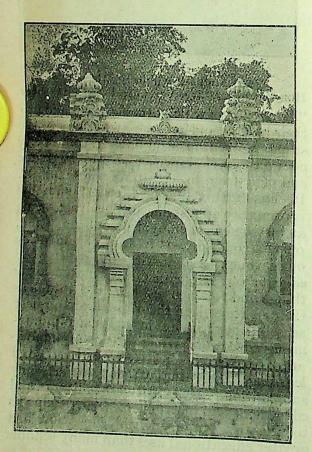
Mr. Radha-Govinda Basak, M.A. Honorary Secretary, Varendra Research Society. "liking things which others have made to their liking," and by the re-awakening of the standard of enthusiasm of the race in every new beholder, however distant in time and place from the creator of the exhibits. It has been well argued that a museum is primarily an instrument of culture, being an instrument of enjoyment of beauty and, only secondarily, is a seat of education or learning. An institution which can educate our capacities for enjoyment of things and to teach us "to like things as their creators liked them" is in the highest sense of the term an instrument of humanizing education. While there is an importculture ant distinction between learning, there ought not to be substantial breach between culture and education. An instrument which helps us to identify culture with education has greater educational uses than many schools and colleges.

The museum of the Varendra Research Mr. Ramaprasad Charen, In Public Domain. Gurus Kingti Collection of the Varenter dast, is a le Pounders. Varente de Rounders. Varente de Rounders de R signal landmark in the history of educa-



Varendra Research Society, Main Building.

tion in Bengal. It is the first attempt to realise an ideal in education which is yet beyond the dreams of the Indian Univer-



A Gateway in the main building of Varendra Research Society, showing the Style of

sities. The event acquires significance from the fact that it has been accomplished by the sacrifice and devotion of a group of educated Bengalis who had no direct connection with the educational history of Bengal. The birth of such an institution in a provincial town far away from the official educational centres offers an interesting experiment for decentralization in education. The valuable treasures of the museum to which we shall shortly refer should attract students and research scholars who will find abundant materials for many new fields of knowledge connected with the history of art, literature, religion and the dynasties of old Bengal and Gaud The many acrimonious and bitter controversies that followed some of the publications of the Varendra Research Society have created a sort of unworthy prejudit against the value of the materials collected by the Society and there has been an unfortunate inclination on the part of our fellow ditchers to look upon the movement as a provincial effort not deserving of serious consideration. With the growth of urban civilization there has been a discount suburban movements as petty and provincial, though cial, though much of our urban culture itself is really itself is really snobbish and 'suburban.

The museum of our urban training in the museum of the muse Architecture employed in the Style of The museum founded by the varieties struction of the billding.

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it has yet to be imitated by all the educatonal capitals of India. The movement in this provincial town deserves, in its own sphere, the same public estimation that in adifferent sphere has been accorded to the famous institution at Bolpur. If we have not co-operated with the founders and organisers of the society in their laudable eforts, they are, nevertheless, ever willing to extend to all of us the privilege of participating in the fruits of their acquisitions and of joining them in a common appreciation and enjoyment of the beauties of old Gaud-our joint heritage of history, the relics of which they have reverently collected in their new Magic Palace.

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Dancing Ganesha.



A Buddhist Image.

The Society was founded in 1910 and was at fitst accommodated in the rooms of the Rajshahi Public Library, but its collections soon outgrew the limits of the accommodation provided by its temporary lodging, and it was soon realised that it must have a suitable building of its own with space for future expansion. Through the generosity of the Vice-Patron, Raja Pramada Nath Roy of Dighapatiya, the Society received as a gift a beautiful plot of land on which it has now been able to build its new home, the foundation stone having been laid by Lord Carmichael on the 13th November, 1916. The main building of the museum, which has been very appropriately designed with CC-0. In Public Domain, Gurakunhantactan and martines from old specimens

with which the archaeology of Gaud



Sarasvati.

has made us familiar, is an imposing edifice with a proper setting provided by two bits of grounds on either side. It has a porch and an entrance hall measuring 18 feet square, leading to two galleries on either side each measuring 110 feet in length, flanked by a corridor 222 feet in length. There is also accommodation for a library and reading room, a council chamber and also a guest room with all provisions for conveniences and necessary servents' quarters, officers' quarters, and kitchen. The total cost of the building and the land has amounted to Rs. 63000

assisted by his brothers, and Mr. Basanta Kumar Ray.

The museum, now located in the new home provided by its generous patrons provides ample accommodation for its numerous relics, which include very interest, ing specimens of stone sculpture, coppe images, stone slabs, and other architectura relics and various valuable copper plate, some of which are the earliest record hitherto discovered in India, and a good collection of coins. The Library, which a very live and necessary adjunct to the Museum, is enriched with 852 volumes of printed books, chosen with rare judgment and expert knowledge, which makes it the



most useful reference collection for research and has been met by Mr. Sarat Kargasures on Hatthear library are undoubted. Ray, the President, who has been generously made up of the collection of valuable Sars made up of the collection of valuable San

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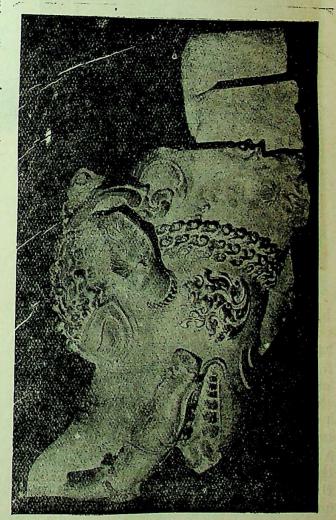
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Mother and Child.

krit manuscripts numbering 1348, some of which are of unique interest.

To students of antiquity and of the history of Bengali Sculpture, the collection of stone images, mostly of black chlorite offer interesting documents for the study of abranch of Indian Art in its interesting phases under the Sen and Pala dynasties. For assistance of comparative study of the other periods of Indian sculpture in its relation, if any, to Gaudian Art, some examples of Gandhara sculpture have been acquired by gift from the Indian museum. Two images of Buddha and a dwarpala of the Gupta period, discovered in Gaud, help to make the collection representative of the principal periods. The examples of lodhi Sattvas, Tara, Marichi, Hariti cover very full, though not quite exhaustive, The Mahayanist Pantheon. The examples collected have very important which, relation to the study of Nepalese art, which, according to the superficial study that been bill the superficial study that has been hitherto bestowed upon it, has hany interesting ties with the sculptural Indeed talition of Gaud and Magadha. Indeed ralable to from the small evidence now shortly, to vallable, to suggest, and very shortly, to hat is now a large state an important portion of what is now known as Nepalese Art was hactically an emigrant and refugee from many an emigrant and refugee from the organisers of the Archaed Gaud. While the organisers of the Archaeological collection directed by



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Surya.

Mr. A. K. Maitra has opened very fruitful and suggestive fields of enquiry of the part said to have been played by Gaud in the development of Art in Kalinga and Java, comparatively less attention has been given to the relationship of Gaudian Art with the interesting development in the Nepal valley. The collection, taken in their inward and local aspect alone, unrelated to the developments in neighbouring provinces, opens up a new field of enquiry, particularly from the point of view of iconography. The examples collected

of the images of Surya and Vishnu offer great variety of specimens which easily link themselves into a string of iconographic development. The members do not claim to have yet discovered actual examples of sculpture from the chisel of Dhiman and Bitpal, the leaders of the Bengal School of sculpture, according to historical renown Although, it is hoped, they still cherish the laudable ambition of finding masterpiere by these artists who have such a halo of historic fame about them, many of the examples of sculpture are of great aesthetic value, whether they belong to the school of the names made famous in



of iconography. The examples collected CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar Vishnu.

history of attempt to sculpture. Some of the hasty sughas been school is a springing spread of the street of the s

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MUSEUM OF VARENDRA RESEARCH SOCIETY, RAJSHAHI (BENGAL) 185



Marichi.

attempt to not. It is yet premature to attempt to trace the genesis of Gaudian Supplied trace the genesis of other of But from a superficial study of basty of the specimens some tentative and lt. basty suggestions may be hazarded. It has been asserted that the Sthool is an altogether indigenous growth,

Springing C. Bengal pringing from the soil of Old Bengal preading its ramifications to its neighbuting the ramifications to its including countries and influencing the arts many distant places, such as Orissa The magnificent remnants of Gaudian of Gaudian bind, to bear any traces of Gaudian many ties of to bear any traces of Gaucian and they have many ties of boards Public Pupe



Yama.

Orissan School has a vitality and an individuality which precludes any suggestion of its being an adjunct or a pendant to the school of Old Bengal. If it had any direct connection with Gauda, in the earlier part of its history, is still an open question to be decided upon adequate materials. The leading motives Orissan Art belong to the main stem of Indian Sculpture and seem to go back to the school of Central India and Mathura. The Gaudian School appears to have closer affinities with the old School of Magadha. Whether critics will agree to accord to the School the qualities that have been claimed for, it has yet to be seen. That it does not bear unmistakable evidence of a new and indigenous development will be obvious to many. Those inclined to underrate Gaudian Sculpture from the nauseating repetitions of numerous examples common bonds Public Pengin. Guy by the Collected in the warfour parts of Bengal, of Vishnu and Surya of a very hackneyed



Siva-Lingam.

will receive a very pleasant shock of surprise from the variety of examples collected in the Society's Museum. Indeed there are several new types of images of which no parallel has yet been discovered outside Bengal. The illustrations which accompany these notes will help suggest the rich variety of the collection. The classification followed in the list recently printed as a preliminary to a fully scientifically descriptive catalogue which is to come later, covers a very wide field: A. Buddhist Images: (a) Buddha (b) Bodhisattva, (c) Tara, (d) Marichi, (e) Hariti Co. In Public Demain, Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar (f) Mother of Buddia, (g) Vagisvari,

B. Jaina. C. Saiva Images: (a) Sira B. Jama. C. Start, (c) Ardha-narisvara point of the lingas, (b) Sadasiva, (c) Natesvara & Jahisanti tha (d) Uma-mahesvara, (e) Natesvara, & Jahisant (f) Siva-Bhairava, (g) Kartikeya bang in Sakta Images: (a) Chandi, (b) Mahisha place in mardini. (c) Durga. (d) Chandisha place in mardini. mardini, (c) Durga, (d) Chamunda Buddhist (e) Matrikas. E. Vaisnava Image (a) Vishnu, (b) Avataras, (c) Garuja (d) Balarama. F. Saura Images: (a) Su of Hindu god, (b) Navagraha slabs, (c) Revanta Ganapatya Images: (a) Sitting images of numerous Ganesha, (b) Dancing Ganesha. H images: Miscellaneous e.g., Brahma copper pla Yama, Ganga, Manasha, Saraswati, & Some of the architectural relics, Buddhis Brahmanic and Mahomedan, are of unique interest and testify to the existence glorious monuments in stone which har not survived destruction: From the

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Chandi.

(a) Sive point of view the relics from the ruins of narisvara point of view the ruins of narisvara point of ara, & jahisantosh a mosque was built at the keya the fifteenth century from Mahisha place in the fifteenth century Mahisha place in actually taken from Hindu and namunda materials actually and some of the frag-Image Addunts yet carry on one face the carvings Hindu images and on the other Mahomedan decoration for a Mihrab. The metal : (a) Su mages of the collection, though not so Revanta umerous as the stone relics, include Sitting 20r 3 very fine pieces. Of the various sha. H Brahma poper plates collected, all of them very wati, & laurable documents for the study of the Buddhist

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Surya.

dynastic history of Bengal, one is the earliest in date hitherto discovered in India.

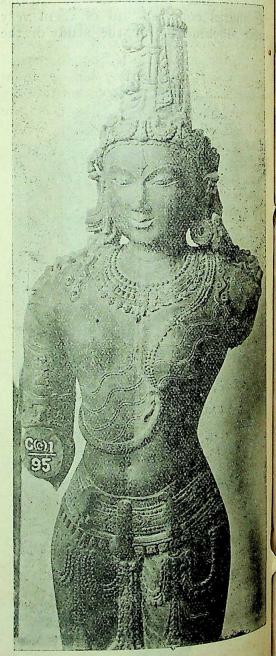
A study of these tangible monumental heritages of Bengals' past history is likely to throw many new lights on a past, which inspite of its many political vicissitudes, has many phases of brilliant activity, particularly in the domain of Art and Letters. It is a pleasure to testify to the laudable attempts made by the organisers and members of the Varendra Research Society to make the institution a living and growing centre of study. Museums and Libraries have an unfortunate tendency in this country to cease to be live institutions. After a few days of glorious life Uma-Mahesvara, CC-0. In Public Domain. Goldowing the opening ceremony, they invariably esettle down to comfortable



· Chandi.

obscurity. Indictments are often made against museums, as costly prisons of art, and libraries as cemeteries of books. It is really the active interest and enthusiastic study of exhibits on the part of an educated public that can save collections of art and antiquities from the fate of prisons and mummy houses. And the members of the Society have taken all possible steps to make their institution a living centre of study, and by initiating a valuable series of publications, the Society has endeavoured to utilise and interpret the valuable documents that it has been able to collect. The earliest of these publications, 'Gauda-Rajamala" (History of the Kings of Gaud) followed by Gauda-Leldeanta Pablit Hemin Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar Ardha-Nariswar.

tions of Gaud) are very well known. Itis intended to publish in the same series a work called "Gauda-Silpamala" giving a survey of the Art of Gaud. The Founder President has placed at the disposal of the Society in 1917 funds to publish a series of Sanskrit works named "Savita-Memorial Series" in memory of his late lamented son. The first issue of this series 'Bhasha vritti; a commentary on Panini's Gram-



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marwritten under the orders of Lakshmana Sena, has n. It is already been published and series a others in the same giving a gries, "Dhatu-pradipa" and Founder al of the "Alamkara Kaustubha'' are series of preparation. Iemorial ("Indo-Aryan Races" by Mr. under amented Rama Prosad Chanda pub-Bhasha. lished by the Society has s Gram. made its fame quite international, Professor V. Guiffnda-Ruggeri of the University of Naples, one of the leading authorities of physical anthropology, having adopted the scheme of ethnic stratification and classification of the Indian races as suggested by Mr. Chanda in his learned thesis. Ditector of Public Instruction, Bengal, has awarded a Government Post-graduate Research Scholarship to Mr. Haridas Mitra, M. A., for carrying on research work on lconography under the guidance of Mr. Akshaya Kumar Maitra, the Director of the Society. The Scholar s working in the Museum engaged on a monograph on the iconography of "Sadasiva" of which the museum, contains various specimens. It is evident that the Society has amply justified its existthe by creating a living centre of research and culture. It is by realising the of by of the racial culture of Bengal that the future of the education of the Country can be placed on solid or in 1. Openor in his speech at the openthe speech at the option of the th pointed out that "the activities out that the Varendra Re-Reatest Society are of the



Society are of the value on two accounts. First- of the informations already brought of the intrinsic importance to Kapping and Hasewordly on account of

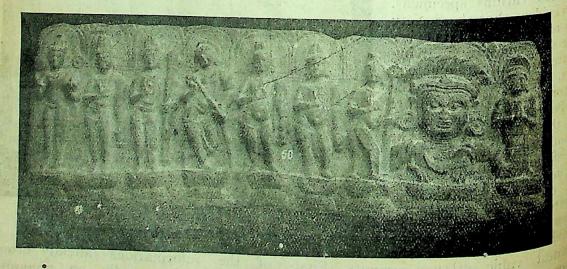
the excellent example which is being set and which it is hoped will kindle the interest and excite the emulation of other cultured men in other parts of the country." That the work of the Society has an important



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CC-0. In Public Domain Qurukil Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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bearing on the future of education will be obvious to all. Research work of this kind has the sure effect of ritalising education and of broadening the culture of the educated by enlarging the boundaries of know-

ledge. We have no doubt that the Society is destined to play a great part in realising the ideal of making our culture educated and our education cultivating. The rich treasures of the museum help us to link up the present generation with the glories of its past history and incidentally to educate us in abelief in our own capacities and to foster in us a sense of a dynamic faith in our power to shape our own future by picturing to us in tangible terms the records of our past achievements. From another point of view, namely the purely aesthetic pleasure that such a rich collection of sculptures and reliefs that is secured for even a casual visitor not caring for their historical significance, the museum is worthy of a very high rank. For if the achievements of old Gaud are mere matters of past history, and if Old Gaud is dead, it nevertheless lives and lives gracefully in inages and animated



Vishnu.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

M. Foucher's Attack on "Nationalists."

A gentleman whose authority is recognised matters sends us the following communication: M. Poucher has been professor at Parisolic in histories.

this country and this country has extended a warm welcome to him. Everywhere he has been requested to deliver lectures and Indians have been eager to here in Indo-Greek art. At present he is in the University in December last. meet him. The Calcutta University with its usual

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In the course of his lectures Professor Foucher has made caustic remarks against 'nationalists', mentioning Mr. Arun Sen by name. Mr. Arun Sen is a classical scholar, has received his training at Cambridge and is a barrister by profession. He lectures to the M.A. students of the Calcutta University on Indian art. He has published a short paper criticising Sir John Marshall's and Dr. Spooner's theory of foreign origins of Mauryan art in a recent number of the Indian Antiquary. This seems to have been the cause of Mr. Sen's condemnation. For Mr. Sen has published nothing on Further Indian Art—the subject of M. Foucher's lectures-or on any other topic of Indian

We take this occasion to protest publicly against the growing practice, of official archaeologists, of attacking their adversaries by calling them 'nationalists' and 'patriots'. Instead of meeting their arguments, shelter is sought under a term which has in certain quarters become disreputable. We must say, certain quarters become disreputable. We must say, the mathed is highly unfair. Even "Agastya" method is highly unfair. Even who has more than once defended the administration of Sir John Marshall and Dr. Spooner, writing last November in this Review has had to make re-

marks on this unfairness:

"Every student who desires to approach this study with an open and unbiased mind has to appraise critically the opinions of the so-called authorities whose works by lapse of time, rather than by the weight of their arguments, or by the value of their insight, have assumed a seat of false respect, to contest which means not only an act of sacrilege but an exhibition of one's so called 'national bias'."

M. Foucher is our guest, and we would not like to refer to his lectures in a way not hospitable. We are grateful that he has given such long years to studies connected with India, we are grateful that he is amongst us, we are delighted at the prospect of his remaining longer as an additional superintendent of archaeology. Had it not been in the interest of Indian scholarship, we would not have referred to his belittling and contemptuous allusion to Mr. Arun Sen's theories. The interest in the study of Indian art in the Calcutta University owes much to Mr. Arun Sen. He should take the attack as an admission of the keenness of his arguments, which official archaeology finds difficult to meet by fair arguments. Official archaeology had begun to put forward a theory (before the King's Proclamation) that to question its pet theories was something like seditious. It had started calling such questionings 'patriotic' 'nationalistic' that was another term for 'disloyal'. It used to call itself the 'Government of India in the Archaeological Department'. How could one dare to question that 'Government'?

"Should Brahmos Call Themselves Hindus."

'A Hindu' in the December number of the Modern Review has again raised the old old question-"Should Brahmos call themselves Hindus?" To me the real question appears to be whether non-caste and non-idolatrous Brahmos could call themselves Hindus if they would, inspite of A Hindu's masterly treatment well and good if the followers of every other policy of the followers of the followers of every other policy of the followers of the followe

India regard the Brahmos 'as the most advanced section of Hindus.' If it is a fact, they must have persuaded themselves to think in this way very recently and that not very logically. When at the early seventies of the last century, the Brahmos felt the paramount necessity of introducing a kind of non-idolatrous and non-caste marriage for themselves, 'the followers of every other religion in India' did not hold this liberal opinion. It is a matter of history that all opinions, both legal and scriptural, were arrayed against the Marriage and inheritance are institutions that can scarcely be left to chance and to the will of the individual. And the Brahmos were not Sannyasis, So they sought for some means to legalise their marriage system. And if that means took an undesirable shape it was not the Brahmos' own making, The worst enemies of the Brahmo Samaj cannot upbraid it with the responsibility. Yet the Brahmos of Hindu origin, inspite of their opponents outside have all along remained Hindus in reality if it may not be in form also. If the proof of the pudding is in the eating and the tree is known by its fruits, the Brahmos of India are 'Hindus and nothing else'. Judged by idolatry and caste-and one may be to add widow-remarriage-the Brahmo Samaj is more Mussalman than Hindu; yet, as a rule, though surrounded by millions of Mussalmans all the Brahmos are recruits from the Hindu Sama, And, therefore, man's life being not a dogma here or a practice there but ramifications of a trunk firmly rooted in the soil, inspite of their rejection of caste and idolatry, the Brahmos' life is bound to the parent stock by a thousand and one ties of associations—social, moral, religious and otherwise—more subtle than one can lay one's hand on. However, has arisen this anomaly in the present circumstances of the country that the Brahmo isa Hindu, yet he is not a Hindu, as the term is now interpreted in a narrow sense which it has acquired under the British administration. It is quite contrary to the connotation that obtained in the pre-British period or still obtains outside India. 'A Hindu' has fallen an easy victim to this mistake, nor is he cognisant of the modifications in the connotation of the term proposed from time to time even in British India And the anomaly has, it is said, reached its acme at the marriage declaration. Is there no way out of it.
Though the term Hindu excludes the declarer from its pale in one control of the control its pale in one sense, it includes him in a better and wider sense. Jains and Sikhs are Hindus. Now one declares that one is neither Hindu nor Jain, not Sikh, then the declarer is not necessarily excluded from the wider application of the term Hindu from the wider application of the term Hindus because Jains and Sikhs are Hindus. He would be excluded only in the excluded only in the narrower sense in which Sikhs and Jains are excluded. To include the Sikhs and Jains in and to consider the sikhs applied to the sikh a Jains in and to exclude the declarer from the application of the torm IV. tion of the term Hindu would give rise to the fallar of cross division of cross division. A mistake to be corrected by school boys capacital mistake to be corrected by school boys cannot be laid at the door of those who undertook to legislate for undertook to legislate for the whole of the Indian Empire and in whose has a state of the whole of the Indian of t Empire and in whose hands hung the destiny of so crores of human beings. So if a man without ask and idolatry can be a U.S. and it is the Brahme and idolatry can be a Hindu, that Hindu the Brahm is and will ever remaining the Brahm declared the Brahm and Will ever remaining the Brahm and Br is and will ever remain despite his marriage declars. Now the question of questions is that the Hinds must know his mind and and the house the hou

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of unwelcome guests. But all the signs point in quite with his fellow-Hindus' resusit opposite unitarian propaganda and their tooth and ided varnashram propaganda and their tooth and opposition to Bose and Patel bills, A Hindu's and opposition may inspite of his own sincere openion may, inspite of his own sincere conviction and intention, turn out to be merely academic. But and intention, this note of warning not a day too soon to hat his community is in danger of disruption, not on the his community is in danger of disruption, not on woult of her rejection of caste, as is contended by be unreflecting portion of the community, but because d is retention of caste. In this connection it will not bout of place to refer to the momentous utterance of

Mr. Justice Sadasiva Iyer, as President of the Social Service League, Madras. He aid in an angry mood that he was seriously thinking of giving up the name Hindu if within 5 years from this date the rigidity of caste and this rigidity of so-called Hindu religion which did not take other nations into its fold should not disappear." Here is much fund for reflection for those who still think it worth their while to invite Brahmos to formally call themselves Hindus when such a prominent member of the community has threatened to discard the Hindu name.

DHIRENDRANATH CHOUDHURI.

HINDU COLONISATION OF JAVA

THE question of the date and the actual sources of the Hindu Colony of Java is of some importance having regard to the many intertwined and tangled problems of the ancient history of India. These dark mysteries of history still continue to elude the enquiry of students, there being very few authentic materials to verify the traditional stories on the subject. According to local Javanese tadition, a large body of Indian emigrants led by Aji Saka, said to be a prince from Gujarat, landed in the first year of the local era corresponding to A.D. 75. No authentic confirmation of this tradition had been discovered before now. Accord-Vincent Smith, "the statement made in a late Chinese work that an Idian colony arrived in Java during the An Emperor Kwang Wu-ti (A.D. 25-57) is credible, although the found, " The which it is based has not been here is [History of Fine Arts, p. 260.] There is no doubt that the earliest Indian wony was a Bramhanical expedition, and tarlier than the Course on into Java was not tarlier than the fifth century when Guna-Raman (A.D. 431), the Crown Prince of kashnir, is supposed to have converted the island to Buddhism.

Asiatique, Gabriel Ferrand (Journal, 521-530), quoting Mr. Berthold Laufer, which offer independent of the state of the st

boration of a Hindu Colony in Javaduring the early centuries of Christian era. In a Chinese work, known as Heou han chou, which covers the period of the second Han 25-220, occurs the dynasty, A. D. following passage: "In the 12th month of the sixth year of Young Kien (corresponding to A. D. 131-132), the Kingdom of Ye-tiao (Yava-dvipa), beyond the frontiers of Je-nan and of Chan, sent an ambassador to offer tribute." The commentary on this work, composed during the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 608-906), cites on this point the following passage from Tong Kouan Ki: "The King of Ye-tiao sent ambassador Che-houei who was the head of the city of Java and a violet ribbon was given to the prince." In the chapter of Heou han chou devoted to the inhabitants of the south, one finds, in slightly different terms, a reference to the same ambassador: "In the 6th Yong-Kien year of the Emperor Chouen, Pien, the King of Ye-tiao, beyond the frontiers of Je-nan, sent an ambassador to offer tribute. The king accorded to Pien a golden seal and a violet ribbon." The work known as Tong Kouan Ki underwent considerable revision in the hands of successive authors, all of the time of the second Han dynasty; the work in its entirety has been lost long ago, but the surviving fragments have been sollected and published in Wou ying-tien Offer independent authentigue Grand Guruk Thomas Collected and part of the eighteenth control in the second half of the eighteenth control it authentigue Grand Guruk Thomas Collected and part of the eighteenth control it authentigue Grand Guruk Thomas Collected and part of the eighteenth control it authentigue Grand Guruk Thomas Collected and part of the eighteenth control it authentigue Grand Guruk Thomas Collected and part of the eighteenth control it authentigue Grand Guruk Thomas Collected and part of the eighteenth control it authentigue Grand Guruk Thomas Collected and part of the eighteenth control it authentigue Grand Guruk Thomas Collected and part of the eighteenth control it authentigue Grand Guruk Thomas Collected and part of the eighteenth control it authentigue Grand Guruk Thomas Collected and part of the eighteenth control it authentigue Grand Guruk Thomas Collected and part of the eighteenth control it authentigue Grand Guruk Thomas Collected and part of the eighteenth control it authentigue Grand Guruk Thomas Collected and part of the eighteenth control it authentigue Grand Guruk Thomas Collected and part of the eighteenth control it authentigue Grand Guruk Thomas Collected and part of the eighteenth control it authentigue Grand Guruk Thomas Collected and part of the eighteenth control it authentigue Grand Guruk Thomas Collected and Co

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house-top riage are is clear that the king who sent the embassy to the Chinese Emperor, reigned in Java about the end of 131 or the beginning of 132 of the Christian era. According to M. Sylvain Levi, 'Pen' is the abbreviated Chinese rendering of the Sanskrit word Varman, so that it appears that some king with a name terminating in Varman reigned in Java in the early part of the second century A.D. The emigration of Hindu kings to Java must have preceded by at least a century before that, for the Hindu kingdom must have taken some time to establish itself in Java and to acquire sufficient importance to be able to enter into diplomatic relationship with the Chinese Empire. The earliest reference to the island of Java in Indian literature is found in the Ramayana, Kishkindhya Kanda (40th Sarga, 30th verse), where Sugriva in course of giving directions to his monkey leaders refers to various islands in the sea as possible places where Ravana might have concealed Sita. It is believed that the oldest portion of the Ramayana was composed before 500 B. C., while the more recent portions were probably not added till the second century B. C., and possibly later. There are evidences to shew that the portion relating to the expedition to Lanka was known to the authors of the Dasaratha Jataka, one of the Pali birth stories. Kishkindhya Kanda must therefore be quite old. Assuming that it is part of the later additions, the references to Yava-dwipa may be taken with some amount of certainty to be as old as 50 B.C. The island must have been colonised or at least known by actual visits, by the time it came to be referred to in India, as 'Yava-dwipa', a Sanskrit name given to it by Indian adventurers. The first Indian contact and intercourse with Java may therefore be attributed to the time before the birth of Christ.

As regards the sources of Indo-Javanese civilization l'etat de le probleme is this that the remains of Java speak in unmistakable terms of the arrival of ideas and institutions from different parts of India at different times. It is not a mere idle curiosity which demandsottheorden Gyrukul Kangri Collection Hardwar COOMAR GANGOLY.

of these different localisation and sources and the canals through which Indian civilization flowed into Java, complete historical presentation of the Indian development of imperatively calls for such indentifica. tions,—for, the story of such development / HE v sometimes abruptly stops in the main continent, steps across the Bay of Bengal and then is continued and developed with a remarkable energy and vitality butin perfect and harmonious relation to its ancient and original context physically separated by a marine barrier which apparently, though not actually, interrupt the continuity. The narrative is resumed beyond the seas not as a sequel-but as an organic and logical development of the main story recorded in the Indian continent where it appears to have received an unhappy termination. The recoveryd this apparently mutilated picture by joining together its dismembered fragments and the terminating pieces is the foremost duty of the Indian student. It is not so man of the regard to their organic relationship, the will easily fit in and dovetail into out another, but until this is done, this inverted puzzle-picture will continue to bath students in their vain attempt to explain many otherwise inexplicable mysteries Indian History. To recognize and to recover these data, now surviving in man forms in Java and the neighbouring island Indian students seem to be peculiar qualified. For although very valuable materials have been collected by emines long stan Dutch scholars, by reason of their lacket knowledge of the details of Indian history they have been unable to appraise the significance of the data and to correlate them with the history of the main continent. It is eminently desirable that some group of Indian students should undertake or Indian students should under de scientific study of these data and in out there has opinion the responsibility rests very hearth on the Committee on the Commi opinion the responsibility rests very Indian on the Carmichael Chair of Ancient University Changuage History and Culture at the Calcutta United Sity to initial sity to initiate, in right earnest, a court of such studies

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INDIAN NATIONALITY AND HINDUSTANI SPEECH

lopment /THE word nation is not always used in quite a definite sense. The following passages, those marked (1), (2), (3) (4) being from Prof. Garner's Introduction to Political Science, and those marked (i) and (ii) being form Prof. Raymond Garfield Cettelt's Readings in Political Science, are quoted here as bearing on the sense of the word nation.

(1) Community of race and language are undoubtut as an elly the most usual and satisfactory tests for t of the

determining the existence of a nation" (p. 46).
(2) "The ethnic origins of many modern nationsate diverse and unknown and hence cannot be an infallible test" (p. 47).

(3) "Switzerland embrace part of three nations, French, Germans and Italians" (p. 48).

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(4) "On the other hand the limits of the state may be marrower than those of the nation. Thus the French republic and the greater part of the kingdom of Belgium are embraced within the limits of the same her as to mation" (p. 48).

(i) "In Germany the word 'People' has primarily and prominently a political signification, as denoting a body of individuals organized under a single government; while the term 'Nation' is reserved for amilection of individuals united by ethnic or other bonds, irrespective of political combination. According o bath to this use a Nation is an aggregate of men speaking the same language, having the same customs, and, the same from other groups of the same customs and the mirror other groups of the same customs. tem from other groups of the same nature?' (p. 18).

(i) "Lastly a nation may be divided into two or in man long groups on account of territorial expansion,—as, risland by island by island the North American, the Spanish-Portuguese and the South American" (p. 18).

The passage last quoted is against the long standing claim to nationhood mainthe reason the United States of America and the recent claim to nationhood set up by aise the self-governing British Dominions, as correlate also against the claim to nationhood of ontined the Spanish the claim to nationing the Spanish American Republics and the rtake Banco de la nacion Argentina. On the thearth and Switzerland, divided between the basis hearth hand Switzerland, divided between India dianguage Cies as resting on the basis t India danguage—German, French and Italian— Wational Translation, as is clearly evidenced Council). a county of the anation, as is clearly evaluational rath' (National Council). National rath' (National Council).

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complimented the Sikhs of India as being a "nation". The Sikhs-a body of Hindu dissenters mainly with a sprinkling of Musalman converts-ruled indeed at one time a large territory, but it was a territory peopled by Musalmans, Hindus and Sikhs, the Musalmans being the most numerous and the Sikhs the least numerous of the three classes. the present day, in the great Sikh centre, Amritsar, Hindus outnumber the Sikhs and the Musalmans outnumber the Hindus, as the last Census declare.

Taking the example of Switzerland, which speaks three languages, and that of the United States and the Republics of America, which European languages and call themselves nations, it would be safe to assume that the term nation is now applicable to a people inhabiting a country that has a particular name, whether the people speak more languages than one or speak a language that is spoken in one or more other countries, England, France, and Italy-each of which has a language of its own with only dialectic differences, Breton and Basque in corners of France being the only exceptions,-are the seats of nations of the best type, for community of language and territorial continuity are conditions

most favourable to moral unity.

Indians can claim to be a nation only of the Swiss type. But while Switzerland has but three languages, India has a multitude, and these not of one family either, (as the Swiss languages are all of Aryan family), but mainly of two families, the Aryan and the Dravidian. Indians then are a nation in that they inhabit a country that has a particular name. historic native name, Bharatvarsa simply Bharat has now been overlaid by hold to the confusion in the use of the Hindustan, Hind, and India, and western Viceroy and Soccool Bulling Poppain. Grukul Karge Collection Hardward Soccool Bulling Poppain. Grukul Karge Collection Hardward Soccool Bulling Poppain. Grukul Karge Collection Hardward Sociol Bulling Poppain. Grukul Karge Collection Hardward Sociol Bulling Poppain.

river, Sindhu (the Indus). The idea of Indian nationality has been a result of English rule, and, however defective the idea may be on account of India's numerous and diverse languages, it deserves to cherished as a bond of amity and union among its diverse populations—a bond that can be a powerful instrument for urging them unitedly on towards the attainment of desirable objects such as nations seek.

With the idea of Indian nationality has arisen in many minds the desire of a common language as the national language of India. Naturally the most wide-spread and vigorous Indian language, Hindustani, has been hit upon as the best fitted to be this desired national language. Mr. Gandhi has called this language Hindi, which is very objectionable, as the word Hindi, in its generally prevalent sense, signifies writing in the Devanagari character and highly Sanskritized diction and includes further the language of Tulsidas's Rāmāyan, which is a widely different language from the current Kharï Boli prose Hindi. The term Hindustani, which according to the practice followed by Anglo-Indian lexicographers down to Fallon, covers both Hindi and Urdu, may more appropriately be applied to the desired common national language for India.* Lala Lajpat Rai very properly uses the term Hindustani in the last October number of The Modern Review.

One preliminary difficulty about the adoption of Hindustani as the national language of India is the discordance between the Hindi and Urdu phases of Hindustani. The grammar is indeed the same for both, but there is a world of difference as regards the higher vocables used. Without a reconciliation between the two, nationalization of Hindustani would hardly be realisable, but reconciliation is a most difficult matter. Hindi is written in the Devanagari character and Urdu in the Persian, is a far less material point than that culturewords in Hindi are all from Sanskrit, and

culture-words in Urdu are all from Per. sian and Arabic. Lallulal's प्रेमसागर (Pren which is the very fountain d literary prose Hindi, is puristic in the extreme; while, on the other hand, Raja Sivaprasad's रेंडफोर्ड ग्रीर मर्टन (Sandford and Merton) fully admits naturalized Persian and Arabic words. But the puristic spini is still very active among Hindu writer who would, for instances use सुर्थ insteade सरज for sun and, ससुद्र instead of समुदर for see Some fifteen years ago I noticed the Nagi Pracharini Sabha's denunciation of Hind like Sivaprasad's as "खिनुड़ी हिन्दी" (mong rel Hindi). As regards Urdu, on the other hand, Persianization is the order of the day. I annex below in Roman character two short sentences from Hindi Extract (and one short sentence from Urdu Extract C set for translation into English at the Matriculation Examination Calcutta University in the year 1917 (Vide Calendar for 1917, Part III, p. 5 and p. 11 to show how wide apart stands literary Hindi from literary Urdu.

Hindi.—Vinks namka ek manusya udyog at dhairya ko karyasiddhika mulmantra samajhta th Vah svayam mantra ka aradhana karaya tha dusro ko bhī uske anusar chalne ki summati deta th

Urdu.—Yah saf zahir hai ki tum siya our saled tamīz karnā nahi jante warna tum jalī huī roti hats na khate.

With a view to ascertain the extent and disagreement agreement Hindi and Urdu in elementary text-book used in schools in the United Provinces I have compared the latest Hindi and Urdi Readers (the years of publication beilt respectively 1918 and 1917) for Prepare tory Class B of Vernacular Schools for Boys, United Provinces. The Readers the same throughout, lesson by lesson, and each covers 44 pages. The differences have found in them are the following:

i. Hindi 'path' and Urdu 'sabaq' for lesson' Hind between word' sabaq is used, however, in some of the Hind book the Lessons. Lessons.

2. Hindi 'gurujī ko pranam karo' and littad ko salam karo'

5. Hir kare for ea 6. Hin kiya kare' In th following words:-

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surkh, zor, sarad, sard chirag-h, c saled, sa khud, khus zabān, jānv (from Hid amā, tryi II. Ar

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5. Hindi 'dhanyavad de' and Urdu 'bandagi kiya 5. Hindi dankfulness.

bate for express thankfulness.
6. Hindi 'bandana kiya kare' and Urdu 'bandagī
6. Hindi 'bandana kiya kare' and Urdu 'bandagī tivs kare for making obeissance.

In the Hindi Reader there are the following Persian, Arabic, and Persi-Arabic

words:

1. Persian.-kam, pul, dard, mard, gard, nirkh, grin, zor, kamzor, khub, khabar, shahad, garam, tawa, grad, sardi, chīz, chāku, jald, naukar, surat, roshan, ditīg-h, darakht, shakkar, shīshī, dukan, shikar, sied, saresh, garda, pasand, dost, dosti, post, hud, khush, khushi, rawwab, khurak, yad, sham, der, abin, jānwar, paida, roz, khuda, arām, rasta, āzmāo ımi, trying), magar, yar, awaz.

II. Arabic.—umr, sair, g-halat madad, taraf, dawa, qalam, fikr, waqt, razi, hazir, malik, huu, saf, aurat, makan, kitab, hisab, jawwab, mizaj, aru, kasur, maf, g-harur, saluk, amir, g-harib, akir, subh, madrasa, adab, kitab, nashihat, admī, husb, malūm, shakhs, jama, tarah.

III. Persi-Arabic .- be-shaur, be-sabab.*

The Hindi and Urdu Readers noticed above do not aim at widening the breach between Hindi and Urdu, but do aim at narrowing the breach between them as much as prossible. But this is not the aim of many writers in Hindi and Urdu. I may instance here lindu author of मिडिल क्लास भूगाल वा भूलाक भीत्म, published at प्रयाग (Allahabad) in the year 1916, who never uses स्रज for sun and the for moon, but uses instead the Sanskrit words सुधैंग and चन्द्रमा. I have To recent Urdu schoolbook by me ex-But part the Urdu Reader mentioned above. but Persianization is doubtless the path lollowed in Urdu. the stock Urdu term for "History of India," and Araish-i Mahfil is the title of a tandard Urdu book. The new Univerbad in which the been set up at Hyderahad in which the medium of instruction is Indu, in spite of the fact that this language salen to the Hindus of the Hyderabad State, who form nine-tenths of its populawill inevitably widen the breach the Urdu the Hooks translation and Urdu, for the Urdu, for the Works, Hindi and Urdu, for the cross, translations and original works,

used for instruction in the higher subjects must surely be largely inter-larded with Persian and Arabic terms, which Hindi cannot possibly accept. Hindi has a kindred source to draw from, when neces-

sary, and that source is Sanskrit.

The only reconciliation between Hindi and Urdu that is possible at present is the creation of a recognized conversational Hindustani for both Hindus and Musalmans, which shall be without the salient literary features of Hindi and Urdu and which shall concern itself only with the lower concerns of life. Knowledge of such lower grade Hindustani cannot enable men from Bengal, Maharastra or Dravidian India to take part in Indians' national concerns, such as Congress addresses and the like. In The Englishman of December 18 appeared the Associated Indian Press notice that this year's Congress and Moslem League were going "to be more or less a Hindi and Urdu Congress and League", that "almost all the speeches except the Presidential address of the Congress" were to be "delivered either in Hindi or Urdu," that most of the deliberations and discussions" were to be "carried on in the vernaculars," and that the chairman of the Congress Reception Committee was to deliver his speech in Hindi. When I read the announcement of the Chairman of the Reception Committee's Hindi speech I wondered how this speech could be intelligible to the mass of the audienceparticularly to the Musalman delegates and the delegates from Dravidian India. The Englishman of December 29 has the following:

"Swami Shraddhananda, Chairman of the Reception Committee, read welcome address in Hindi. The Swami has been so persistent in using Hindi that he even declined to do an English translation of the address for the press. Eventually the majority of the audience appreciated the Swami's address in Hindi and followed him closely."

I cannot believe that the majority of the audience understood the Swami's Hindi address. An English translation would delegates and visite transliterations here are of the words as understand Hindi, and to thousand the Urdu Reader in Persian character.

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of Hindi as the language of the Chairman of the Reception Committee's speech has been a premature innovation at any rate, if not a blunder altogether, as tending to cause a split between Hindus and Muhammadans and as putting the domiciled European community out of the pale of the Indian nation. Under the influence of natural forces English has become the common lingua franca for all Indians, including domiciled Anglo-Indians and sojourning Anglo-Indians. I cannot regard it as a wise procedure to cast off domiciled Anglo-Indians from the class of Indians. A wiser course would be to seek to turn them into patriotic Indians. Their adhesion can only strengthen the national cause. On grounds of convenience English as a common lingua franca for India would certainly be more fitting than Hindi or any kind of Hindustani that can be set up. Our Nationalists at any rate cannot eliminate English from such affairs in the country as brings Indians of various vernacular forms of speech in contact with men of English speech.

I have long wished for the growth of a suitable Hindustani, acceptable to Hindus and Musalmans alike. But that is yet far to reach. The ideas of the Nationalist school for the spread of a knowledge of Hindustani throughout India require to be examined. Lala Lajpat Rai writes thus in his article, "An All-India Scheme and An All-India Language," in the last October number of the Modern Review:

"I may assume that the country will readily adopt Hindustani as the future national language of India, if the Hindus and the Mussalmans could come to an agreement on the question of script. The adoption of Hindustani as a national language does not in any way affect the Provincial vernaculars. The Provincial vernaculars must be the medium of instruction in the Primary schools of each province, with the addition of Hindustani as an all-India language, the Hindus learning it in Deva Nagri and the Mussalmans in Urdu characters. For the first four years of a child's life no other language should be thrust upon him."

Two Bengali correspondents in Englishman have lately put forth the very large order that the Calcutta University should make Hindi or Urdu a compulsory subject for the Matriculation Examination.

that caused Hindustani speech to spread itself widely in India. Some sort of Hindu. stani is now the town lingua franca through out Upper India from the Punjab down to Bihar, and it is in a way the national Musalmans, for language of Indian though it is not the home-language of Musalmans everywhere, all well-educated Musalmans have to learn to speak it Those who seek to have it taught to all children outside the Hindustani area appear to me to be most unreasonable Prominent individuals of the outside area who are capable of taking any part in India's national concerns may be required to equip themselves with a knowledge of Hindustani in both its present phases, Hindi and Urdu. But what can a Bengali peasant's or fisherman's son gain by learning Hindustani of even an elementary character? What can even the bulk of the children in the upper grades of life gam by learning Hindustani? What are called our provincial vernaculars are national according to the European languages The 45 millions of Bengalis equal in number the population of the British Isles, and exceed the population of France by about 5 millions. primary stage no other language should be thrust upon a Bengali, Marhati or Dravid child than his vernacular, any more than an English, a French or a German child is pestered at the primary stage with language but his own. Useful knowledge as far as possible should be taught through the medium of the vernacular. who proceed to a higher stage of education than the primary, English should be the first language taught, as it would open out a vast field of knowledge and be also a vocational help in many walks of like Sanskrit for Hindre Dersian for Musalmans whose vernacular is Urdu and Urdu for Musalmans whose vernacular is not Urdu, should be the languages that would next claim attention, and then my come Hindustani (where it is not the verner cular) and D cular) and French, German, and Arabicall optionally Those who want to teach children a number of languages forget that the languages costs It was Musalman political supremacy expenditure of languages costs a language costs of a language costs of the learning of a language costs of the learning of a language expenditure of basis of the learning of a language costs of the learning of a language costs of the learning of the language costs of the languages languages costs of the languages languages costs of the languages costs expenditure of brain-power which in

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in foreign literatures. ational Enforcement of the teaching of Hinduns, for stani, of what sort it is by no means clear, uage of in primary schools in Bengal and other ducated non-Hindustani language-areas, can be eak it effected only by State agency. Can State it to all i area agency be secured for such a despotic sonable. procedure ? Switzerland with its three lande area guages and Belgium with its two, French part in and Flemish, can teach us a good lesson required in this matter. In Switzerland, Germans edge of form a majority of about two-thirds of phases, the entire population of the country. Bengali This is not made a ground for the teachain by ing of German in the primary schools nentary in the French-speaking and Italian-speakbulk of ing portion of the country, though life gain politically French appears to be accordre called ed equal rank with German, as the ational Swiss Federal Executive Council is called uropean in German Bundesrath and in French Bengalis Conseil Federal. In Belgium, Flemish has of the been in a rather subordinate position in ation of comparison with French, but there has At the been no attempt to enforce the teaching of rould be French in the primary schools of the Dravid Flemish part of Belgium. When the late re than teminent Belgian economist, M. Emile de child is lareleye, wrote his book, System of Landith any tenure in various Countries, the Flemishwledge speakers of the western provinces of through Regium found their ignorance of French children hannfact their getting work in the ucation Manufacturing centres in the Walloon be the portion of the country, as is stated in the ld open book (2nd Edition, p. 269). Since then no be also attempt has been made to coerce the of life. the Control learning French. As stated an for the Statesman's Year-Book for 1913 du and the year before the War), p. 661, in the spoke cular is s that Rench only, in Belgium, 2,574,000 rad Sol, 587 2822,005 spoke Flemish only, en may 801,587 spoke French and Flemish. verna. attempt to saling German invasion and into two after the German invasion and the strong Flaming Flaming have come o teach tions Flemish universities have come universities have come forget costs n. 111051

made the national language of all India arose in my mind about sixty-two years ago, when I was a 3rd year student in the Presidency College of Calcutta and learnt from Elphinstone's History of India the relation between Hindi and Urdu. Some four years later, under patriotic impulse, I taught myself a little of Hindi from a Hindi schoolbook entitled विवाह्नर (Vidyankur), and the elements of Hindustani grammar and a little of romanized Urdu from Monier Williams's excellent Hindustani Primer, long since out of print. Afterwards I added to my knowledge of Hindi and Urdu-enough to my knowledge of Hindi to be able to understand any Hindi oration of a Malaviya or a Shraddhananda, but not enough to my knowledge of Urdu to be able to understand anybody's Urdu oration. In my Calcutta Review article, Hindustani and the Behar dialects", of July 1882, I put forward suggestions for a reconciliation between Hindi and Urdu, and these suggestions I quoted in my Modern Review article, "Hindi or Hindusthani?", of June 1918. The essence of the suggestions was that the puristic spirit should be cast aside, that there should be no unnecessary borrowing from Sanskrit or Persian and Arabic, while words from these two languages that have been naturalized in Hindustani should hold their places, and that culture-words should be drawn exclusively from Sanskrit, because of the close kinship of such words to existing words in Hindustani, as that of ganit (mathematics) to ginnā and of kriyā (verb) to karnā, and also because of the Hindus speaking Hindustani being numerous than the Musalmans speaking Hindustani in India. I should confess here that I was at one time unwise enough to think it possible for the progress of Bengali, Marathi and Gujrati literature, outside the sphere of schoolbooks, poetry and fiction, being arrested, and Bengali, Maratha and Gujarati writers being induced to write in other spheres in Hindustani instead. I cannot be accused, therefore, of lacking love for Hindustani. But much as I wish of communication between mulans of communication between mulans of that Hindustass-oshould be ing different vernaculars who have to consort together on national or individual concerns, I can wish it to be learnt only by this class of people, and not by the mass of the people throughout the non-Hindustani portion of Aryan India and the whole of non-Aryan India.

A manual giving in English the elements of Hindustani grammar and containing lessons of a conversational character as much as possible, in Roman character and a few specimen lessons in both Devanagari and Persian character, with a glossary, Hindustani-English, at the end,

would suffice to enable any English-know. ing man outside the Hindustani area to acquire for himself an elementary know. ledge of Hindustani. This knowledge might be added to afterwards by reading and conversation. A general school or college instruction in Hindustani for students (mostly Mussalmans) whose vernacular is not Hindustani can be need, ed only where the guardians of such students do actually desire such instruction.

SYAMACHARAN GANGUL

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Two Pre-Mauryan Statues.

To the Modern Review for October, 1919, Mr. O. C. Gangoly contributed "A Note on Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's Discovery of Two Saisunaga Statues", in which he commented on Mr. Jayaswal's announcement in the March (1919) number of the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society that two pieces of sculpture in the Bharhut Gallery of the Indian Museum in Calcutta were portrait statues of two early Saisunaga emperors named Udayin and Varta-Nandi of the pre-Mauryan period of Indian history. Mr. Gangoly did not agree with Mr. Jayaswal. In the November number of the Modern Review, 1919, Professor Surendranath Sen summed up the views of Mr. Arun Sen (who thought the sculptures were pre-Mauryan), of Mr. R. D. Banerji, who accepted Mr. Jayaswal's identification but held that the inscription could not be earlier than the 1st century B. C., and of Messrs. R. C. Majumdar and R. P. Chanda, who, for different reasons, did not accept Mr. Jayaswal's views as correct.

The importance and significance of Mr. Jayaswal's announcement lay in the fact that in the opinion of European Indologists, no Indian sculptures of a pre-Mauryan period has yet been discovered, that, in their opinion, the sculptor's art was, therefore, unknown or not practised in India before the reign of the Mauryas, and that as, according to Dr. Spooner and his supporters, Putlie Do Minu Fythkul

were of Persian extraction, sculpture in ancient India was a foreign importation So much for Mauryan art. All or most ancient was well n Indian sculptures which are considered to be The execut of a later date than Alexander's invasion supposes a are held by most European Indologists to be the products either of Greek craftmanship of at least of Greek influence.

[This is a lay man's hurried summary, i which, it is hoped, professional and exper antiquarians will be able, if they care to, t pick as many holes as there are letters in it. Problem m

Such being the case, the discovery which haved," Mr. Jayaswal claims to have made, would w set the conclusions of the Indologists who be lowed by hitherto considered the ancient Hindus to be liked by incapable of evolving any school of sculptur the and of their own. These conclusions do not affect to be cape our forefathers' sculptural and artistic capi general re our forefathers' sculptural and artist chain distributions; they are, in fact, links in a chain distribution in city alone; they are, in fact, links in a cestors, in reasonings calculated to keep our ancestors, in the company of the compa the world's opinion, indebted to foreigners in the the world's opinion, indebted to foreigners, the the elements of culture and civilisation. It is the the reason that whenever any Indian yenture to pertiam the them. of the ancient history of his country venture to differ the countr of the ancient history of his country verbes country to differ from European savants, he is snubble tout a variationalist" and, therefore, as undoubted tamining to the country as a "nationalist" and, therefore, as undoubted tamining to the country to the countr as a "nationalist" and, therefore, as undown by carried away to the regions of error by the regions of ly carried away to the regions of error by streupon. patriotic bias. But may not bias," "race-superiority bias," &c., be also bias," "race-superiority bias," more serior later sources of error, and often of more serior later sources?

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of repute, both European and Indian, other than those named before, say on the subject. The December (1919) number of the Fournal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society devotes 52 pages to this subject. At a joint meeting of the Asiatic Societies held in England on September 5, 1919, Dr. Vincent A. Smith said that the statues "undoubtedly are extremely ancient and probably pre-Maurya." opinion is thus further summarised:

"Both the scholars named [K. P. Jayaswal and R. D. Banerji], who had the advantage of cramining the statues at leisure, have published their results in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society for 1919, Vol. V. Both agree that the statues are pre-Maurya, the oldest known in India, and that they are portraits of the two Kings, Aja or Udaya, and his son, Varta, Namdi or Nandi, (Nanda) Vardhaaa, who reigned in the fifth century B. C. That result, if established, revolutionizes the history of Indian art. Hitherto the assumption that stone sculpture began with Asoka has been guerally accepted. If the Patna statues and pture in their inscriptions are as old as supposed, it must portation kadmitted that the art of sculpture in stone st ancient was well matured two centuries before Asoka. red to be The execution of the images is such that it preinvasion supposes a long prior development of plastic

Dr. Smith, while unwilling to dogmatize, Tas and is of opinion that the statues are pre-Maurya, that probably they were executed not mary, it later than 400 B. C., that the inscriptions are d experimental contemporary with the statues, and that the appearance of comparative modernity in the spin ii.]

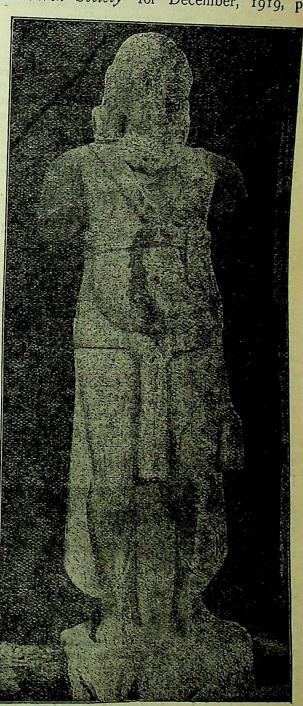
The problem must be regarded as not yet definitely wired.

The summary of Dr. Smith's views is who be lowed by three pages of observations contrius to be bed by Dr. Barnett. They are unfavoursculpture the and are of too technical a character not affect to be capable of being summarised for the stic capa general reader. Mr. Jayaswal's reply, which a chain the finish: Mr. Jayaswal's repry, which cestors, meets every point in Dr. Barnett's Jayaswal's contention the statues resident the finishing touch to the statues touch to the statues, touch to the statues, touch to the statues, the finishing touch to the statues of the statue to the statue t n. It is given after the letters had been engraved, n. It is a given after the letters had been engran study topported by what Mr. F. Green, the stonementure there in characteristic of the venture there in charge of the construction of the stone soluble anining the statues and the words engraved the construction of the statues and the words engraved the construction of the statues and the words engraved the construction of the statues and the words engraved the construction of the statues and the words engraved the construction of the construction o or by the statues and the words engraved perialist of the statues and the words engraved are of the serior of the statues and the words engraved are of the statues. Mr. serior of an gives reasons from the point of critic for supposing that the statues. ndologis are gives reasons from the point of Statue of S

Haraprasad Shastri, while disagreeing with Mr. Jayaswal in some details, thinks that the statues are certainly not images of yakshas and that they are pre-Mauryan.

Discovery of a Statue of Ajatasatru.

In the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society for December, 1919, pp.



STATUE OF KING AJATASATRU

550-51, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal announces his discovery of a statue of King Ajatasatru, the son of Bimbisara, in the Mathura Museum. He writes:

It bears an inscription round the statue on the pedestal. I examined it carefully and came to the conclusion that there was no trace of a yaksha and that the whole inscription is readable except one letter. The left side, which was exposed to light, gave me the reading-

Kunika Sevasinago Maga[.]nam ·

"Kunika Sevasinago-of the Magadhas" This made me pray His Honour Sir Edward Gait to kindly obtain impressions and casts of the inscription for leisurely study. In response to His Honour's request Sir Harcourt Butler had casts and impressions prepared by Mr. Dikshit. I have now utilized these. Their Dikshit. facsimiles will be published in the next number. In the meantime I give my reading of the inscription-

(Right) nibhadapra-Seni Aj [a] satru rajo

[si]r[i]

(Front) symbols for 4, 20 (tha), 10

Fullstop 8 (hi or hri)

(Left) Kunika sevasi-nago Magadhanam raja

The meaning is—

"The Passed-away one (dead), the descendant of Sreni, the Ajata-satru (enemy-less) king, Sri Kunika Sevasi-naga, king of the Magadhan

Seni, the title of Bimbisara, is repeated. The king's both names, Ajatasatru and Kunika, appear as well as the dynastic name. Sevasi is the original and Sisu sanskritized. Some Puranas give his reign as 35 years. The statue will be dated circa 515 B.C., Ajatasatru having died с. 518 в.с.

Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri writes on this discovery in the same journal, p. 563 :-

"When I was just finishing this paper [on Mr. Jayaswal's discovery of the two pre-Mauryan statues in the Indian Museum, Calcutta] I learnt from Mr. Jayaswal that Sir Edward Gait has caused casts to be prepared of the inscription on the Parkham statue. Mr. Jayaswal has kindly shown these to me. They show unmistakably that the statue belongs, as Mr. Jayaswal reads, to Kunika Ajatasatru, the son of Bimbisara, the King of the Sisunaga family. The letters there form an official inscription and are mostly distinct The discovery of this inscription sets all controversy about the statues in question at rest and destroys altogether the yaksha theory which had taken such a deep root in archaeological scholarship."

Rammohun Roy.

The following beautiful address delivered the truth of this secret.

by Mr. K. T. Paul of the Young Men's Chris- of those great Oriental carpets which is

Association at the grave of Raja Rammohun Roy at Bristol on the occasion of the anniversary of his death, is taken from the Young Men of India, published by the National Council of the Young Men's Christian when fini Associations of India and Ceylon :-

When an Indian sets sail from his native land he puts down Bristol as one of the place which he should not on any account fail to visit. Here lie the remains of Raja Ram Moha Roy, one of India's greatest sons; it may truly be said, the Father of Modern India. It is one of the heroes of India's boyhood, and his career is the pattern for our youth.

India is grateful to Bristol for the hospitaling extended to this one of our first visitors to the country, and more especially to Bristol's great citizen, Mary Carpenter, whose friendship meant so much to our great countryman.

Ram Mohan Roy was in the line of the great prophets of India, who in the different ages ki her in the onward path of her great world destiny. The times produced them as truly a they directed the times; for in reality the lo finite Father in His Love is the Origin and the intimate Guide of them all. It were long to recount the glorious line of seers, founders of great religions, schools of thought, great state men and lawgivers, masters of literature, at spent on music, and architecture, all spirits who comfort and its o and ennoble millions of human beings to the day, each contributing his or her share to that heritage of India which stands apart and unique in the world to-day, the more marvellous more it is studied. In this line came Ram Mola Roy.

In the inscrutable wisdom of God the has come about a thorough-going impact Britain, which Western culture on India. so essentially non-interfering in its disciplination of sportsmanship, is the chosen agent forth impact. The results issuing from it are infinite most perplexing in some ways, and capable of weal or woe according as they are directed It was the mission of Ram Mohan Roy point to the New India which will be brong about by the harmonising of the essenti features of the two cultures. True to heritage of India and at the same time indi porating the heritage of the West, New Isshall arise from the Old. Rabindranath Tages in this day, has some Carle in White in this day, has sung of the Cycle in which hoary Winter himself hoary Winter himself rejuvenates into youth Spring. So, also, Sarojini Naidu calls "Practical Mysticism". It was this ing and his life, by his suffering at the hands of his forest line was the hands of his forest line was the hands. The measure of his accept the measure of his accept lines immediately the lines in the hands of his forest lines are the hands of his forest lines are lines in the lines are lines and at the hands of his forest lines are which Ram Mohan Roy indicated by his teaching and his life below in the hands of The measure of his success indicated tely, and far more after his departure, indicate the truth of this second

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Monog them Ram Mohan Roy will be ever wholed as one who at the stage of a new departure set the strands in a new combination of truth and beauty, such as will bring about a great blossom of rare life and liberty.

Greatest Benefaction for the Well-being of Mankind.

By way of noticing the "Review for 1918" of the work done by "The Rockfeller Foundation" of U. S. A. in the Young Men of India, Dr. D. N. Maitra gives us some idea of the immensity and methods of work of what is perhaps the greatest benefaction for "the wellbeing of mankind throughout the world."

Some idea of the magnitude of the work may be formed from the fact that a sum of what to over seven crores of rupees was ture, art spent on appropriations to various social and its own direct efforts during the five ges to the learn of war (1914-18) and over 4½ crores in the year 1918 alone, on camp and community welfare, medical education, research and relief, bumanitarian aid, public health, etc.

It is a regrettable fact that there is rivalry and jealousy even in philanthropy. It is, herefore, worth noting with pleasure and admiration that while working in France during the War the Commission of the Rock-Where Foundation for the prevention of Tuberthosis, instead of seeking by offering higher salaries to draw French nurses away from the office of other institutions, used its good the various French agencies which to increase the salary scale for

The methods and record of its anti-malarial and record of its anti-materials of ridding ton munity of test the possibilities of ridding be found th Tago a community of malaria" would be found in which the possibilities of ridding of youth the possibilities of ridding of malaria" would be found encouraging. "By draining or his surface water which cannot be otherwise hand the possibilities of ridding of malaria" would be found encouraging. "By draining or his surface water which cannot be otherwise hand the possibilities of ridding of the most with the breeding of the anopheles most wholly prevented. The his teach with, the breeding of the anopheles moshis force was almost wholly prevented. The
minute of cases was as high as 80 to 97.4 ka cents of cases was as high as 80 to some constant of cases was as as high as 80 to some constant of cases was as as high as 80 to some constant of cases was as as high as 80 to some constant of cases was as as high as 80 to some constant o markable, the economic gain was no less bolly 44 cents. In regions where the above of the difficulty of controlling Gurukur kangii collection, Haridwar

the surface waters, the demonstrators adopted another method of attack. This aimed at curing the carriers of malaria, in this way giving the mosquito no opportunity to receive the infective organism and therefore no opportunity to transmit it to others. In this way, a malarial control of 80 per cent. was obtained in the rural area, at a cost of only 108 per caput, in place of 5, spent on doctor's bills alone! And the review very aptly remarks, "Malaria elimination is feasible, scientifically, and economically, it represents a striking contribution to community progress and human happiness," -a remark which we, in India, may well lay to heart. The above processes were reinforced by the "enlarged plans" for the anti-malarial demonstration, viz., striking posters, popular illustrated pamphlets, newspaper articles, instruction in the schools, public lectures and the sale of standardized quinine at low rates by all druggists; even "button badges" were given to those who were found to be free from malaria germs.

The Foundation accepted the invitation of the Madras Government to begin new Cooperative work and did some anti-hookworm demonstration work.

Swami Vivekananda on Women's Education and Capacity.

The Prabuddha Bharatahas given another instalment of Swami Vivekananda's conversation with a disciple on his project of a "Math" for women, which he did not live to give a concrete shape. We make the following extract from it :-

In the begining they [the girls] are to be given education and left to themselves. After that they will act as they think best. After marriage and entering the world they will inspire their husbands with noble ideals and be the mothers of heroic sons. But the guardians of the students in the female Math will not be allowed to even mention the name of the marriage of their daughters before they attain the age of fifteen -this rule must be observed.

Disciple.—Sir, then those girl students will not command reputation in society. Nobody would

like to marry them. Swamiji.-Why will not they be wanted You have not understood the course of society even now. Such learned and accomplished girls will not stand in want of in marriage? bridegrooms. Society now-a-days does not follow the practice of child-marriage,—nor will

in that? Righteous work initiated with moral earnestness and courage, if confronted with obstruction, will awaken the moral power of the initiators the more (to bear down the opposition and carry it to success). That which has no obstruction, no opposition, only takes men to the path of moral death. Struggle is the sign of life.

As regards woman's capacity for the highest spiritual achievement, Vivekananda said:—

We, in the relative plane of "I" and "thou", notice this difference of sex. The more the mind becomes introspective and inward, the more that idea of difference vanishes. Ultimately when the mind is merged and is one with the homogeneous and undifferentiated Brahman, then such idea as that this is a man, or that a woman, does not remain at all. Therefore do I say that though outwardly there may be difference between men and women, in their real nature there is no difference. Therefore, if a man can be a knower of Brahman, why cannot a woman attain to the same knowledge? Therefore, I was saying, if one amongst women becomes a knower of Brahman, then by the radiance of her personality, thousands of women will be inspirited, awakened to truth, and great well-being of the country and society will

The Swami praised the early advocates and workers for the education of girls by saying,

"Those who in the beginning have strenuously endeavoured for even the little of female education that now obtains, is there any doubt of the greatness of their heart?"

Milch and Agricultural Cattle.

Writing on the vital subject of "Milch and Agricultural Cattle" in the *Indian Humanitarian*, Mr. K. M. Khandwala says:—

In India the chief agricultural cattle are bulls, cows, and buffaloes. In 1913-14 in British India the number of bulls was 4,80,00,000. Out of these almost two-thirds, that is, 3,20,-00,000 were decrepit and not fit for agricultural purposes. The number of bulls which can be used for agricultural purposes was only about 1,16,00,000. This number is quite insufficient for the cultivation of land. About 22,00,00,-000 acres of land are being cultivated in India every year. Thus a pair of bulls is available for every 27 acres of land. But it has been estimated that for every two acres of cultivable land a pair of bulls is necessary. Thus it is quite clear that there is not a sufficient number of bulls for proper cultivation of land in India. The shortage of bulls is quite out of proportion to the needs of agriculture. The statistics given above are appalling enough to show, under what conditions land is being cultivated in India. But this is not all. Even the bulls

which are available are not in good and healthy condition. And what is the reason? The chief reason is that they do not get sufficient fodder to eat.

Owing to the insufficient number and inferiority of milch cattle, there is a great shortage in the milk supply.

Milk which was obtainable a few years back—not even a generation back but about a decade ago, at 6 pies per seer is now hardly obtainable for 18 pies per seer even in villages. So milk and butter, which formed part of the frugal food of Indians, are not available to them now. The result is that the vitality of the nation is being deteriorated, and deterioration in physique leads to chronic diseases like cholera, malaria, influenza, etc. The problem of milch and agricultural cattle is thus such that its neglect will mean national suicide.

The writer suggests the following remedies:—

As in many states of America and Canada there is a special live stock branch of the agricultural department, so in India the Department of Agriculture should have a live stock branch whose work should be directed towards the improvement of the stock-raising industry.

The next thing to be provided is to keep open forest tracts as grazing grounds. But even here the farmers have their own difficulties. The transport facilities being not available on account of bad roads and the long distance at which forests are situated, they are not able to make use of such pasture ground. It is therefore necessary that grazing grounds should be thrown open to farmers near their villages. What is called "commons" should be acquired by Government and its use should be allowed

without any rental.

There is another difficulty—meagre supply of drinking water in summer—which should not be lost sight of. This difficulty is specially felt in times of famine and distress. It is not unoften that hundreds and hundreds of cattle die in times of distress because they cannot obtain sufficient drinking water. In the famine of last year it is reported that millions of cattle have died because of want of fodder and water died because of want of fodder and water died because of want of fodder and water this difficulty can be met to some extent by private charity. The old pratice of dedicating private charity. The old pratice of dedicating be encouraged. The Government, i.e., provide boards and local boards, should also provide for digging more and more wells and tanks in villages.

villages.

Besides, the slaughter of healthy calves at slaughter-houses should be checked by providing for a prohibitive license fee.

ture. The statistics Much can be achieved also by spreading enough to show, scientific knowledge about breeding and rearing all. Even the bulls tural department should freely distribute broad CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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ast pamphlets and leaflets giving all informaast pampaices. More veterinary hospitals should to started in various towns because about it. More vereinary nospitals should various towns because the preventible diseases is not loss of cattle from preventible diseases is not mall in India. At present there are 353 such mall for the whole of India. The total bapitals for the whole of India. The total number of cattle in India is about 147,335,852, for which such a small number of dispensaries annot be considered adequate.

As Indians in general and peasants and larmers in particular are wofully illiterate, there must be universal free education for boys and girls and adults to make pamphlets and leaflets appreciably useful.

Use of Bamboo for Paper-making.

As India and Burma contain large areas where the bamboo grows and as the supply of paper in India from indigenous and foreign sources is utterly inadequate, the following extract from the Society of Arts Journal given in the Mysore Economic Journal will be found

An important project for manufacturing Mper from bamboo in Trinidad is being carried out by an Edinburgh firm of publishers. About 1,000 acres of land near St. Joseph (seven miles from the Capital at Port of Spain) have hen planted in bamboo, and a concession has been obtained giving the firm the right to cut hamboo from the Government forests.

According to report by the United States Consul in Trinidad, the firm in question, foreseea paper famine throughout the world within the next few years, have been giving stious consideration to the problem of proof the formate paper reserves for themselves to the future; and although realizing that Aper can be produced from any vegetable the constanting cellulose, nevertheless came the conclusion that bamboo was most bitable for the purpose. They selected Trinidad by their bamboo paper project, as the bamboo pows there hopment within 1 quickly, having sufficient depopment within three or four years for making

Experts have been employed to study the perts have been employed to study the bamboo easily getting rid of the knots in also of the yellowish-green hitherto been considered a bambook for the paper from hawback for the manufacture of paper from the bamboo consisted of putting the reeds The first experiments in Trinical the bamboo consisted of putting the reeds sugar-cane presses. While this rather was accomplished the purpose, nevertheless, that sheet shredded as well as mashed, and was found to be desirable that the bambook that sheed as well as mashed, and lesigned which accomplishes all this and that a bleach or accept here.

discovered which makes the wood pulp and paper perfectly white. It is understood that the machinery for the bamboo plant, to cost about £30,000, has been ordered from the United States.

Political Organisation in Ancient India.

The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society (Bangalore) for January contains an article of great historical importance on "The Brahman Hierocracy and the Body Politic" by Mr. R. Shama Sastri, the editor of Chanakya's Arthasastra. His conclusions are based on ancient Vedic and other texts, from which he gives copious quotations with translations. Some of his conclusions were anticipated by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in his "Introduction to Hindu Polity", published seven years ago in the Modern Review. Mr. Sastri says :-

There is reason to believe that while immigrating into India, the Aryans carried with them those social, religious and political sentiments and customs which they had in common with their brethren, the Greeks, the Romans, and other branches of the Indo-European family.

It appears that when they entered India, they had no monarchical form of government and that the political tie which knit them together into a body for peace and war was the same as that of the Greeks and Romans, tribal or patriarchal form of government.

When the monarchical form of government originated in India, the King was elected. The functions of the King are thus described:—

At first, the political functions of the king, thus elected, seem to have been limited to collection of revenue and maintenance of a standing army to put down and drive out enemies and robbers.

It is evident that kings during the Vedic period levied and collected tax from the people (Visas) in kind and perhaps in cash also (A. V. IV. 22, 2 & 3) and distributed among their subjects whatever they plundered from their enemies (A. V. XIX. 24, 6).

Regarding the election of Kings we have the following:-

The word, 'Rajakritah', 'makers of the kings,' (in A. V. III. 5, 7) is a significant phrase and implies that there was during those days a distinct body of people whose duty it was to elect kings and anoint them to be rulers of the ordinary people as distinguished from themselves. Election of a king seems to have been
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selves. Election of a king seems to have been
an usual custom during the Vedic period, as
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The function of electing and anointing a king seems to have been the exclusive privilege of the priestly class.

The writer brings together Vedic hymns from which one can gather what power the priestly class had to injure Kings, or restore exiled ones, &c. He writes:-

While the prerogative of the priestly class to elect and anoint a king was unquestioned, its power for mischief also seems to have been equally great, as set forth in the hymn of the Atharvaveda in which a priest calls upon the thunderbolt to fall upon a king for his tyranny fancied or real.

The priests' voice regarding the restoration of an exiled king seems to have been also supreme.

The cause or causes which seem to have led to the banishment of an elected king are thus described in the hymns of the Atharvaveda, in which a king in distress attempts to reconcile his kinsmen and people by means of sacrifice.

Regarding the Samiti or Popular Assembly, we have the following:-

The questions of electing, banishing, and restoring a king, besides other affairs, seem to have been settled in an open assembly of the people, where the priest's voice seems to have

been supreme.

There is no doubt that since such important questions as the election, banishment, and restoration of even the king were discussed and settled in the assembly of the people, the authority of the assembly (Samiti) was supreme and that the priestly class had an important place in it. It is also clear that the king had a secondary place in the body politic and had to obey the mandates of the assembly. It is probable that questions of war and peace and of taxes and tolls were also discussed and settled in the same assembly.

Mr. Shama Sastri holds that he King had power only over the agricultural and trading people, not over the Brahmans.

. It is to be noted that the one significant epithet which is found applied to the king throughout the Rigveda, the Atharvaveda, and the Yajurveda is "Vispati" or "Visampati", lord of the agricultural and trading people, as contrasted with "Brahmanaspati", lord of the Brahmans or priests. The word "Vis" in all the Vedas invariably denotes agricultural and trading people and the later word "Vaisya" is a cognate of the same word. It follows therefore that the king, in virtue of his being only a Vispati, lord of the people, as distinguished from Brahmanaspati, lord of the Brahmans or priests, had no power over the Brahmans. That the Brahmans did not acknowledge the elected chief passage of the Yajurveda: CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Mistico, left mer Handword or mind or in both, when

"This is your king, O Bharatas; Soma is the king of us Brahmans."

There is also evidence to believe that this political, social, and religious independence of the priestly class, peculiar to the Indian soil seems to be Indo-European in origin, for both among the Romans and the Greeks a distinct priestly class seems to have been exercising some authority both over the kings and the common

Mr. Sastri also traces some of the causes which led to the establishment of absolute monarchies in the place of republics or limited monarchies. We have no space to follow him. We shall content ourselves with quoting the following passage:

Though he (Chanakya) was well aware of the elective monarchy and also the hereditary monarchy of the Vedic period and though he thought the republican form of government as the most invincible and powerful enough to last long, still he attached importance to the above form of absolute monarchy with Brahman ministers as the only type best adapted for the preservation of Brahmanic learning and religion, As already stated, the elective monarchy witha preponderance of Brahmanic element or power in the State Assembly was repulsive to the kings themselves; the republican form of government, though conducive to the preservation and progress of the principles of equality and brother hood of men as taught by the Buddhists, was apparently not well suited for the preference of Brohmania intervals to the other of Brahmanic interests to those of the other classes. Hence an absolute monarchy with divine sanctity attached to the king's person and with Brahman politicians as ministers was the only form of government which Brahman following the views of Chanakya considered their view conducive to the prosperity of other classes also.

Two Classes of Brahmans.

In the same article from which we have quoted above the writer says that the ancient Brahmans seem to have been divided into the classes: those that lived in cities for the service of their King, and those that lived in hermitages in King, and those that hermitages in forests on the banks perennial river, which are thus described

The hermitages of ancient Brahmans were invariably situated in an extensive forest trut on the banks of on the banks of one or other perennial rively congenial to growth of flowers, fruits, roots wild rice. They were a sort of University professors ready to teach and students for the learn. They were each and students for the learn.

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There is evidence to believe that there were hermits for whom even flesh was one of the articles of diet.

The True Economic Map of the Land.

Mr. C. S. Srinivasachari points out in the Educational Review of Madras

economic map of the land should serve the following main purposes :-

(1) It should attempt to explain the present uses to which the land is put. (2) It should indicate the possibilities and prospects of future development. (3) It should suggest better, more effective and economical uses to which the land can be devoted than at present.

He describes in detail how land and its utilisation may be best represented graphically by a method which is largely developed in America and which distinguishes between barren land, forest areas, woodland or smaller forest slips, permanent pastures and meadows, cultivated land (dry and wet), areas giving indications of containing minerals, town and village sites, &c.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

A Patriotic English Professor on Bolsheviks.

Bolshevism has been so persistently painted in the blackest colours that it is but fair that we should be enabled to see the other side of the shield. The Manchester Guardian has given the public that opportunity. It sent Prof. W. T. Goode to Moscow to see things for himself and write what he saw. He spent the month of August last there and his story appeared in the Manchester Guardian in Successive issues in October last, from which We shall make a few extracts. Mr. Goode is a gaduate of London University in 1882, an London University In London University In linguished linguist, and a distinguished it is said educational authority, to whom it is said several authority, to whom it is under his influence as director first of the line of the contract of the cont University Day Training College in England and later of the London City Council Training College. If the London City Council Training College. If there is any such thing as a true Russia teport of present conditions in Soviet Russia the findings of this honest professor, recorded hith almost of the honest professor, recorded with almost painful accuracy, are true. He an ardent pairiot during the Watubiand has Gurukul Kangri Collection That Commission is the Commission of the Commission tonnection with Bolshevism, except that

according to all who know him he is "an honest man with an open mind and a warm Here are the extracts. heart."

Moscow, a Peaceful City.

"Theatre and concert-halls are fuller than ever, the workers now having the best chance in the distribution of tickets. Concerts of excellent music are maintained, and the cost of entrance is small, and theatres for children are run gratuitously in seven different parts of the

city every Sunday afternoon. "It may be imagined that as I took in all this my astonishment grew. But one thing made that even greater. I mean the order and security which reigned in Moscow. I have crossed the town on foot at midnight without fear of molestation, accompanied only by a lady with whom I had been to a concert. And again and again I was told by those whose work took them out at all hours of day and night that the security is also absolute. And there is no street lighting at night. There are police and armed military in the streets but they are not greatly in evidence, and only twice in a month did I see them arresting anyone-once for an infringement o of the laws relating to street selling and in the other case for creating a disturbance.

"The stories of orgies and of self-seeking are

quite false. A London clerk lives better than they do. Their lives are very simple, their habits and dress equally so. They bear marks of the strain under which they live. I do not know what is the average number of hours worked daily by the Commissaries, but one of them works regularly from lunch time to 3 or 4 o'clock a.m., and has never been known to go out to breathe fresh air; another takes only five hours' sleep; still another takes less.

"I mention this only to show the character of the men who are in the forefront of Bolshevism, and to put down coldly my own experience of them. . . . Instead of being raging monsters whose only quality is ruthlessness, they are men of ability, clear in thought, subtle, direct and swift to act. Their power of work is immense, and they are fanatically devoted to the principles

they profess. . . .

FAMILY LIFE.

"Women are freely employed in the commissariats and Government departments, and their position is improved, leisure time and pay are increased.

"The nationalization story, at any rate, can be nailed to the counter, and with it goes the free-love 'canard'. But the hardest blow is dealt against this 'free love' belief by the following fact-there is, to all appearance, no open prosti-

tution in Moscow.

It may have become secret, that I do not know; what I state about the cleanliness of Moscow streets is the experience of myself and others. In fact the position of woman under Bolshevism has not deteriorated, it has improved. . . .

CHILDREN.

Nowhere have I seen such families, so many very young children, as in Moscow and the surrounding country. . . . What is more to my thinking, there is no country in the world where more care, money and thought are bestowed on the children by the Government than in Russia today. To the age of seventeen their wants in the way of food are supplied gratis on the level of the highest category of rations. Their schools, theatres, and amusements are a special care, and colonies had been formed in the country to which great numbers were drafted in the summer for reasons at once educational and physiological. The care begins before they are born.

Prof. Goode's interview with Lenin.

Manchester Guardian has published an account of Prof. Goode's interview with Lenin, the Bolshevist leader. Two of his answers to questions are quoted below. off the Russian Empire and had proclaimed their independence, CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kandt bookstand the front the issue of Americanization is to the front the issue of Americanization. Asked what was the attitude of the Soviet

He replied that Finland's independence had been recognized in November, 1917; that he then head of the Finish Republic, the paper on which this recognition was officially stated: that the Soviet Republic had announced some time previously that no soldiers of the Soriet Republic would cross the frontier with arms in their hands; that the Soviet Republic had decided to create a neutral strip or zone between their territory and Esthonia, and would declare this publicly; that it was one of their principles to recognize the independence of all small nations, and that finally they had just recognize the independence of the Bashkir Penders nized the independence of the Bashkir Republic -and, he added, the Bashkirs are a weak and backward people.

When the interview was about to close.

I asked if he had any general statement to make, upon which he replied that the most important thing for him to say was that the Soviet system is the best and that English workers and agricultural laborers would accept it if they knew it. He hoped that after peace the British Government would not prohibit the publication of the Soviet Constitution. That, morally, the Soviet system is even now victorious, and that the proof of the statement's seen in the persecution of Soviet literature II free, democratic countries.

Women in Politics.

article published in Munsey's Magazine, Mr. William S. Bridgman says

The following States have now granted following suffrage to women—Arizona, California, Colo rado, Idaho, Kansas, Michigan, Montana Nevada, New York, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming, and that in the Coll. that in the following States women are given suffrage with various limitations, they being allowed to vote for Presidential elections—Illinois Indiana, Maine, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska North Dakota, Rhode Island, Tennessee, and Wisconsin. He predicts that fifteen million American women will vote in the Presidential contest of 1920, under "organized politics on really national and really national

"What issues will most interest and more really national scale." them?" This, says the author, is an important inquiry, but their activities in the past will show that the show that they will be greatly engrossed in the range of the greatly engrossed in the greatly engrouse in the greatly engrossed in the greatly engrouse in the greatly engreen engreen engree e show that they will be greatly engross the all the "those aspects of affairs which concern the all cases feminine side of life—the home, its economics its sanitation feminine side of life—the home, its economic where its sanitation, its children, its relation to the relation educational system." The author adds:

"Even without political power, women to been leaders in compelling attention to problems of musicipation and public problems of musicipation attention to problems.

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wild labor issue would hardly have been a real did labor 155th tremendous campaign carried but for the tremendous campaign carried by the women's organizations. Playgrounds and parks in cities, better homes and schools the country, better milk for babies, control of the factors that make the cost of living a ightmare to the housewife—these and others of like human sort are the matters in which romen will be most concerned, and which they press upon municipal, state, and national

The next question is, what proportion of momen will vote as husband, father, or brother rotes? This is answered by Mrs. Meredith, of Colorado, "a veteran of real politics," newspaper woman, poet, political expert, and

public speaker. She says:

"The great majority of young married women when they first get the vote, don't vote as

their husbands do. They tend to follow the lead of their fathers, just as sons do. Most boys borrow their politics at first from their fathers, and a considerable proportion tend to continue in that faith. The same is true of women. Hubby doesn't count much in a young wife's political arrangements, as against father.

"Later, husband and wife tend to develop political individuality independent of each other. The young woman may break away from loyalty to her father's politics, but that doesn't imply that she will take up her husband's affiliations. Women are more particular about the candidates they support. A man who is bad, but a good fellow, may get the men's votes; he doesn't get the women's. I should say that in seventy-five per cent of cases the votes of husband and wife will not be identical."

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY COMMISSION

REFORM OF SECONDARY EDUCATION.

HE principal changes which the Commission recommended for a radical reform of secondary education are as follows :-

(i) The stage of admission to the University should be (approximately) that of the present distinguished at instead of that of the present matri-

(i) The duty of providing training at the the linearity of providing training the linearity stage should be transferred from as Intermediate to new Institutions to be known as Intermediate Colleges', some of which should tatached to the source of which should tatached to selected high schools, while others there should be organised as distinct institutions. There should be at least one Intermediate College that District of the Desider as certain heach District of the Presidency besides a certain tamber in Calcutta and Dacca; and the courses the Internal the so framed of the Intermediate College should be so framed ato afford preparation of the college should be so framed and preparation of the ordinary for ics out atto afford preparation not only for the orditay degree learness of the University in arts and the University in arts taching professions and for careers in agriculcommerce and industry.

ossed the litter and industry.

The Intermediate Colleges for men should be separate from degree colleges, and where the parate from degree colleges, and or managed onomics of where they are provided or managed distinct authorities, should be organised financial The present matriculation, to be the present matriculation, to be the present matriculation, to be

taken at the end of the high school stage, at the normal age of 16, or in special cases, at the age of 15, and to be known as the high school examination; the second, approximately corresponding to the present intermediate, but much more varied in its range, to be taken at the end of the intermediate college course, at the normal age of 18, and to be known as the intermediate college examination. Success in this examination should constitute the normal test of admission to University courses. The range and standards of both of these examinations should be carefully reconsidered. Detailed recommendations on these heads will be found in Chapter XXXI, paragraphs 31-70 and in Chapter XXXII.

(v) The existing Department of Public Instruction is not so organised as to be able to regulate and supervise the new system; more than half of the high English schools are at present entirely outside its jurisdiction. And though the University is entitled to a large voice in their affairs, its governing bodies cannot be so organised as to be able to deal effectively with them, especially as they lack the necessary funds. We therefore recommend that there should be established a Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education, to consist of from fifteen to eighteen members, with power to appoint advisory and other committees including outside members. Among the statutory committees of the Board should be included a committee on the education of girls and a committee on madrassahs, the latter to conduct the examina-Grickil Grothell control wanadrassah course. The

Board should also have the power to constitute provincial and divisional advisory councils.

(vi) It should be provided that a majority of the Board should consist of non-official members, and that the Board should always include at least three representatives of Hindu and at least three of Muslim interests. Subject to these provisos, the Board should include: (a) a salaried President, appointed by Government; (b) the Director of Public Instruction, ex-officio; (c) a member elected by the non-official members of the Bengal Legislative Council; (d) five representatives appointed by the University of Calcutta and two by the University of Dacca; (e) from five to eight members appointed by Government among whom should be included (if not otherwise provided for) representatives of the needs of industry, commerce, agriculture, medicine and public health, secondary and intermediate education, the educational needs of girls and those of the domiciled community.

(vii) The powers of the Board should be: (a) to define the various curricula to be followed in high schools and intermediate colleges; (b) to conduct the two secondary school examinations described above, subject to the proviso that the Universities should in each case have the power to determine what forms of the intermediate college examination they would accept, and under what conditions, as qualifying for admission to their courses in various faculties; (c) to grant, after inspection, formal recognition to high schools and intermediate colleges as qualified to present candidates for high school or intermediate college examinations, and as adequately organised and equipped places of instruction; (d) to advise Government as to the needs of these grades of education, and as the best modes of expending the available funds for these purposes. In the opinion of the majority of the Commisson it is essential for the adequate performance of the functions of the Board that it should have an inspectorial staff of its own and that it should exercise substantial executive powers, especially in regard to the distribution of grants to schools and intermediate colleges (within the limits of the allotment made for these purposes by Government in its annual budget), and in regard to the exercise of control over such high schools and intermediate colleges as may be maintained out of public funds.

(viii) The Board thus organised with its President, should not be wholly separated from the department of Public Instruction, but should be regarded as an important branch and aspect of the whole system of educational organisation, closely linked with the other branches, especially through the Director of Public Instruction. The character of the Director's Office would thus be materially changed. He would be relieved of much detailed work, but he would become the chief of the staff and expert adviser to the Member or Minister in that is obaducation Kangin operate fairles."

and would himself be in touch with all the aspects. To express this imof educational work. To express this important change in the functions of the Director we recommend that he should be given the position

(ix) In order to give unity to the educational system by reducing the existing cleavage between education government schools and colleges and privately strengthe and by facilitating at interchange of teachers among these institu tions, the main body of the teaching staff of the Government schools and intermediate college should be gradually recognised upon a professional rather than a service basis, the fullest safeguards being taken to protect the actual and prospective rights of members existing services and to ensure an adequate salary scale and reasonable security of tenur under the new system. At the same time superannuation fund for teachers should be organised to replace the existing pension system for future recruits to the profession. To the superannuation fund all aided schools should be required, and all organised but unaide schools should be encouraged, to contribute.

(x) In view of the need of enlisting the services of a number of western-trained teacher reorganisation of secondary and intermediate work in Bengal, a special corps western-trained teachers should be organised, the members of which should be enlisted not a uniform graded rates of pay, but on such tem and conditions as might be necessary to seem the right type of men and women in each cas Their services should be available, under the direction of the Board, either in Government institutions, or in private institutions while expressed a desire for their services.

The changes recommended are of such far-reaching character, that each section the summary given above deserves careli and detailed examination. Our space being limited, we shall confine ourselves on present occasion to the consideration only some of the recommendations relating secondary education.

(I) BOARD OF SECONDARY AND INTER-MEDIATE EDUCATION.

The grounds on which the Commissione recommend the creation of a Board of Second ary and Intermediate Education are that whole exercise whole system" of secondary education suffering from suffering from anaemia"; that "satisfactor progress is impossible with the complete Drs 2 progress is impossible without a contract their n reorganisation of the existing administrating which collections are a contracted to the collection with their n reorganisation with the reorganisation with the reorganisation with the reorganisation of the existing administration without a contract the reorganisation of the existing administration with the reorganisation with the reorganisation of the existing administration with the reorganisation wit reorganisation of the existing administration which conditions"; that this reorganisation is the payer behind it to be added to the payer behind it to the payer behind it to be added to the payer behind it to be added to the payer behind it to be added to the payer behind it to the payer behind it to be added t should be far-reaching "must have behind it be advised by accompanied by accompan should be far-reaching "must have and stood distribution, and stood distributi

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tional organisation in the country, which, though largely officialised by the Universities Act of 1904, has "a movement of public opinion behind it." It will not, therefore, be unreasonable to expect, that under the new conditions which will be inaugurated by the Reform Act, the Calcutta University will be backed by an ever-widening volume of public opinion, provided that in the contemplated reconstruction of it, the different find adequate interests of the community representation, and the policy underlying it be more liberal and comprehensive than that of the Act of 1904. Nobody will feel disposed to contend that secondary education should be in the sole charge of the Syndicate. The anised, burden of work imposed upon it is so heavy d not a and engrossing—not unoften as many as one hundred items of business coming up for diseach cas Posal at a single meeting—that the proposal under the lorelieve it of the administration of secondary overnment education is perfectly sound. But it cannot ns which be said that the Senate is an over-worked body. The agenda of business at any of its of such meetings seldom contains more than ten ection diems. Why cannot "the duty of remodelling es careli his grade of education and of raising it ace bein to a state of efficiency be entrusted" to a s on the same terms as only die tecommended for the Board? One grave clating objection to the contemplated reorganisation that there will be no appeal against the decisione of the new authority, whereas the decisions of the Syndicate are liable to revision tod modification by the Senate. It is not intermediate missioner and modification by the Senate. It is not that it is not be be acceptable to the Syndicate are liable to revision by Second that secondary and intermediate at safe and the secondary and intermediate at safe and the secondary and intermediate at safe to a composite at safe to be acceptant.

which can best conserve that unity. Its past

history has proved that it is the only educa-

tisfactor of their note of dissent, while agreeing with seeind by the advisability of conforming on this Board

"There seems to be no precedent for the administrative adventure of delegating the conduct of secondary education in a great country to a small board of the kind proposed."

There is much force in their objections, but we are not prepared to accept their conclusion that the Director of Public Instruction should be made Chairman of the Board.

We reserve our remarks on the proposed composition of the new authority for the next issue.

(Π) THE CONDUCT OF THE HIGH SCHOOL EXAMINATION.

The Commission recommend limited number of schools in recognition of their special excellence as places of education should be granted the privilege of having the high school examination (the name to be given to the present Matriculation examination under the new scheme) partly oral, partly written.

"The school would be visited, at some time during the three months preceding the examination by a group of visiting examiners, sufficiently large to conduct with expert knowledge an oral examination of the candidates in each group of Mathematics, studies-languages, Geography and Science."

The Commission observe that "the bestowal of the privilege of this distinctive form of examination would be a suitable acknowledgment of the special excellence of the schools," but they admit that as there are more than seven hundred high schools now recognised in Bengal, for the vast majority of them "the plan of holding a general written examination as the sole test should be continued." This recommendation is open to serious objection on various grounds. We state some of them

The plan will introduce a system of (I) preferential treatment for a small number of favoured schools. This is most undesirable in the sphere of education.

(2) An oral examination, where desirable and practicable, should not come alongside of the written examination. It should be held on the basis of the candidates' written answers.

(3) If the recommendation of the Comon which secondary and Intermediate Education, "doubt spendiful devisability of conferring on this Board spendiful devisability of conferring on this Board spendiful devision of conferring on the conferring of conferri mission were adopted the oral examination of

their own oral examination ought to be vernacular.

- The time that is proposed to be allotted to the oral examination in addition to inspection and practical examination will make it impossible for the examiners to do the work thoroughly and satisfactorily. The results obtained would not therefore command public confidence.
- As different groups of examiners will necessarily have to be sent to different centres, the oral examination will be reduced to a game of chance, for, the Commissioners do not suggest how the personal idiosyncrasies of the examiners will be equated. Besides, as they are of opinion that "the work must be done by persons holding an independent position," it will be difficult to secure the services of a sufficient number of examiners of the requisite type.

(6) A written examination, with all its drawbacks, assures to some extent standardisation of the medium of value, which an oral examination can hardly do. The system is, therefore, likely to produce a deleterious effect on the work of a school by introducing into the oral examination a personal factor not always

of a desirable kind.

(III) THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE HIGH SCHOOL EXAMINATION.

The Commission recommend that the plan of the examination should be as follows:-

The head master should be required to certify that each candidate whom he presents for the examination has received during his training at school a course of instruction of a kind and at a stage approved by the Board, in each of the following subjects and in any subject not mentioned in this list in which the candidate submits himself for examination :-

(a) Introduction to natural science, including the teaching of elementary hygiene.

(b) History of India; History of the British Empire.

(c) Drawing and manual training.
(2) Every candidate should be required to present himself for examination in at least five subjects.

(3) The following four subjects should be

compulsory for all candidates :-

(a) Vernacular.(b) English.

(c) Elementary mathematics.

(d) Geography, including physical geo-

(4) The candidate should also be required to

addition to this to offer a sixth subject also

drawn from the total language (Bengali-speaking (e) A clasical language (Bengali-speaking Musalmans being allowed to offer Urdu in lin of one of the languages ordinarily enumerated as classical).

(f) An approved scientific subject (a number position of alternative courses being allowed for his jon, and a choice, one of these being of the nature of la Ray was I

(g) Additional mathematics.

(h) History of India; History of the British from Gove

The above plan is no doubt an improvement work in a upon the present curriculum of the Matricula. waccept: tion Examination, but one of its defects is that it makes history and classical language optional subjects. The reason assigned by appointed the Commissioners for leaving history where with a bet it was is that "this subject is in a great number in the rate of cases ill-taught, and the result of this grows. If inferior teaching is to deaden interest in history work, he compared to the control of the contr instead of quickening it." The reason does withdraw not seem to be convincing. If the recommend with com ation of the Commission about the training But if he of teachers be carried out in full, "the way possi and uninspiring methods of mastership teaching the subject" will slowly but steadily rorganisa be replaced by real improvement. And we with his do not find in the pages of the Report any bring about valid grounds on which the languages of the an improve sacred books of the land should be relegated asked (for sacred books of the land should be to a subordinate position. In our humble from that opinion the following subjects should be caminer compulsory for all candidates: (1) Vernacular work, he makes (2) English, (3) Elementary Mathematics, (4) wiversities A classical language, (5) History of India and traitre side A classical language, (5) History of The and Instruction of England, (6) Geography, General and Instruction in the as is Physical.

(IV) THE RECRUITMENT AND POSITION OF TEACHERS.

anhappily c We cordially support the recommendation We cordially support the recommendation who of the Commission about raising the status of the commission about raising the status of the commission about raising the status of the control work with the teacher. Their idea that the teachers in the seven hundred or more high schools of Bengal should be interchangeable among the the st them, though novel, has much to commend it to the strong all thoughtful all thoughtful men, but we have doubts about the long and feasibility. Besides, bringing all the look a secondary schools in the province under one secondary schools in the province under one schools in the provi central authority may help to standardise with they n them, but the experiment is fraught with the grave risks. The following alluring picture depicted by the Cornel of the future land, were depicted by the Commissioners of the future career of a Bengalee graduate, will raise who will raise who will raise those will remain the raise that following subjects, and should be compared sumukul Kangra Colladian the Bengaled of the Bengal

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gatleman who was bracketed first with Lord repliement in the highest examination Philosophy of the Edinburgh University, ind who was not confirmed as Principal of the Presidency College, and could never rise to number the position of the Director of Public Instrucfor his jon, and also with the story of how Sir P. C. ure of la Ray was promoted to the Indian Educational enice a few hours before his retirement ne British from Government service.

"Thus, a young graduate might begin his ovement work in a privately managed school, encouraged latricula. to accept a low salary and a small contribution defects is that various opening would offer later. He does anguages good work; on the strength of which he is gned by appointed to a post in one of the Board's schools y where mit a better salary and a consequent increase t number in the rate at which his superannuation fund of this grows. If he feels tempted to leave scholastic n history work, he can take with him a paid-up policy which will mature at a future date or he can son does withdraw his own superannuation contribution ommend with compound interest—a useful nest egg. But if he goes on with educational work, he may possibly be invited to accept the head hods of mastership of a private school which needs steadily reorganisation, at a higher salary. His super-And we with his varied experience he may be able to eport any bing about a great improvement of his school; es of the a improvement so marked that he may be relegated humble humble in or teachers in a state intermediate college. The that he may pass to be an inspector or rnacular work, he may be elected to a chair in one of the mireraties; if his extremeth is on the administics, (4 miversities; if his strength is on the adminisndia and trative side, he may rise to be Director of Public ndia and lastruction. A career is open to him; a career someth of ambittonic and such as is now quite impossible for a Bengali south of ambittonic and such as is now quite impossible for a Bengali south of ambittonic and such as a such touth of ambition and ability who undertakes the work. The lack of the stimulus endation land work. The lack of the stimular independent of such a career reacts status of the work, and is one of the main status of work."

chools of Educated public opinion in Bengal will among the strongest exception to the last recomend it to the commission, viz., that for the about sanisation of the Commission, viz., that for the intermediate ts about torganisation of the Commission, viz., that for the all the tork a special corps of western-trained nder one tachers should be organised.

. And they must not "be encouraged to regard themselves as in any way the superiors of their colleagues in the ordinary teaching service whom they are brought out to supplement and assist." It is a problem in psychology how a man belonging to the ruling caste and drawing a higher grade salary can be prevented from regarding himself as superior to his less fortunate colleagues. The Report furnishes us with no clue to its solution. But the objection to the proposal goes deeper. The Commissioners observe that

"Bengal needs better teaching of English, and for that purpose English-speaking men and women who are trained teachers are required in larger numbers, especially for work at the intermediate stage."

This statement calls for scrutiny. Are English-speaking men and women necessarily good teachers of English? Is no discount to be made on the score of dialectical, provincial or racial diversities? European teachers may prove of invaluable assistance in a training college to give to its students practical training in spoken English, elocution, and in educational Methodology, but even here the utmost care will have to be taken to secure the right type of men and women. The employment of Western-trained teachers in secondary schools should be discountenanced by all who have the real well-being of the country at heart. It is well to point out some of its disadvantages. If the object of the scheme be the teaching of English pronunciation, reading and speaking, the work must begin in the lowest classes, and be continued to the highest; but if the western-trained teachers be Europeans or Indians other than Bengalees, their ignorance of the Bengalee children's ways, accent-system and idiom will render them unfit for the work undertaken by them. Then again, it is a sine qua non of successful teaching in a school where the majority of the pupils are children of immature minds, that the teacher should have an intimate understanding nder one rectant corps of western inder disconnections should be organised.

Sympathic should be organised.

Sympathic symust be paid more than it would sorrows. Few European sorrows few E of their social traditions, manners and customs,

simply disastrous in our high schools. Lastly, the organisation of a special corps secondary schools will be a bad reproduction of the colour-bar in the educational service, which is responsible for the distinction in status and pay between the I. E. S. and the P. E. S., giving rise to endless troubles and incurable sores of which we have not heard

the last yet. One word more, and we have done. may easily make a fetish of the command of spoken English. We wish to emphasise the view that the mastery of the English language is not the be-all and the end-all of existence, for India needs something else than linguistic purism. Most Indians learn English more for the purpose of being able to utilise the contents of the books written in that language than for accurate scholarship. Lawyers, physicians, engineers-to name only a few of the professions-do not care so much for proper accents or delicious elocution, as for the truths that they can garner only from the science and literature of the West. There are Indians who have attained to pre-eminent success in law, medicine, business, and the public service, without being able to speak English like an Englishman. No sensible man will maintain that bad pronunciation and conspicuous ability in the practical affairs of life go ill together. Even for literary men faultlessness of accent and intonation is not of as much importance as facility of correct expression. The latter is a difficult quality to acquire, and it is not common even among Europeans, and in the use of their own vernacular. Distinguished British authors of Scotch and Irish descent were known not to possess correct English accent and the correct pronunciation of many English words. We have known District Officers, Commissioners of Divisions, nay, Rulers of Provinces, who could not address a

public meeting with ease and fluency for ten minutes together. Every impartial observer will admit that in the matter of wielding English prose, educated Bengalees do no suffer in comparison with French or German scholars; in fact, they speak and write much better than most Englishmen Bangalee or any other foreign tongue. French and German are now systematically taught is following English Public Schools, and it is a notoriog fact that few educated Englishmen can tall between French like a Frenchman; but this is no considered by the educational authorties importation into that country of a battalia of South C England as a sufficient reason for the of English in the high schools of Bengal all means, but do not sacrifice larger and more enduring interests to a mere shibbolet We have had enough of cant in the sphere of politics; let us take care that it may m invade the vital concern of national education Brindabar After all is said and done, a people mus tackle its difficulties in its own way, and seek for their solution in the last resort in their own resources. English education ! still an exotic in India, and one of its mos deep-rooted defects is its foreignness and unreality. The infusion of a large doze foreign element into the personnel of profession of teaching will, instead of curing only accentuate that defect. The education mkul-26 salvation of Bengal does not depend on it perfection of the machinery for the teaching of English, particularly of spoken English; it ever comes, it must be looked forward in the nationalisation of the system education in fact and spirit by the gradu adoption of the vernacular of the prowing as the medium of instruction from the lower to the topmost grade.

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MIRACULA

So far away the secrets lie Within ourselves, so deep they go In catacombs of memory, Ten thousand years below.

And life is as an hour's Sun Upon a lonely island peak Whose mighty base leviathan Scarce roundeth in a week.

Yet every tiny flower and shell, And every flash of human thought, Are worlds as wide as heaven and hell, As wonderfully wrought.

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NOTES

The Year-end Gatherings.

The Gujarati of Bombay has compiled the following list of the various gatherings which were held in different parts of the country between 19th and 31st December, 1919:-

1. The All-India Music Conference at Bena-

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2. The First District Co-operative Conference battalia of South Canara at Mangalore-20th Dec.

3. The Third Andhra Ayurvedic Conference

at Yizianagram-20th Dec. 4. The Rajput Mahasabha, Aligarh-23rd

arger an shibbolet 5. The 36th session of the Theosophical

sphere o Conference. 6. The anniversary of Gurukul, Brindaban, at

education Brindaban-24th Dec.

7. The Anti-Caste Conference at Brindaban. 8. The Mahila Parishad at Brindaban.

9. The second session of the Saryuparin Brahman Mahasabha at Benares—24th Dec.

10. The third session of the Vishanagar f its mos Bania Caste, Ahmedabad—26th Dec.

11. The seventh Bhandari Educational Conkrence at Tarapur, District Thana-25th Dec.

e doze 12. The Maratha Conference at Karad, Disel of the of curing

13. The Arya Conference at Brindaban Guducation nkul-26th Dec.

14. The ninth session of the All-India Kadteaching Wa Patidar Parishad at Mokhasan—27th Dec. 15. The fifth Lohana Conference, Cutch,

orward t Mandvi-27th Dec.

16. The first session of the Sikh League, Amritsar-17th Dec.

proving Amritsar—27th Dec.

17. The 34th Indian National Congress at

18. The second Conference of the Backward Classes in the Bombay Presidency at Shola-

19. The 33rd All-India Mahomedan Educatonal Conference at Khairpur, Sindh—27th Dec. The Burma Moslem Educational Con-Rangoon—27 Dec. 71. The Indian National Social Conference at Amritsar—28th Dec.

22. The sixteenth Conference—28th Dec.

23. The All-India Audich Brahmin Conique, line All-India 24 Dec. 28th Dec. nitsar 28th Dec.

The All-India Theistic Conference, Am-

25. Z8th Dec.
The fourth All-India Humanitarian Conthe fourth All-1128.

26. The Provincial Urdu Pur, Sind—28th Dec.

The sixth All-India Conference of Indian Christians at Cuttack—29th Dec.

28. The third South Indian Non-Brahmin

Confederation, Madras—29th Dec.

29. The eighth session of the Madras Provincial Co-operative Conference, Madras-29th

30. The ninth All-India Veershiva Mahasabha at Birar—29th Dec.

31. The 12th All-India Moslem Amritsar-20th Dec.

32. The third session of the Beni-Israel Conference, Bombay-30th Dec.

33. The annual Conference of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association, Allahabad—30th Dec.

34. The Moderates' Conference at Calcutta-30th Dec.

35. The first Village Officers' Provincial Conference, Madras-31st Dec.

86. The third annual Conference organized by the Indian Economic Association, Madras-31st Dec.

37. The All-India Lohana Parishad, Cutch, Mandvi-31st Dec.

And even this long list is not exhaustive. We do not find the All-India Ladies' All-India Medical and the Conference Conference held at Amritsar mentioned in it and there may be other omissions. there were so many gatherings, naturally even the daily papers have been able to report the proceedings of only a few of them; and it is out of the question for any monthly publication even to think of doing the barest justice to them. An annual volume giving at least the presidential addresses delivered and the resolutions passed in these gatherings may give an idea of what the different classes and the people of India were sections of thinking of as their goal in matters religious, social, political, educational, economic, medical, Though the awakening of the Indian people is, one is glad to note, not to politics—yet politics being the greatest common factor in the forces stirring the Indian mind, the political gatherings were the biggest and absorbed the greatest share of the Therefore, the public attention. gatherings held at Amritsar could not do The Provincial Urdu Conference, Khair- and Commercial Congress were uncleased a joint of the Public Domain. Gugudy saggi Willer of the provincial Urdu Conference, Khair- and Commercial Congress were uncleased to hold a joint of the public Domain. Gugudy saggi Willer of the public Domain.

session in Bombay in the latter part of January last. There is also a proposal under consideration to hold the annual session of the Indian National Social Conference at a time and place different from those of the Congress.

Most gatherings show that there are sections and units of the people who have not yet begun to think and aspire nationally. With the gradual unification and nationalisation of the people many sectional gatherings will cease to be held and others will be held at such times and places to clash with the national gatherings. rapprochement and unity Hindu-Moslem have been the most gladdening and encouraging signs of the times in the year that is past. This unity would be understood to be complete in the field of politics when the Musalmans voluntarily gave up the separate communal representation given to them in the legislative bodies by the new Government of India

Cow-killing and Hindu-Moslem Unity.

No more important observation was made by Haziq-ul-Mulk, Hakim Ajmal Khan as President of the Amritsar session of the Muslim League than when he said :--

"The secret of the success, not merely of the Reform scheme, but of all work which is being done by Indians in India and abroad, lies in Hindu-Moslem unity. There is no need to look back, as both these communities have fully realised it now that unity alone can be the firm foundation of India's real improvement and future progress."

Naturally, the consideration of how this unity can be strengthened and made lasting occupied a considerable portion of his address. He observed :-

"Those who are inspired by a genuine desire to serve their country cannot be affected by any differences of race or creed, which are the same to-day as they were before..... The question of Government appointments is no longer capable of engaging our attention to any appreciable degree, and although political rights were the subject of much controversy between them before, the Congress-League compact of 1916 went a very long way to settle that matter. Such other matters as the League and the Congress may still require to have an understanding about, will, I am sure, be easily settled between them, on some appropriate occasion. I shall, therefore, address ance quite its own, and which has an importthan the problem of the president of cows.

The Social Conference.

India

The myself to the one question which has an import-

Khan's speech shows that he, the chosen spokesman of his community, fully appreciate,

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"Our Hindu compatriots have, for some time past, been making genuine efforts to meet more than half way, and deserve our sincere gratitude for their good will. It is indeed testimony to their keen realisation of the new of nation-building. It, therefore, behoves us, a inheritors of a noble creed, to reciprocate the amicable regard with greater warmth and god will, to demonstrate that our faith teaches that every good act deserves a better return Hindu brethren enthusiastically at spontaneously observed the Khilafat day wi us, and in closing their business to share or sorrow they evinced remarkably large symps thies. They cheerfully bore great commerce loss, only to prove their sincere regard for or sentiments in regard to a matter which wa exclusively religious, and could claim the interest in no other way. Can those since demonstrations of friendly regard and good wil go for nothing? Most certainly not; norce they possibly fail to evoke the deserving resporses from a people not dead to all noble feeling Again, what but the promotion of a cormendable reciprocity and co-operation rexclusively religious matters can be a surguarantee of India's future welfare an progress?.....The matter which is entirely to Muslims to decide in what progress tenths Muslims to decide, is what practical step the are going to take to demonstrate their appre ation of this principle, to reassure Hud brethren.....They [Musalmans] should in far as it lies in their power refrain from act calculated to wound the susceptibilities of the compatriots. We are and should be full cognisant of the fact that cow-killing serious annoys our fellow-countrymen."

Then the speaker proceeded to show the Islam does not make it obligatory to sacrific cows; other animals, as sheep, goats camels, may be substituted. So he suggest that sheep and goats may be sacrificed.

"If I am asked to specify the practical stept be taken in this direction, I would recommend that the that the residents of Kashi, Ajudhia, Mutha and Brindaban (the sacred places of the Hindus should begin the sacred places of the Brings should begin the operation of the principle enunciated above, and efforts should be simple taneously directed taneously directed to the propagation of the same idea in other places."

The Moslem League passed a resolution embodying the views and suggestion of its President.

The Social Conference.

[Jala Hansra], one of the founders and the retired first Principal of the Lahore D. A.-V. (ollege, delivered a comprehensive and eloquent



Lala Hansraj.



Hazik-ul-Mulk Hakim Ajmal Khan, Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar Sankaran Nair, Sir Chittur Sankaran Nair,



Lord Sinha.



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Sir Sivaswami Iyer.

address in urdu dealing with several aspects of the social reform movement. The chief feature of the conference proceedings was the widening of the scope of the conference on the lines suggested by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar in a message which was read at the conference and in which he said in part :-

There is an awakened conscience and awakened consciousness of higher life in the country. The fact is, after nearly a century of political and social work, we have arrived at that stage in the line of our progress when we are able to perceive most clearly that our social reform is the whole of which political, educational, industrial and other reforms are but parts and that these parts are interactive and interdependent. The time has come for us, social reformers and workers, to enlarge the meaning and scope of social reform and extend our activity and the outlook to the questions of the education of the masses, sanitation of the country, housing of the poor, care of the sick and feeble, employment of labour on rational lines, provision of healthy recreation and amusement for the masses, village sanitation and rural education, instead of education, widow-remarriage, removal of caste that they now called the drink evil an entrestrictions, and such other entreship by so enlar-recently decreed total prohibition. In view

ging the scope of social reform, we shall not be ging the scope of the sphere of political bodies trenching upon the sphere of political bodies purely industrial and economic organisation or sanitary institutions, provided we adher faithfully to and keep prominently before us the distinguishing aim of the Conference, which is to believ touch, purify, elevate and invigorate the policy and avour touch, purify, elevate and invigorate the politic padeavous industrial and municipal life of the country developing its domestic and social forces, which has there feeders and makers of that the warment are feeders and makers of that life, live in times of democracy when the accalls for equality of opportunity for all, high low, rich and poor. Democracy is more a so than a political force and must find, to be health its life first in our home life and social life make our political and industrial life wholesome

A resolution based on Sir - Naraya: message was adopted at the Conference, which the full text is quoted below.

"That this Social Conference, recognizing t fresh life opened out to the country by new era upon which it is entering and t urgent call that fresh life makes for the soci reconstruction of India's national life, is opinion that the term social reform should be course widened so as to comprehend, besides the iter of reform hitherto advocated by the conference those additional measures which are necessary for the development of the industrial, economic sanitary and educational interests of the India people in rural and urban areas and towar that the Conference resolves that an All Ind but perm Council of the Social Conference, consisting that excis about 100 willing workers all over the country loga trans be formed and the General Secretary in Bomb and other secretaries of the National Soc Conference with the help of the Province Secretaries newly appointed be empowered move in that matter to concert measures propagandist and practical work all overt country in that behalf, collect the necessifunds and the propagation of the propagati funds and take such steps as may be deen useful in furtherance of the specific object."

The Temperance Conference.

At the sixteenth session of the All-Ind Temperance Conference held at Amril Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya delivered presidential speech in Hindi. part:

"Practically most of the victims of do were poor people. Compassion for the property than the people themselves whose families were left pernetural perpetual poverty and starvation was the must stimulus sufficient to awaken them to the man a bold stars to the man a in meeting bold steps to eradicate the drink evil from country. People in Europe and America had the considered to be 1 There are considered to be lovers of drinking, but the had taught a learning had taught a lesson even to them, so much that they now call a vento them, so much recently decreed total prohibition. In view

al these, ought to ly succeed consumpti Amritsar. follow th America a hibition."

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mittee he the meeti vering his dential a gentleman chair afte that the contentior amounted was not o tion was he had ev if Indians mously asl hibition, charge wo their dem an end to of s Price, Pr men's Ten on, India, agreed tha prohib mission. laxation co The only r

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hall not bonies, Indians, whose religions denounced forbade drinking, bodies e we adher ought to give it up. was a difficult task, but fore us the was a difficult dan earnest which is to be believed an earnest he politice adeayour would certain-I succeed. I am sorry to rces, whi har there is enormous consumption of liquor at Amritsar. India ought to life. The ap follow the example of America and enforce pror all, high ore a soci hibition." be health

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As Pandit Malaviya had urgent work at the Congress Subjects Committee he had to leave the meeting after delivering his brief presidential address. the soc gentleman who took the chair after him said in should the course of his address es the ited that the Government contention that taxation amounted to prohibition was not correct; taxation was not prohibition n All-Ind but permission. Now onsisting that excise was becomhe country ing a transferred subject, in Bomb he had every hope that nal So i Indians would unanimously ask for total prohibition, Ministers ll overt charge would listen to their demands and put an end to the worst enemy of society. Price, President, Miss Men's Temperance Uni-M, lndia, said, she fully greed that taxation was Prohibition but per-

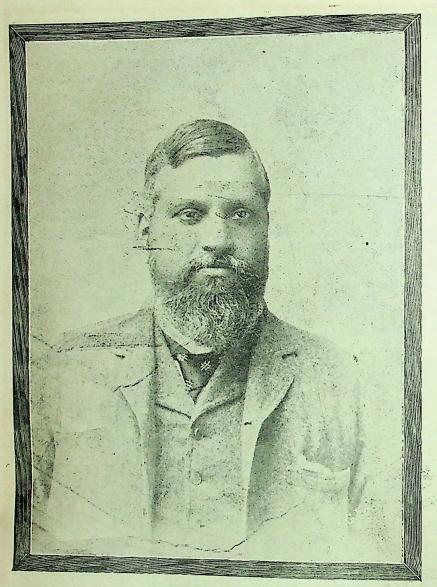
bission. In her own country after sixty years' he only room ption had increased five times. The only remedy for the evil was total prohi-

We must undoubtedly press for total pron to the must undoubtedly press for total programme time devise means n to the man and at the same time devise meaning the deficit which may result from disappears deficit which may revenue. here are a retrence of the excise There are only two means, retrenchment of o much the scandalous haste and disregard of the economic condition of the people of



Sir Rashbehari Ghosh.

India with which the salaries and other emoluments of the imperial services have been enormously increased, considering the swelling of the police budget, and, finally, in view of the military expenditure (which nobody can forecast) which the cry of Bolshevist peril in the East is sure to entail, there is little hope of retrenchment, though we must press for it. The only means left is to increase the tax-bearing capacity of the country, and that can be done by industrial development. This would mean a large additionate our factories, which



Mr. Bhupendranath Basu.

would employ thousands of labourers. Unless there be total prohibition a large increase of population in the labour centres would mean increased drunkenness, which would impair not only the morals but the productive capacity also of the labourers. This is only one example to show how all methods and means of improvement are interdependent.

Sir Sankaran Nair's New Appointment.

Indians have little reason to favour the continuance of the Secretary of State's Council in London. But as it has been given a newe lease of life, it is essentially necessary that its Indian members should be of the both and "Extremist".

which India can furnish. Sir Sankaran Nair, hold radical views only in politics, but

who has been recently appointed a member, such a m a n,—well. informed, fearless, states. manlike, patriotic and able to hold his own against a whole host of adversaries. That he has been appointed in spite of his resignation of mem. bership of the Vicerov's executive council owing to his disagreement will his colleagues on their Panjab policy, spite of his publich characterising Sir Michael O'D wyer's departure from the Panjab as like that of a thief in the night, does not discourage the hope that Mr Montagu may be dis posed to deal out justice to wrong-doers Panjab. But as in what is called practical politic many factors other that considerations of justice humanity and righteous unfortunate ness are allowed to influence the conduct of statesmen, on must not be sanguine. feel that after the expitory resolution, condema ing mob excesses, passe unanimously at the Con gress, our moral position

That ought to satisf is sound and strong. us, even if guilty officials be not punished.

The appointment of an eminent India who has only recently written such strong outspoken and uncompromising minutes dissent and who has still more recently published on the increasing poverty of the people under British rule, mitted Montagu's attitud in relation to Indian economics and politics.
But, again But, again, one must not build any hopes of such conjecture. such conjectures.

Social Reform and "Moderates" and "Extremists".

hold radical views only in politics, but the

they are stand-pa cial matt to the go it is als suggeste cation, "Modera cial refor out cons case of never in took any any pub spent th either pl ing or me or in b now find advantag as "Mo would n difficult the nan Modera have lon public li who ar being s ers. It that Bi "Modera also is n sally tr tion, an good rea Whether rity of I "Modera regards ists", it

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they are reactionary stand-patters in | social matters and play to the gallery; and it is also said, and suggested by implithat cation, "Moderates" are social reformers. Without considering the case of those who never in the past took any interest in any public affair but spent their time in either pleasure-seeking or money making or in both and who now find it safe and advantageous to pose as "Moderate", it would not be at all difficult to mention the names of many "Moderates" who have long figured in public life of a sort who are far from being social reformers. It is also said that Brahmos are "Moderates". That also is not a universally true proposition, and there is good reason to doubt whether the majonity of Brahmos are "Moderates". regards "Extremists", it is undoubttd that there are a good many social leactionaries among them, but it is equalundoubted that here are social re-

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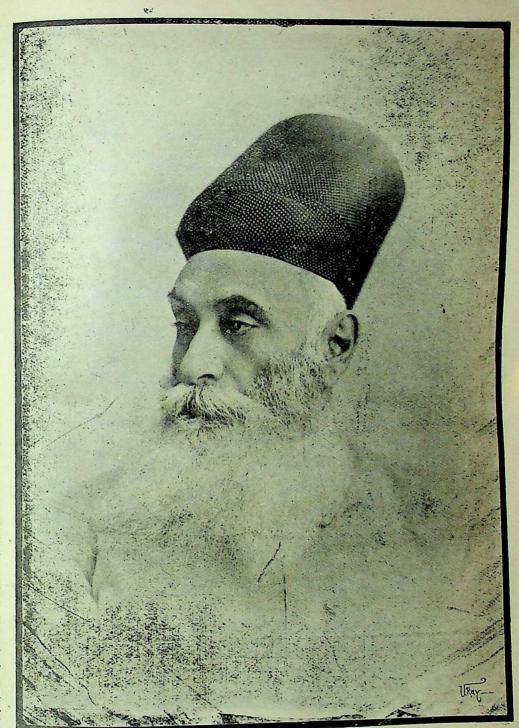
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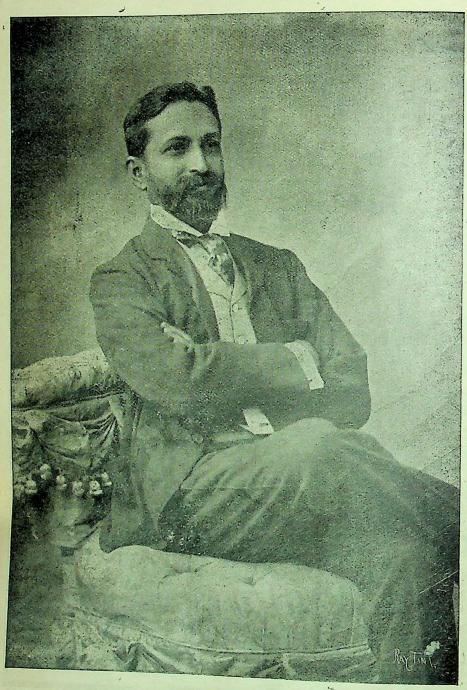
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formers among them stoo. ter defined what exactly makes one an Extrehist and what a Moderate, as there is no clear and demarks of demarks two and as Ine of demarkation between the two, and as there are Politically-minded Indians, productically-minded Indians, there has proportion in the way of determining proportions of these tweeperm.



Jamshedji N. Tata.

We are in theory disposed to be thoroughly radical in the eradication of evils and in all endeavours after reconstruction in the spheres of religion, politics, social rules and practices, economics, education, &c. In practice we are for pushing forward as circumstances allow hat proportions of these tweesections containing and sometimes in spite of them.



Dr. M. N. Ohdedar.

advanced or thinks that it is proper or practicable to advance only a foot and not a mile, though at the same time we shall persist In the endeavour to advance a mile and to prove that it is proper and practicable to do so. For instance, in civic and political affairs, while we have never concealed our opinion that, neither provincial autonomy nor pan-Indian internal autonomy or home rule "What is our ultimate goal? We freedom of thought, freedom of action, freedom to fashion our own destiny and build the fashion our ow

external affairs and relations can alone be the ultimate na. tional goal of any self-respecting and self-confident people, a world-wide feder. ation of independ. ent national units being the interna. tional goal, we have not failed either to consider even the elective chairman. ship of municipalities gain, however small. In social reform, while the total abolition of caste is our goal, we welcome West and even the introduction of intermarriage

The annual sessions of the Congress and the Moderates' Conference ngours have practically illustrated the fact that even all prominent "Moderates" are not social reformers and all prominent "Extremists" social reactionaries. The presidential address of Sir Sivaswami Aiyar, able as it is, does not furnish any indication to show that the true enfranchise. ment of India depends on anything else in addition to political reform and things of that sort.

The presidential address of Pandit Motilal Nehru, on the other hand, shows that he knows the true place and value of politics and understands by understands how India can be truly free. says he :--

"What is our ultimate goal? We want edom of thought for the goal? pan-Indian internal autonomy or home rule to fashion our own destiny and but absolute freedom fire all internal and do not wish to make of India a cheap

mind tha has not all ills; the prob us. Euro the confl capital, raising it of the cla when w mould or shall ev governm that is the Wes beware o out the tradition us. We among sub-castes. where all fullest op ment ; w ed to be have disa are no communit is free an the capit do not and the is respect poverty, present g of the pas ours.]

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stavish imitation of the West. We have so far sought to liberffairs and We have Government on the can alone Wastern model. Whether that mate na. rill satisfy us in the future I of any cannot say. But let us bear in mind that Western democracy But let us bear in ing and nt people, has not proved a panacea for all ills; it has not yet solved de feder. the problems which surround ndepend. us. Europe is torn asunder by al units the conflict between labour and interna. capital, and the proletariat is we have mising its head against the rule either to of the classes. It may be that even the when we get the power to chairman. mould our own institutions we icipalities a system shall evolve however government which will blend all social rethat is best in the East and the total the West. Meanwhile, let us f caste is beware of the errors of the welcome West and at the same time cast out the evil customs roduction traditions which have clung to arriage us. We must aim at an India castes. where all are free and have the nual sesfullest opportunities of develophe Conment; where women have ceased to be in bondage and the e Moderrigours of the caste system onference have disappeared; where there ally illusare no privileged classes or fact that ommunities; where education rominent sfree and open to all; where " are not the capitalist and the landlord do not oppress the laborer mers and and the raiyat; where labour nt "Exis respected and well paid, and cial reacporerty, the nightmare of the he presi-Present generation, is a thing of the past." [The italics are iress of mi Aiyar,

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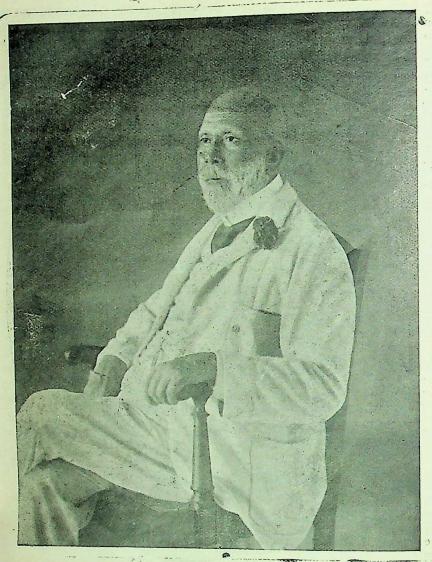
Hon'ble Pandit Madanmohan Malaviya.

It may be added in condusion that Mr. V. J. Patel, has introduced the Hindu intercaste Narriage validating bill in the Viceroy's Conneil, has been styled an Extremist, and the bill the supporters and opponents of the bill there were both Extremists and Moder-

All-India Medical Conference.

At the third All-India Medical Conference, at American All-India Medical Conference, by Dr. Amritsar, and presided over by Dr. N. Ohdedar of Lucknow, a resolution Nas passed, recognising it as necessary that Apally India Medical Conference Committee immediate Mork, notality, promotion of child-welfare, and

diffusion of knowledge of domestic sanitation and hygiene. Another resolution urged that the All-India Medical Conference Committee should press upon the newly created Sanitary Board the urgent necessity of improving village sanitation and obtaining special grants for investigating and combating preventible diseases. Most of the other resolutions directly concerned the interests of medical men and indirectly those of the people of India at large. Dr. Ohdedar, the president, devoted the greater portion of his able and outspoken address to Medical Conference Committee matters dealed immediately start propagandist work, He also referred to research work delity, promotion of alithest propagand should be greater facilities for research work



Sir Taraknath Palit.

obtainable by our countrymen. The following observations of his apply to other services also than the I.M.S.:-

You must have hear that a new scheme of pay for the I. M. S. officers is under contemplation. As far as I have been able to understand, the idea is that the European I. M. S. officers will get better pay under the name of "overseas" allowance. This has reference to those men who have joined the Department after 1918. To justify this preferential treatment it is said that those Indians who are employed in the United Kingdom will be given a similar allowance. But when we remember that only three or four Indians are employed in the United Kingdom against hundreds of Britishers in India, the arrangement seems to be nothing better than a

to the Indians, the best pro ducts of the British Unive. sities would not be attracted to this country. This appear to me to be an assertion not worth much consideration The best products of the British Universities hard ever come out to this country and there is no reason why they should. A man who able to make enough for hi bread and butter in his on country does not care tog abroad; and it would be al surd to say that the va majority of I. M. S. office come out to India with altruistic motive. If they di they would not hanker after increase of pay in the wa they do.

I am sure I am not i from right when I say the there are very few I. M. officers of outstanding abil ty. The vast majority them are neither better m worse than the products the Indian Universities.

A Great Educational Benefactor.

The late Mr. Jamshed N. Tata's endowment h the foundation and upker of the Research Institutes amounted Bangalore about 30 lakhs of rupe Owing to the manipulation of Lord Curzon and bure

crats of his way of thinking the Institute to time an unconscionably long time to come in being, and its direction and managent have been such that the hopes of its found cannot be said to have been really or to be on the way to realisation to the Tata endowment, the benefit dis bei or to be on the way to realisation. Indians were those of the late Sir Tarakai by hention Palit and of Sir Rashbehari Ghosh. close of the year 1919 saw a bigger endoment vet than him of the saw a bigger endoment vet than him of the same and the sa close of the year 1919 saw a bigger endo to have have the have than his former gift of 10 lakhs of about the have the ha Mukherjee in moving grateful acceptance late ours.] Sir Rashbehari's donation of Rupees II at and 43 thousand Sir Rashbehari's donation of Rupees II and 43 thousands. In the course of the application of Rupees II and 43 thousands. It is generally asserted in that Diffler Souther Kappietoespaced which Sir Ashutosh made of Britishers are given higher pay as compared occasion he observed:—

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Logic and eloquence are equally superfluous logic and acceptance of this truly munificent to justify the acceptance of this truly munificent ofer. It would be inappropriate in the highest e best pro dere if I, his pupil, were to use language with sh Univer. degree 11, my revered Master, which might bear attracted nis appears the semblance even of patronising commendasertion not the schilling of his great achievement as the foremost sideration. telefactor of our University. I need only say s of the hat in all humility I feel it a real privilege es hardly to be called upon to associate myself with the is country adoption of the motion which the Syndicate eason why has recommended on this historic occasion. To an who sall it is a source of infinite joy that by gh for h the liberality of Sir Rashbehari Ghose we are n his om care to g placed in a position to take one decisive step forward towards the accomplishment of what has been our avowed purpose for many years past, viz., the establishment of a University ould be at the var S. office a with a College of Science and Technology. inker afte

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The greater portion of his speech was an exposure of the niggardliness of the Government of India as proved by their "steady and persistent refusal" to help the University Science College "conveyed to us in letters all manating from Mr. Sharp." Government or the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy have for years deried our Universities as mere examining bodies. But when the Calcutta University resolved to and did undertake teaching duties, what help did it receive from its mentors? The answer will be found in the following dispassionate statement to be found in the second Convocation Address delivered on the 5th lanuary by Sir Nilratan Sircar, M.A., M.D., Vice.Chancellor of the Calcutta University:-

The Universities Act of 1904 was only a of rupes Ray Concerned so far as the teaching function was concerned. But with what alacrity the University and the public in Bengal took advantage of the nd bure rantage of the opportunity thus given for the stitute to have to build up a Temple of Learning come is and Research will appear from the fact that come Research will appear from the fact that largest benefactions in the history of any lite found lines of the late Sir Taraknath Palit and of the Project of a College of Science, pure as Rashbehari Ghosh, were called form as project of a College of Science, pure as applied, which was thus established without State aid or point project of a College of Science, part as a supplied, which was thus established with the special of the second of the state of

towards the University." As Mr. Sharp is Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, the latter cannot be freed from blame. One passage from Mr. Sharp's letter to the University, dated 14th October, 1915, which was quoted by Sir Ashutosh in his speech, may be inferred to disclose the cause of the "attitude of determined hostility towards University."

On the 14th October, 1915, Mr. Sharp replied and the substance was refusal. financial stringency created by the War was mentioned, but Mr. Sharp could not resist the temptation to taunt the University in a sentence which will bear quotation here.

"As regards the College of Science it appears that two public-spirited citizens came to the assistance of the University with endowments to which certain conditions were attached; the University accepted these endowments and now finds that it is unable without assistance to comply with the terms involved in them."

Among the "conditions" attached to the Palit and (first) Ghosh endowments is one which lays down that the occupants of the chairs created by them are to be exclusively Indians of pure blood. This may be conjectured to have roused the ire of the Delhi-Simla gods. They and their kindred have hitherto enjoyed a practical monopoly of all high offices and shut out Indians from them; there was and is nothing wrong in that. But how could Indians dare and be allowed to protect their highest interests and for that purpose to exclude non-Indians from any office, even though the endowments for the maintenance thereof came from their own pockets? That was intolerable. And over and above that, was it not the height of audacity on their part to ask for State-help in furtherance of the objects of these endowments? However, Sir Rashbehari knows both how to lay down a condition well as to make it operative. So, though he has given for the cause of education, not caring for the mean taunt of Mr. Sharp (who ought to know that the money asked for by the University comes from the pockets of Indian taxpayers), yet Sir Rashbehari's second endowment may be taken as an answer to the taunt. Bengal contains marry better rich men, a few richer than Sir Rashbehari. They should come forward with donations to fully equip the College of Technology. Europe and America and Japan are far in advance of us in technological education and research. Yet they are making gigantic efforts to make still greater progress. Manchester University has appealed for a sum equivalent to 221/2 lakhs of rupees, of which nearly half has been already subscribed, for the extension of its technological side. Harvard University has spent since the war a sum equivalent to 671/2 lakhs of rupees on its Institute of Technology and general equipment. So, considering that Calcutta University is at present going only to make a beginning in technology, we require a good many princely givers like Sir Rashbehari and many more to give smaller amounts. For the present,

The gift of Sir Rashbehari Ghosh will enable us to create a Chair of Applied Chemistry and a chair of Applied Physics. But we require a great many more of such chairs. Imagine the vast field to be covered-Commercial Organic Analysis, Paint, Polish and Varnish, Oils and Fats, Leather, Textiles, Colour Chemistry, Coal, Tar products, Ceramics, Foods and Drugs, Fuel, Metallurgy, Electro-plating, Paper, Glass, Manures and a host of others. Let us therefore not be over-elated by the munificence of Sir Rashbehari Ghosh. The field of our activities is boundless. Let Bengal realise this and let every citizen follow in the footsteps of our great leader, though at a respectful distance.

Kumar Guru Prasad Singh of Khaira had made a gift to the University subject to the life interest of his wife. On behalf of the Rani an offer was made to the University to transfer to her the reversionary interest of the University for a sum of six and a half lakhs of rupees. Steps have been sanctioned to be taken to effect this transfer. The donor had not stated how that money was to be spent, but left the matter to the discretion of Sir Ashutosh, who thought that it should be applied to promote technological research and study. So, the University is practically in possession of about 18 lakhs of rupees for this purpose.

Welcome to Mr. Bhupendranath Basu and Lord Sinha.

If any persons nonfeln Battle Popsin Gundal

honest endeavours, according to their lights, to serve their country during their sojourn in a foreign land, they deserve to be welcomed back to their country, irres. pective of their political opinions. Holding this view, we join in the welcome to Mr. beginning Basu and Lord Sinha, without associating consideri ourselves with or dissociating ourselves from all or any of their political opinions For our present purpose it is unnecessary to summarise or discuss these opinions, It is unnecessary to recount Mr. Basu's past services to the country, particularly in connection with the Swadeshi-Boycott and Anti-partition agitations in Bengal, with what he did in England years ago to get the "settled fact" of the Bengal partition unsettled, with his manly stand against the Press legislation in which he had with him (not even Mr. Gokhale but) Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya alone, and as the introducer of the Basu intercaste marriage bill. Here we are concerned with his work as a member of the council of the Secretary of State for India and of the Crew committee. He did good work in the latter capacity. We noticed his minute last year at some length. As regards the Reform Act, he has been all along associated will Mr. Montagu, beginning with the latter tour in India. So if the Act contains any thing good, and it is generally admitted that it does, in however great or small a proportion, it is only just and fair that Mr. Basu should have his due meed d praise for his share of the work as "the is emphat power behind the throne." As in the case of Mr. Basu, so in that of Lord Sinha, the welcome given was meant, if we understand aright, to be in reference to the work down behalf of by him in his recent official capacities a would be member of the Imperial War Cabinet and other light Conference, and of the Peace Conference and as Under-secretary of State for India Square Without in the least giving up our right we criticise on the least giving up our right was criticise any of the things that he did, sail harmonis or wrote in these capacities, we may and printed by do say that he has amply vindicated the ability of Lati Wot th hold their of amongst the foremost statesmen of the British Empires and not o British Empire and its Allied countries.
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deserved to be welcomed. But, as in the deserved of Mr. Basu, so in his, we ought also to ore him his share of praise for whatever of gre may be in the Reform Act. Those who think that the Act is bad from leginning to end—and this is different from the Act madequate or disappointing—would, of course, be justified in not expressing appreciation of what both Mr. Basu and Lord Sinha have done in connection with the Act. But, as we have said, the proof of Indian political capacity given by Lord Sinha would still remain to his credit. We speak of Indian political capacity, for Lord Sinha and his countrymen know that he is not the solitary swallow which does not make a summer.

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Those whose views do not coincide with most of the opinions of Mr. Basu and Lord Sinha and who do not think that they deserved a welcome for the non-party rasons stated above, had, of course, every ight to hold a meeting, conducted in a dignified manner, to dissociate themselves from the demonstration of welcome. Whether the College Square protest meeting was in every respect in conformity with our ideal, we cannot say; as we did not attend it, nor were we among those in the streets who welcomed Mr. Basu and Lord Sinha. The resolution passed at the meeting, one version of which is pointed below, was neither undignified nor

That this meeting of the citizens of Calcutta semphatically of opinion that Lord Sinha's thressed opinions on the Reform Act in no Tay represent the views of the majority of our today; that the reception accorded to that the reception accorded on a reception accorded on that it half of the public of Calcutta and that it in any Total be disingenuous to represent it in any

Most of the mottoes exhibited in the quare and along College Street were harmonise and along College Street and along College Street and larmonise They are did, sall harmonise whether one's opinionable, whether one's opinionable, with them or not. They are

Not the mustard seed but the full grown all all india is fit for autonomy," "Remember "Did India deserve no "D "Liberties for the people "Liberties above slaveservic lone, be

Indian," "Bondage though gilded is no partnership."

Another motto was, "Autonomy for all and not peerages for the few." As, so far, only one Indian has been made a peer, and he was being ovated, the possibility of this motto being construed as insinuating why he gave his support to the Reform Act, makes us think that it was inappropriate to the occasion. In the absence of clear proof, such an insinuation, if it was meant, must be considered unworthy and insulting, though quite in keeping with the coarse political partisanship not unoften displayed in the West. "Co-operate with General Dyer?" was another motto. Should the report that General Dyer has been promoted turn out to be true and should Government not punish him adequately after the publication of the Hunter Committee's report, this motto would prove to have been eminently justified; for no decent man can co-operate with the supporters of a self-confessed fool and criminal like General Dyer.

It has been reported in the Calcutta dailies that some of those who attended the protest meeting went out of the Square and, standing on the College Street footpath opposite the Senate House, kept crying "Shame," "Shame". This was quite a wrong thing to do. Neither Lord Sinha nor Mr. Basu deserved this insult. Some have tried directly or indirectly to justify this insult by reminding the public that it was Lord Sinha who as Law Member drafted the Press Act and that the safeguards which he then spoke of have proved quite illusory. But the ovation was not meant to have reference to the entire career of the two gentlemen. And if Lord Sinha is to be denounced and shamed for the Press Act, why, in the name of logic and fairness, did not the crowd also cry "Bhupen Babu Ki Jai" again and again, for the patriotic and courageous stand that he made against that very measure in the Indian Legislative Council? But consistency is not a part of crowd logic and mentality.

It was unfortunate that the welcome Mer government ?" "Did India deserve no was organised, "Liberties for the people in fact, as a party affair, and Lord Sy," "Voice Indian demand Phike Dortsine Gurthal Kargin Collection, Haridwar

himself with a party, which, if not in public interests, at least having regard to his official position, he ought not to have done. Mr. Basu has conducted himself more correctly and discreetly. However, though Lord Sinha and the organisers of the welcome have behaved as party men, there is nothing to prevent anybody else from rising above party considerations and appreciating worth in whomsoever found. No Indians should on any account imitate the vicious Western habit of thinking in terms of party and therefore being blind to the merit of men belonging to a party to which they do not belong.

Lord Sinha's Views on the Reforms.

In the course of an interview accorded to an Associated Press representative in Bombay, Lord Sinha said:

I am glad to find that all shades of opinion in Indiaare agreed as to the necessity of working the Reform Act which is just passed in a spirit of harmony and co-operation. I cannot help thinking that in view of this it was unwise and, to my mind, unjust, first to say that the Act does not satisfy the legitimate aspirations of India and second to threaten further agitation. To my mind the best agitation for the purpose of increasing the sphere of our responsibility would be to try and discharge in a manner most satisfactory to the people of India the responsibilities which are now proposed to be devolved upon us.

As it is perfectly true that the Reform Act does not satisfy the legitimate aspirations of India, we do not see where the injustice comes in. Telling the truth cannot be unjust in any circumstance. Even Lord Sinha's friends of the Moderate Conference prefaced their resolution on the Reforms with the words "while regretting the omission to introduce some measure of responsibility in the central Government." So they were of the opinion that the introduction of some measure of responsibility in the central Government was a legitimate aspiration; else why did they regret its omission? And this legitimate aspiration has not been satisfied. As for the Congress resolution being unwise, we do not think it was. The Congress delegates were not diplomats whose duty it was to conceal their thoughts. Their duty was

their knowledge. It can not do any hard and may possibly do good if "the civilise world", the British people and the British Parliament know the truth that India is not satisfied and the Reform Actin a defective measure. As for "further agita for the tion", why should it be construed as a threat? After the Morley-Minto reform the Congress party (then including the Moderates) continued to agitate for mon Was that a threat? The reforms. Congress party both "co-operated" to make the Morley-Minto reforms a success and also agitated for further reforms, and for co-o Congress President one year Lon love wit Sinha himself was for a time the formal leader of the agitators. If co-operation and agitation could go together then why can not they go together now?

Lord Sinha asked, "How are we going to find the finance for them" [local self government, education, and sanitation? was in one sense a rather funny question for an official and a thorough-going sup porter of the Reform Act to ask. For they thorough subjects can be financed: either by re-allot can prov ment of the revenues to all the different subjects according to their importance as understood by the people, which may lead to retrenchment in some directions and increase of expenditure in others; or byfred or increased taxation. The first method has been practically made impossible the Reform Act; nay, the bureaucracy har displayed such indecent haste in increase ing their own salaries, pensions, &c., the well may India exclaim, "save me from super-efficient st super-excellent and vants!" Instead of retrenchment, the has been during these times of dire economic distress a very heavy addition to the burden borne by the tax-payers. As for fresh or increased taxation, no human legislator can propose it under present circumstances. The tax-bearing capacity of the people has first to be increased. That care leaves That can be done by the improvement the mant the mant the and expansion of agriculture and the mant things no and expansion of agriculture and the had so facturing industries. Our contention development beautiful and contention had been been subjects. been that all the subjects or "sub-subjects which required which required to be transferred for the which required to be transferred to which required to be transferred to the transferred. The that the to voice public opinion to the best Gurafus tringlus trin

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While India Bil claimed t politicallthey had To give differing it is equa test by n ed wheth estate po many con America developm mass of

official assertion has been the reverse. ody by working the Act can it be proved any ham only by arty is right. Even if the official Civilised rew be right, it would take some time to derelop the resources of the country, and for the people to get rich thereby. You rm Actis cannot tax them in view of a prospective and problematic increase of income. So one may ask Lord Sinha himself, means and methods do you suggest for financing local self-government, education and sanitation?"

Not that we do not support his appeal for co-operation, though we are not in orms, and love with that word in the sense in which ar Lord officials use it. We are for helping and working with all, be they officials or non-officials, who will work for India's good, to the extent that they may do so. We and other Indians should be equally resolved to oppose and thwart all men and measures whose tendency is in question the opposite direction.

Asit is only by working the Act in a For the thorough-going manner that its supporters y re-allow can prove to demonstration that it is a substantial measure of self-rule and its mics that it is not, it is, therefore, may lead hormbent upon both parties to give it a

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"Man's Estate" in Politics.

While moving the second reading of the India Bill in the House of Lords, Lord Sinha said: "No daimed that Indians had to-day reached politically man's estate. But I claim that they had reached the age of adolescence." tt, the lo give knock-down proofs either for economic transfer enock-down proofs creater, the equally difficult. Is there any definite what what at man's whether a people has arrived at man's that politically or not? We find that hany countries in Asia, Africa, Europe and self-ruling America were independent and self-ruling ncrease before the war and independent and selfhe many thing now, though they are not equally he man the tion had the tion he will be the the tion had the the tion the t development. Do the leaders and the ture of the people in every one of these have Home Rule, and the people of the people

their leaders? Is there greater political unity and less factiousness and party or class strife (due to sectarian, political, economic, racial, social, or other causes) in every one of these countries than in India? He who would say "yes", must give proofs: a mere presumption or assumption will not do. Fighting capacity is considered a proof of attainment of political majority. Indians can fight as well as the soldiers of any other nation, and if the officers of the Indian army are not Indians, that is not the fault of India. That India cannot, as at present circumstanced, defend herself unaided against foreign aggression, cannot be urged as an argument for considering her politically a minor. Belgium could not defend herself unaided, France could not defend herself unaided, Great Britain could not defend herself unaided, the Allied European could not defend themselves without the help of America; but all these have reached man's estate.

It may be urged that the very fact of India being a dependent country is a proof that she has not reached man's estate. Now, before the war many European peoples were in bondage and their countries were dependencies. At present they are independent. Those of them, if any, who have gained their independence by defeating their oppressors in war, may, ipso facto, be accepted to have reached man's estate. But many have become free not by their own valour but owing to circumstances for which they cannot claim any credit. But all the same, "the civilised world" recognises that they have reached political manhood. Why then are Indians denied that recognition? Well, one cause is that India is not European. Another cause is that the foremost power in that civilised world is an interested party. But we cannot but be ashamed that an Indian should assert that his country is politically inferior to all the savage, semi-savage and civilised countries in the world which are independent. Even within the British Empire, the naked savages of the Gilbert and Ellice islands have Home Rule, and the Negroes of Uganda have a parliament and are therefore an

We think we are fit for complete Home Rule. It is no argument against our claim that we sometimes mismanage even municipal affairs. Don't they do so even in the U. S. A. and in Great Britain? British and other Western statesmen often guilty of gigantic blunders? the whole and in the long run it would be for the good of the world and of its units that each country should be free. It ought to be the function of a civilised League of Nations to help even weak countries to defend themselves against foreign foes. The surviving predatory instincts of many nations ought not to be allowed to perpetuate or justify the enslaved condition of The enslavement vast areas of the globe. of the inoffensive householders in a country by its robbers would be equally justifiable.

Political Parties in India.

Party politics in India would be less futile, and more dignified in appearance, if the parties had their respective constructive policies and schemes of service to the country, and if there were material differences in them. But there do not seem to be any. At present, a humorist might say that the main substantial differences between the parties consisted in one praying and the other demanding—the use of both the words being attended with equal results-and in one professing to be quite satisfied with and profusely thankful for the alms or dole of reforms obtained and the other professing to be dissatisfied and clamouring for more. We should like the parties to seek to outrival each other in service to the country.

Sir Nilratan Sircar's Two Convocation Speeches.

The two addresses which Sir Nilratan Sircar delivered as Vice-chancellor on the two days of the Calcutta University Convocation were models of their kind, in matter, manner, diction, lucidity, methodical presentation of facts and ideals, and conciseness. They were also characterised in some passages by depth of thought. In the first he said that the University had been "for sometime past living in a state of been living in an interregousn, bin which Guylen Kapp Hellarich enable you to fulfil its purpose been living in an interregousn, bin which Guylen Kapp Hellarich enable you to fulfil its purpose

have been expected to mark and not make time," and he rightly observed, "none is substher the name bold as to predict whether the new venture we we will and experiments in University reconstruction will give as good an account of themselves as those they are going to supersede."

Dr. Sircar proceeded to observe and how that the University has not show that the University has not sat still For example, he referred to the development of vernacular studies, to the efforts made to found a school of Indian culture histor, to the opening of new courses in India anthropology and anthropometry and sociology, to taking in hand the reorganica tion of the D. P. H. course to promote the supply of a properly trained body health officers to assist in the campaign against insanitary conditions in Bengal, t the institution of a system of periodical medical examinations of college students Calcutta, and to the introduction of el mentary hygiene as a subject of optional and the n study for the matriculation examination prople, for He also called attention to the work of teaching and research done in the Post graduate Arts and Science Departments. The social reco original work done in both is not inconsider able and is encouraging. As regards teach ing, we must say we have heard persisten great pa complaints of taking life easy on the part of some professors. This requires immediat son's re looking into.

The advice which the Vice-chancello gave to the new graduates was comprehen sive, and not of the hackneyed type Though his references to the results like to follow from the Reform Act are a little too optimistic, yet he did well to sugget that the graduates should take advantage of whatever opportunities of service, lities, and avenues of employment it mis offer. His reference to the opportunities the expanding industrial field was more in harmony with actual conditions than the than the expectations that he held out "larger opportunities of employment in the most higher military services." But the most astance important part of his advice was in relation a standing to the graduater. to the graduates' duties in the fields be social reform social reform and social service and meed of that "higher knowledge alone can give -alone can give you a right concept

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this is the knowledge which regards the none is so represent the Being as the highest object of knowwenture of this knowledge, on which is based logo by venture of the world, is the mortan by the society together It for mortar hat binds society together. struction trongest bulwark of the social system. hemselves or as you neglect the lessons that this higher howledge imparts, there is no hope of your forts being successful in any of the various t sat still ields of national activity." relopment

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As regards social reconstruction, e history said:-

In order that you may be able to prepare in India etry and and equip yourselves for your new opportunities organisa properly and well, it is imperative that you promote should, above all, direct your attention to the body of many problems of social reform that await solution. This reform should amount to a campaig radical reconstruction of our social fabric. The Bengal, to mire social machinery must be readjusted to periodical meet the new and altered conditions. Alike tudents in the successful working of the Constitutional kelorms, for the much-needed development of industries, for the improvement of public health optiona and the mental and physical efficiency of the mination people, for the elevation of the so-called depresswork of d classes and the uplift of the womanhood the Post launch on a bold and comprehensive scheme of nents. The social reconstruction.

rds teach The second address was devoted in persister great part to a consideration of some the pan salient aspects of the University Commismmediat Son's review of the past history and present position of the University. chancelle Passages from this address may be quoted.

UNDERGRADUATE TEACHING.

yed type we are ready to undertake undergraduate taching mith to undertake undergraduate ults like taching with the same force of determination are a little as soon as the necessary changes in the Univero suggest as the necessary changes in the officer and a soon as the effected by fresh legislation and dvantas as the necessary financial provisions are made for such an undertaking. But a mode for such an undertaking. But a consistency of shaping our own response to the living needs of the tit was and the responsibility of shaping our current with the response to the living needs of the living needs of the living needs in was in response to the living needs of the conditional undertaking.

OVERCROWDING IN COLLEGES.

DOMINANCE OF LITERARY OR LEGAL STUDIES.

For the last ten years it would be correct to say that it is the dearth or absence of opportunity for studying technological and agricultural courses in the University that has maintained the dominance of the purely literary or legal studies therein, rather than the absence of a disposition on the part of our young men to avail themselves of such opportunities.

A CRY EXPOSED.

A third aspect of the congestion is familiar to us from the cry now and then raised in certain quarters that there are too many students going in for University or higher secondary education. That there is too little primary education in the country does not usually cause any acute anxiety or alarm: the serious evil is that there should be so much secondary and University education!

The Vice-chancellor's plea for agricultural and technological education was very convincing, and deserves to be widely read, though it is too long for us to quote. After describing the University Commission's meagre proposal in relation to agricultural education, he observed:

This will never do! Those who have an inside knowledge of the facts know very well that there is or would be plenty of land, of capital, and of employment, in this Province, in connection with agricultural operations in the widest sense of the term. I do not speak merely of the Sundarbans, of unreclaimed tracts of jungle or marsh, I speak also of thousands of plots of cultivated land available for agricultural developments.

The address concludes with a splendid peroration, which must be quoted.

The best resource of a country, as has been said, is the capacity of its people, the best way of developing its resources is to develop that capacity, and the best place for the development of that capacity is the University.

My plea for the exploitation of capabilities and resources by the University must not, however, be misunderstood as ignoring the basis of a liberal, humanistic and cultural development, which must always form the basis of Indian the most standing in a densely populated country fields and interpose to enable the national purse to enable the national purpose to enable the demands of court that quality alike. And it is not synthesis which we must seek to-day in all sance. It is this larger synthesis which should sance. It is this larger synthesis which should

be the motto of the coming University of the post-war reconstruction, so that all knowledge may be as the kindly light leading to the sanctum of the knowledge of the Self (Atman), and all science be but a handmaid to the Science of God (Brahma-Vidya), the instrument of peace, not of death and destruction. But there is a greater synthesis still to which all these partial syntheses point, the synthesis between the East and the West,—the East developing personal liberty and individual rights and responsibilities on the one hand, and the rights and responsibilities of the Central State on the other,-the West developing the grouplife, as well as communal rights, against individual rights and State rights in the spheres of the economic unions and other similar groupings. And in this great human synthesis of the future, well may India, with the University at her side as the meeting ground of so many races and nationalities, of so many cultures and civilizations, of so many laws and systems of polity, of so many ethical and spiritual constructions, officiate as the High Priest of this Cult of Synthetic Unity in the Temple of Humanity.

Main Effort and Supplementary Effort in Education.

There is one passage in Sir Nilratan Sircar's first convocation address which calls for a definite word of criticism. He said, "unless the efforts of Government are materially seconded and supplemented by the people no substantial and speedy improvement is possible." That Government and people must both work earnestly in the field of education is obvious and essentially necessary. But the question is, whose effort is the main effort and whose the secondary and supplementary? Dr. Sircar's address itself contains the information that in the effort of the University to teach science it has received no "aid or sub-vention" from the State, and that out of the "annual expenditure of about four lakhs and a quarter" for post-graduate teaching in Arts, the State gives only Rs. 63,000. So in the University the people's effort, in the shape of endowments and the different kinds of fees paid by examinees and students, is the main and almost the sole effort. Let us now turn to the lower stages of education. We take our figures from the recently published Report Public Instructions in Bengal for 1918-19 and the Government Resolution thereon. The total expenditure Con In Plub granden Gundu kinds of public instruction in Bengal is curred from different sources during the years 1917-18 and 1918-19 is show

18	Head.	1918-19.	1917-18	Lord Ch
Taid	Side wind and a reside	Rs.	1917-18 (Rs.	Congres
2.	Provincial revenues District funds	8,627,261	8,246 90	I merely T
3.	Municipal funds	1,336,207 194,703	1,249,821	their COI
4.	Fees	12.664 882	11 205 05	of the O
5.	Other private sources	4,934,581	4.413 9:	demand
	Total	27,757,635	-	man on
	may be able to year	21,131,635	25,493,53	un-maki

In the above the people's effort is n presented by heads 4 and 5, namely "Fees" and "Other private source" They show that the people spent much more than the Government. So our conde sion is that Sir Nilratan Sircar ought to have said: "Unless the efforts of the people are materially seconded and supplemented by Government, no substantial and speed improvement is possible." We do not, of course, mean to say that the people have done their best. By no means. The people ought to do far more, and Govern of it is ment far far more.

Resolutions and Speeches at the Last Congress.

As we were not present at the session of the Amritsar Congress and as we har not read the reports, defective as they are of even all those speeches which have been reported in the papers, it would presumption on our part to sit in judgment on the speakers at the Congress. Som speeches we have read, and from what " have read it seems to us that Swall Shraddhananda and Mr. M. K. Gand struck the right note. Some of the speech were undignified and characterised want of self-restraint, and one which where have read was marked by a flippant took

Among the resolutions, the one deep regretting and condemning the mobexcess was, in our opinion, the most important It did something It did something which it was entirely in this shor our power to do; it did not embody and in prayer or down and it is the interest of the state of prayer or demand, both equally unavailing It was meet It was meant to set ourselves right will God and ourselves The sceptre justice is not in our hands. We can invoke the aid of the moral laws of the

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miverse; and that we can do only when me have ourselves conformed to them. As regards the resolutions relating to General Dyer, Sir Michael O'Dwyer and 1917-18 Lord Chelmsford, our opinion is that the Congress ought to have contented itself 8,246.9% / merely with an expression of its opinion of their conduct and that they are unworthy of the offices they hold or held. One can demand that a thing be done by another man only when one has the making or the m-making of the latter in his hands; otherwise the demand is hollow, unmeaning and pseudoheroic, as all political demands are in our present political condition. The other form which the expression of a desire, addressed to another and to be gratified by him, can take, is entreaty or prayer. Both literally and inspirit we can pray to God, for we are his children, and he is perfectly just, perfectly loving, and omnipotent. When a prayer is addressed to a sovereign, the me of the word "pray" or some synonym Govern of it is not in itself objectionable in all cases; as, for example, when a national ing reigns tacitly by the consent of the people, derives his power from the people, and is the embodiment of the sovereign will of the people. In other cases, seeming to do something heroic and at the same ime praying even to a king should be taken exception to, as being unmanly and equivalent to the impotent whinof helpless creatures. In our present political condition, the demand, request, the three appeal, or prayer, regarding the three persons, was unreal and hollow, insincere", if we may use the word, Rayer when the request, demand, or Mayer was voiced, no one of those who to We lone also to he had any hope that It we ther remarks the pardoned for making one ther remark in this connection. The Conhexcess urged the recall of Lord Chelmsford, nportal arged the recall of Lord Chelmsford, ntirely in and in his that it had no confidence in ntirely in and in his sense of duty. Yet it is to the navailing its Dracid that the Congress, ght with the Lord Chelmsford that the Congress, antre the Congress of the Resident, has addressed the reght will best to relieve General Dyer of his comcan of the do not call in question the
can of the do not call in question the

But a thing may be formally correct without being "commonsensible". You consider a man so unfit that you urge his recall, yet by your request to him you seem to expect that he would be equal to the discharge of a rather difficult piece of duty. Do you really expect or do you not? If the expectation be not real, why all this hollow

acting? We do not like unrealities.

One or two of the speeches relating to the resolutions we have been considering were full of the fury of impotent rage. Are such things worthy of a tragic occasion? Suffered we have. If we had the power to punish the wrong-doers, we should have forgiven them in our hearts while at the same time depriving them of the power of fresh wrong-doing. As we have not that power, are we to indulge in impotent rage? To do so not only degrades our souls, but loses us the respect of the world-public (if it at all cares for us) and exposes us to the derisive taunts of our enemies.

Sir P. C. Ray's Address at the Science Congress.

Sir Praphulla Chandra Ray's presidential address at the Nagpur session of the Indian Science Congress was very rightly devoted to the consideration of how the causes of scientific education and scientific research might be best promoted in India therefore, also to a review of why hitherto India has not been able to contribute her adequate share of original scientific work. He began by observing:-

Our age is pre-eminently an age of science. It has been rightly observed by a great English writer: "Modern civilisation rests upon physical science; take away her gifts to our country, and our position among the leading nations of the world is gone tomorrow; for it is physical science only that makes tomorrow; for it is physical science intelligence and moral energy stronger than brute force." The recent war has amply demonstrated that truth of these observations. While Europe, the truth of these observations. America and Japan have taken to the field of science with singular vigour and activity, how does the land lie about us in India? The situation fills our mind with sorrow and shame, and you will excuse me if I enter into a short history of the subject.

After referring briefly to the cultivation of physical science in ancient India, he dwelt upon the earlier attempts made in the British period of Indian history to teach Indians science and after thus referring to the preparatory and assimilative stage, thus described the real dawn of science in modern India:-

What may be termed the period of reproduction or original contribution began in 1895; for, it was in that memorable year that Mr. (now Sir) J. C. Bose read at the meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal a paper entitled, "The Polarization of Electric Waves." There was activity also in other departments of sciences. In other provinces, too, there has pour of science. In other provinces, too, there has now sprung up a general enthusiasm for the study of science, and instances are not wanting where our countrymen have been able to distinguish themselves in the field. I need not refer to this movement in detail, which is within the living memory of all. Suffice it to say that the last quarter of a century has witnessed the dawn of a new spirit in the pursuit of science throughout the country.

Though Prof. Ray was naturally silent on his own pre-eminent part in bringing about "the dawn of a new spirit in the pursuit of science throughout the country," every educated Indian knows it.

In describing the very important part which scientific research must play in the reconstructive work which all nations must, now that the most destructive War in history is over, undertake, he prefaced his observations and suggestions by referring briefly to what Germany, America and Japan have done during and after the war.

Where does India stand in this formidable worldcompetition? My answer is, nowhere. It is sad to reflect that nothing short of the cataclysm of the late Armageddon could rouse us from our stupor and make us realise that, like so many other countries, India must be not only self-contained in the production of her own requirements, but learn to convert vast supplies of raw materials into manufactured products. India has now an enormous amount of lee-way to make up. We must now put forth all our energies and make vigorous and sustained efforts so as to be able to stand a fierce world-competition.

But unfortunately want of general education is a formidable bar to our scientific progress, and "educational progress cannot be effected piecemeal and at a moment's notice." "Our people are sunk in abysmal ignorance and their illiteracy is simply colossal-barely 3 per cent. of the population are under instruction in all types of educational institutions." "A widespread diffusion of primary and secondary education among the dumb millions is the only means of making them rely on their own re-

facilities for the pursuit of scientific research One thing more is also needed. They muy also have the honours and the reward which fall to the lot of those who are devoted to this pursuit. The nishkan pursuit of knowledge, of knowledge for it own sake without hope of reward, is a great borever. and commendable ideal. But it is not a ideal arrangement that some are only to be expected to go on with research without facilities and opportunities or honors and rewards and others are to have both the facilities and opportunities as well as the honours and rewards. Therefore, Sir P.Q. Ray was perfectly justified in suggesting the Indianisation of all the Scientific Departments.

The scientific services of the Government are put of great value, prospect, and security; they afford their holders unique opportunities, rare and valual materials, for study and investigation. But with what studied care the Indians are excluded from the services will appear from the following table complete from a recent Government report:

Table showing the composition of the existing Scientific Services.

Average Pro host of other OFFICERS (IMPERIAL GRADE)

the state of the s			
NAME OF THE			1.4
SERVICE— E	iropeans	Indians	European Ind
Botanical Survey	2	0	1600
Geological Survey	16	0	1010
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Agricultural Service	38	5	1000
Forest Service	9	5	1040
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teriological Service	The second	1 200	1220
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ment)		IN SERVICE	
Indian Munitions	400	neither the	0. 0
Board	11	103	780
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	10	2	970
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Veterinary Depart-	0	10 110	1100
ment (Civil)	2	3	910
Educational Service*	34		
Indian Trigono-	46	0	
metrical Survey †	Day of the Park		1 denen

Prof. Ray had the fairness and gent "Among the occupiers been man sity to add: these posts, there have been sideless distinguished European savants of great selection.

* The Indian personnel has been recently strength and is ev.

† All of these officers except I are Royal Engine ened by certain fresh appointments. In order that science may be an object is also highly paid, consists of 112 officers, of devotion to Indians, they must have without any academic distinction.

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name and fame. I do not for a moment wish to minimise their achievements." But nevertheless what has to be said hey must for our point of view was also said by

The credit of their [the European savants'] work, is a great borever, belongs to their own native countries, and the results of their experience are enjoyed by their ountrymen. I shall try to make my point a bit dearer. The Indian lives and moves and has his ting in the midst of his own people; the European, symptow or other, lives in a world apart, and from is exalted position of aloofness and isolation fails to inspire those who may happen to come into matact with him. Moreover, the European, when ell as the be attains the age limit, retires to his own native Sir P.C. land, and the accumulated experiences gained at the expense of India are lost to the country for good. In a word, the present system arrests Indian intellechal growth and inflicts a cruel wrong on India.

> lapan being independent was able to follow a different policy with great advantage to herself.

In Japan, on the other hand, western experts were at first imported for the organisation of the scientific struces; but they have gradually been replaced by the Japanese scholars. Japan can thus show an Omori in seismology, a Kitasato in bacteriology and Average Profest of other eminent names. Takamine in biological chemistry, not to mention a

Dr. Ray was, therefore, quite justified in suggesting that the utilisation Indian brains in the proposed Chemical Service and in other possible departments, e g, of aerial navigation, engineering, including naval architecture, should be regarded as pivotal. fing of professorial chairs in Government Colleges in India according to the service system has been responsible for the absence of scientific achievement in the colleges. The exceptions need not be trotted out. The state of things in other countries is

Take the method of selection of college and univerprofessors in Italy as described by Dr. Young:— The committee of the most famous professors in the chair is vacant, appointed by the the chair is vacant, appointed by the chair is vacant. control which the chair is vacant, appointed by the control and hoc to report on the various candidates and allowed to report on the various candidates is supported and hoc to report on the various cannot the work done by the work done by the work done by the work done by the the work done of the work done of the lates during the five years immediately preceding the five years immediately preceding the case of candidates detion. And it is only in the case of candidates of the case of candidates of the case of And it is only in the case of candidates reputation that work anterior to this location has secured for the excellence of this reputation of brilliant Recedute has secured for Italy a succession of brilliant than the secured for Italy a succession of brilliant their own, when the Reliasors, who more than hold their own, when the This country are considered."

This method of appointment ought to appointment ought to

The authorities in this country are never tired of singing the praises of men trained in the West. In practice, however, even a third class man of London, or a poll graduate of Oxford or Cambridge, is preferred to the best Calcutta graduates, including Premchand Roychand Scholars, or Doctors of Science and Philosophy,-men who have proved their merit by publishing original works in the pages of the journals of learned Societies of the West.

Even under such discouraging circumstances, indigenous talent has shown great potentiality. Referring to the work done in the Calcutta University College of Science in the year 1918-19, Dr. Ray said that there were 17 original contributions the department of Mathematics, 24 from Physics the department, and 21 from the Chemistry department, to the leading journals of England and America.

It is not for our material advancement alone that the study of science is needed.

While the study of Science is essential to our material advancement, it has a special need and significance for the culture of Indian youth. A long period of intellectual stagnation had produced in us a habit of dependence on the authority of the shāstras. Reason was bound to the wheel of faith and all reasoning proceeded on assumptions and premises which it was not open to anybody to call in question or criticise. Intellectual progress was handicapped under these conditions. Reason has thus to be set free from its shackles and the function of science in achieving this end is indisputable. Science takes nothing on trust but applies to them all the methods of investigation and criticism. I look forward to the growth of this scientific spirit in our country to liberalise our intellect. There is no lack of capacity amongst our young men: what are wanted are patience and tenacity of purpose. The attitude of a scientific mind has been very aptly described by Faraday. "The philosopher," says he, "should be a man willing to listen to every suggestion, but determined to judge for himself. He should not be biased by appearances; have no favourite hypotheses; be of no school; and in doctrine have no master. He should not be a respecter of persons but of things. Truth should be his primary object. If to these qualities be added industry, he may indeed hope to walk within the veil of the temple of nature." It should be the aim of our young men to develop these qualities and nothing is more helpful to their development than the study of science itself,

The Industrial Conference and Commercial Congress.

By holding a joint session of the Industrial Conference and Commercial Congress in the last well in our country. Buth Public Domain. Gu December collection American, those who are January, instead of in the last week of

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interested in commerce and industry have been able to devote undivided attention to the subjects for consideration and more time also to the work before them. There has been, therefore, a perceptible improvement in the quality and quantity of work done. Both Mr. Jehangir Bomanji Petit, chairman of the reception committee, and Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, the president, made able and workmanlike speeches. And the movers and seconders of resolutions made well-informed, reasoned and informing speeches.

The eulogists and thorough-going supporters of the Reform Act have been proclaiming aloud that that measure has practically, though not in so many words, conferred fiscal autonomy on India. Let us see what opinions were pronounced on this subject by the industrialists, merchants and economists who attended the conference. Mr. Jehangir Bomanji Petit, chairman of the reception committee, said:-"What has been vouchsafed to them in the Reform Act was not the real fiscal autonomy. It was only a step in the direction and he hoped complete transfer of it to the people would not be withheld from the people longer than necessary." Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, the President said :-

It is a matter of no small gratification to us that the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for India, whose love and sympathy for us are so well known, has been able to secure the first step towards fiscal autonomy for us by providing in the Reform Act recognition of the contention that the Secretary of State should, so far as possible, abstain from intervention in fiscal matters when the Government of India and the Indian Legislature agree, and should only intervene to safeguard the international obligations of the Empire or any fiscal arrangement within the Empire to which His Majesty's Government is a party. I honestly believe that this is a real first step towards securing to India her just demand, though I wish that we had secured the same full fiscal freedom which the British Dominions enjoyed.

More important than these individual opinions is the resolution of the conference on the subject, which ran as follows:-

"(a) This Conference, while appreciating the assurances given by the Secretary of State dians. India is the land regarding the grant of fiscal freedom and the promises and proclamations. recommendation made in plant by the angree of London in its

Joint Committee, apprehends that in view of poplem the proposed constitution of the Central Government the just demands of the lidia be satisfied and even the real objects underlying may be defeated, and the made Reform measures may be defeated, and there Hindu, in fore respectfully urges that the working of the particle, Act should ensure the effective exercise by the relies of country of its powers to devise and to carry into effect such tariff arrangements as may be bei fally to fitted to India's needs as fully and freely as the pa w self-governing Dominions of the Empire.

The Conference further demands that Hindu: pending the attainment of such autonomou powers the Government of India should impos retaliatory duties against such Dominions at colonial possessions of the Empire as har oters against this country the bogey imposed differential tariffs against this country

It was moved by Mr. Pramathanat among th Banerjee, D. Sc. (Lond.), Minto Professor that they of Economics to the Calcutta University.

Dr. Banerjee said he was not slow to realist the satisfactory nature of the proposed conven tion re the Indian Fiscal Policy and the const tutional difficulty in the way of the Joint Com mittee to recommend the statutory grant of fiscal powers to India; but he said he could not also forget that the long and continuous recon of the British policy in India had been one didia. If subordinating Indian industrial and commercial interests to the indian industrial and commercial subordinating indian industrial subordinating indian indian industrial subordinating indian i interests to the interests of English manufacture and the duty on the export of hides and rebat to the British Empire were the latest instance of such policy: and when they found that the constitution of the Central Government was 16 altered so as to make it amenable to India public opinion (and the agreement of the Central Government with the Legislature was a essential condition to the shaping of the India fiscal policy to suit Indian needs), they natural had misgivings as to the actual working of the convention. India should be able to share Indian tariffs to suit her special needs and end England, which favoured a free trade policy, which favoured a free trade policy, which slowly turning to the consideration of the not to revive protective tariffs to foster Englishing which industries which were now unsettled owing the aftermath of the war. The speaker that urged the necessity of taking retaliator that metric the speaker that metric the speaker that metric the speaker that metric the speaker that metric this factorial that metric the speaker that metric the measures against British possessions that met lowing the measures against British possessions that met lowing the measures against British possessions that met low measures against British possessions against British possession again out differentiating treatment to Indians.

Secretary of Sate for India has, no doubt Secretary of Sate for India has, no grown up in the case of the self-governor like in any Dominions. But the Dominions are that meeted India, their constitutions are not like of India, and their inhabitants are not like white white, non-European, non-Christian dians. Indicate the contraction of dians. India is the land of broken pledges promises and proclamations. To grant

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y may not underlying and the made as good as non-existent. The and there Hindu, in giving a useful summary of the se by the relies on four weapons with which successcarry into any be best fully to thwart the attempts to build reely as the p a well-regulated scheme of protection for her infant industries." Says the

ands that Hindu: utonomou fines advocates can always work up the Indian uld impos voters against protective legislation by raising inions ar the bogey that tariffs "would work to the injury e as hare s country of the masses of India".....If this propaganda athanat among the masses proves ineffective, it says Professor that they [its clients] can depend on influencing the Legislature through "many of the most rersity. influential and progressive of Indian public men" to realiz who, it suggests, will not overlook considera-tions of 'sweet reasonableness.'.....The third sed converthe constireapon which the Times relies on to safeguard oint Com-

grant of e could not ous record een one de lodia. If it is doubtful that the Legislature 1ufacturen and rebate t instance d that the it was not

wrable that the Viceroy's Executive Council would give to any proposal of the kind the concurrence which will be necessary for limiting by convention the Secretary of State's power of to Indian the Central word,"At the top of all, and supposing be Government of India.....agrees with rnatural regislature.....firm as regards a protective consistent with the intentions of radiament. The Joint Select Committee recomto such that the inconsistent with the intentional standard that the Joint Select Committee recomplicy, will be that the Joint Select Committee recommittee of the Secretary of s and to consider the select Committee recommendation of the Secretary of the Empire of the Empire or any fiscal Empire to which His owing to any list and obligations of the Empire or any list and obligations of the Empire or any list as a ker the lajesty's Government is a party. Obviously that method in the would be justified in distance to the lajesty of the United Kingdom or other parts of

by the Empire at a disadvantage in comparison doubt. The Empire at a disadvantage in comparison overnot are in any such countries. Though a changed are not many such case remains unquestionable. The Empire at a disadvantage in comparison overnot are in any such countries. Though a changed are not many such case remains unquestionable. The Empire at a disadvantage in comparison overnot with any such countries. Though a changed are not many such case remains unquestionable. The Empire at a disadvantage in comparison overnot with any such case remains unquestionable. The Empire at a disadvantage in comparison overnot with a countries. the Empire at a diagram or other parts of ike that the Montagu pointed out, all measures not low, will have to receive the sanction of the stian spirit and "Scope of Mind." on the 24th Februage, 1890, Densin Guid bensaice of the least and to a Fakin of cholera in 1846 in Sira, and to

In the first place, those whose cause it [The

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would display so much independence as to look

topurely Indian interests, "it is still less con-

Marquess of Hastings, Governor-General of India, visited Agra Fort, he wrote in his Private Journal, referring to the lower orders of the people of that part of the

"......the constant call for military service, to which they thought themselves born, has kept them from generation to generation individually martial......This is what has occasioned the manly spirit observed by me as so prevalent in these upper provinces. It is, luckily for us, a spirit unsustained by scope of mind; so that for an enterprise of magnitude in any line these people require our guidance."

Possibly it is this view of what is lucky for the British and what not, which led in the past to the adoption of a policy which discouraged and practically tabooed the combination of "manly spirit" and "scope of mind" in the same individuals or classes of Indians. In fact that policy is not yet entirely extinct. May it be hoped that after the King's Proclamation it will be entirely given up for good?

Archaeological Departments of British and Indian India.

The Athenaeum (London) of September 26, 1919, p. 947, contains a review of "Annual Reports: Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle: Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle. Mysore Archaeological Department." The first two publications are from British India. The reviewer writes:-

At all events, as one reads these Reports, one does miss the high consecrated fervour that inspires similar publications about Egypt and Greece. The Anglo-Indian officials seem to set their teeth and get through the mirrors and limes in Nanjappa's backyard as quick as they can. It's a job that's got to be done, like any other job. And their Indian collaborators, though more leisurely, have likewise the air of pursuing a profession instead of a passion.

In justice to the Mysore Director of Archaeology it is added:

One ought perhaps to except Mr. Narsimhachar, Director of Archaeology for the State of Mysore. His Report—which is much more interesting than either of those that come from British India-is lightened by flashes of enthusiasm. He describes terrible climbs and

other writers, even when they are describing buildings as interesting as the Buddhist monasteries at Nalanda and the Jain temples in the Deogarh Fort, work doggedly and almost unsympathetically. One can scarcely blame them for this, for, as already indicated, the general deportment of the Temple is odious. It is unaccommodating, it rejects every human grace, its jokes are ill-bred, its fair ladies are fat, it ministers neither to the sense of beauty nor to the sense of time, and it is discontented with its own material. No one could love such a building.

To show the business efficiency and helpfulness to the public, of the Department, the concluding paragraph of the review is quoted below.

At the end of each Report is a long list of photographs for sale. But is one allowed to buy them? The question is less idle than it sounds. Some years ago the present reviewer was in India and tried to buy photographs. Down many a jungle path he tracked them, but in vain, and only after several weeks was the appropriate Anglo-Indian official found and a meeting arranged by a mutual friend. "Yes," it was something else besides: he was expressing, though unintentionally, the wishes of the Temple itself. What does it matter if everything is known provided nobody knows it? The Temple has never resented the omniscience of God. An infinite number of negatives locked up for eternity in a box belonging to the Government of India-the conception appeals to the religious sense, it renders even archaeology bearable, and it is significant that this particular Anglo-Indian should still figure as a prominent official in one of the publications under reviewthere is no occasion to specify in which.

Nothing need be added to the reviewer's strictures. One may, nevertheless, ask, what then is the main business of the British Indian Archaeological Department? Is it to bring to light or imagine and invent foreign influence in India's past?

The Lying and Hypocrisy of Europeans in East Africa.

The Europeans in East Africa pretend to be concerned for the welfare of the Africans and pretend that they want to exclude Indians from that region only for that reason. But the Africans themselves give the lie to these hyprocrites, as the following letter, written to Micco. In Public Dechain Surfey Kangri Rollestian Harding for £4500 to endow

two most prominent Africans and sent to us by him, will show :-

> Lukiko, Nonge, Uganda. 22nd December, 1919

Dear Sir,

With reference to our meeting with you our Native Parliament this morning, we beg to confirm in writing our opinion we expressed the following two points which came on namely :-

We do want the Indian to remain in og Country, as we consider that their being ha would improve our country, and would do us lot of good, and would do no harm to the country. Besides, we find them moral people We would of course like better Indians.

We do not want our country to be united to any other Protectorate, for we consider the if this was done it would greatly interfere will our Uganda Treaty, 1900, and our customs. have other reasons, besides. Therefore, w would very much like this Protectorate to remain

We thank you for your coming to see us an our Native Parliament, and we wish your pleasant voyage.

Yours truly,

Apolo Kagwa, Prime Minister, Staislos Enganya, Chief Justice & Sikh Ministers of the Native Parliament 4 Lando

Lectures on Indian Art and Culture at Harvard and in England.

Harvard University Gazette informs that under the auspices of the Division Fine Arts, Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswall Keeper of the Section of Indian Artint Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, was to har given a course of ten lectures on "India Art and Culture," on Wednesday and Friday afternoons at 4.30 o'clock, beg ning November 19th last. The titles the separate lectures are as follows:

Rig Veda, Upanishads, Vedanta, Yoga Buddhism, Jainism. Vaishnava, Saiva and Sakta Theology. Theory of Art, Silpa Sastras. Caste. State

of Craftsmen. Buddhist Sculpture. Brahmanical Sculpture. Buddhist and Jaina Painting. Rajput and Mughal Painting. Architecture.

While America has already taken produced at steps the tical steps, the India Society of London rearly c the Lon England ested in country.

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ame pro Governm nominati the past ad sent to rearly course of lectures on Indian Art at rearry London School of Oriental Studies. be hold has greater reason to be inter-bigland has greater reason to be intersted in things Indian than any other But hitherto she has lagged behind some other countries in this study. It is amusing to find that in India papers which never cared a straw for Indian art have begun to write about it, because Lord Ronaldshay has spoken on it and there is a movement concerning it in London. This is snobbery.

Distribution of Seats for the Indian Legislative Assembly.

The different distributions of seats made for the constitution of the Indian Legislative Assembly by the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, Southborough Franchise Committee and Parliamentary Committee, are indicated below :-

Communities M.-C. Franchise Parliamentary

		Committee	Committee
1. General or			
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By the Lucknow compact between the Joslem League and the National Congress, the Indian-elected members be Mussalmans. satisfied by the Franchise Committee, and has been observed by the Parliamenby Committee. Leaving out the members the non-(49+7+2) members for the Justin communities and 29 members to o doubt the Muslim community. I have doubt that when nominating nonoficials for the Indian Assembly the tame proportion will be observed by the Covernment of India and trust that the hominations will be made mainly from past and will be made mainly from Moslem League, National Congress and Moderates' Conference.

It seems to me that there will be some reasonable disappointment if the proportion of elected seats be not raised to three-fourths of the total number of seats for the Indian assembly, and that the august Assembly for all British India will be wanting in dignity and high character unless there be representatives in it of the University fellows and graduates. When I remember how Mr. Gladstone, Member for the Oxford University, raised the character of the British Parliament for over the 35 years, until he went to South Lancashire, I have no doubt that the University members will contribute to raising the high position of the Indian Assembly in the same way. If three-fourths of 140 seats of the Assembly be elected, there will be 5 seats available, two to be elected by the Universities of Madras, Bombay, Central Provinces, Mysore and Secundarabad and 3 by the Universities of Bengal, Bihar-Orissa, United Provinces Punjab, Assam and Burmah.

In the case of Provincial Councils the vote has been given to graduates of 7 years' standing. In the case of the Indian Assembly votes may be given either to graduates of 15 or 20 years' standing or to the ordinary fellows of the Universities and the principals of affiliated colleges and professors engaged in the education therein.

The distribution of seats according to the Provinces is shewn below:-

CHC I TO THECE IS SHOTH					
Province	M.C.	Franchise Committee	Parliamentary Committee		
	report				
Madras	11	12	16		
	THE PERSON NAMED IN	12	16		
Bombay	11		17		
Bengal	11	13			
United Pre	10	12	16		
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Punjab	7	9			
Bihar-Oris	202 7	9	101/2		
		5	5		
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Delhi	nil	1	nil		
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Total	67	80	100		

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she is under the High Court and the This looks to be University of Lahore. probable, because to the Panjab with 191/2 millions of people have been allotted 111/2 seats aganist 16 seats of the United Provinces with 47 millions of people. According to population the Panjab should have got only 7 seats for 16 seats of the United Provinces.

The 29 seats of the Mussalmans have been thus distributed :- 3 to Madras, 4 to Bombay, 6 to Bengal, 6 to the United Provinces, 5 to the Panjab, 3 to Bihar-Orissa, 1 to the Central Provinces and 1 to Assam. There is no sharp social distinction between the landowners and the rest of the Mussalman and the Sikh community. So the 4 seats proposed for the Muslim Zemindars and one for the Sikh Zemindars have been amalgamated with the seats allotted to the Mussalman and Sikh communities by the Franchise Committee. The Mussalmans have got now 29 seats aganist 19 and the Sikhs 2 against one proposed by the Southborough Committee. It was the earnest pleading of the Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan that "for the present the special electorate for the landowners should be retained, in order to encourage the big landholders to take part in public life," that has evidently led the Parliamentary Committee to allow this in the case of the Hindus, although the landlords' representatives will be elected one for each of the 7 major provinces by combined electorates of all communities.

The combination of all the communities to elect a representative of the landlords or Zemindars for a whole province without distinction of creed or race may lead to the abolition of racial distinction when electing representatives of commerce to the Indian Legislative assembly twelve years hence, by which time the fight between capital and labor will develop, while the jealousy between the English and the Indian merchants will considerably abate. I am glad the representatives of commerce to the Indian Assembly has been increased from 10 to 13, although all the increase has gone to non-Indian merchants for 12 years.

The Proposed Exclusion of Indians from East Africa.

We have been permitted to publish the from two letter following extracts written by Mr. C. F. Andrews to by Rabindranath Tagore, on the proposed exclusion of Indians from East Africa:

I cannot tell you how serious the situation here has grown and how critical matters have become. Things were going on quite peaceal become. between European and Indian until a land body of Europeans came up from South Affa as new settlers. From that very day the pois of race hatred was sown; and it has spread ever where, till the bitterness has become inter-It is all the work of the last five or six year and has been chiefly accelerated by the warfer and lust of dominion which the war has cause The missionaries have entered into the affir wholly on the side of the Europeans and clergyman named Mr. Bennett appears to be ringleader. The person most often quoted we Indian moral depravity is described is the Bishop of Zanzibar. It is a perfect hornet's no for any one, who is a European, who speaks word on the other side, and the whole Gover ment civil service seems to have weakly yield to the clamour of the settlers. I am not set even if they have, not merely yielded, but go over in a body, heart and soul.

There is an annual gathering of European at which representatives from eve association in the country meet in session is called the "British Parliament" of East Afra For two years they have been discussing the 'Indian Policy.' They sent out a Draft Red tion to each association and discussed at les each word of it. It was a most deliber affair. Then at the annual convention this they passed unanimously the final Declaration They made it a solemn affair, as if they we deliberately taking their stand for righteous before God and in His Presence. I will quot small part of it so that you may understand what it means :-

"The convention asks the Government forward a copy thereof at once to the Imper

That during the Petition re Indians, the Conference had the assistance of four missionaries, being a Roman Catholic and three being the Missionary the Missionary Conference which was sitting

THAT WHEREAS our Nation has assure long responsibility for the future of the indigence ally told East African peoples and the assure that assure the same assure that the same assure that the same assure that the same assure that assure the same assure that assure that the same as the sam responsibility for the future of the indigenter assessed the countries inhabit inhabit

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WHEREAS the maintenance of this country depends entirely on the prestige and force of

character of the white man AND WHEREAS certain Indians have entered this country as traders, clerks and artisans

AND WHEREAS these people follow in all things a civilisation which is Eastern and in many respects repugnant to ours

AND WHEREAS their social status brings them more frequently into contact with the African and thus subjects him to intimate personal inflences antagonistic to the ideals of the West.

AND WHEREAS the African has shown that he possesses latent qualities which under Western guidance hold promise of material development AND WHEREAS Indian competition denies him all incentives, to ambition and oportunities of

advancement

AND WHEREAS the Indian community in this country are agitating for adult suffrage and by this means seek to gain control over the destinies of this country

We, THEREFORE, representing the white community, ask the Secretary of State to rule that no system of franchise be given to the liatics, nor should they be allowed to acquire and except in townships on short leases, nor be employed in Government works, and that steps k taken at once to restrict Asiatic Immigration n order that this stronghold of European Comisation in Central Africa may stand beside er sister colonies in their Asiatic policy.'

A still more serious matter is this, that the BE, A. Government have issued a Report of their own Economic Commission (which was largely in the hands of Government officials) in which the same attitude was taken up. This is the conclusion :-

If we further complicate the task by the aposure of the African to the antagonistic inbillosoph Asiatic, as distinct from European hosophy, we shall be guilty of a breach of

The same Report has the following sentence: The moral depravity of the Indian is equally tage is at local depravity of the Indian is called the African, who, in his natural tate, is at least innocent of the worst vices of

The Chairman of this Report was one of the the Chairman of this Report was one of this Government officials in the land. This anything else show you more clearly than anything else impossible the situation has become. I the Indiana the misery this situation means the Indians who have settled here. Many selong before the D. They are practias assume the have settled here. Many indigence all the while thuth is the country. And all the while truth is as plain as can be that it is super of cases and this cover of christians.

western civilisation is a hypocrisy which is asbase as it is cowardly and mean. The distress goes deeper than the Punjab.

In the next letter Mr. Andrews writes :-

I told you, in my last letter, the disgraceful charges which were being authoritatively brought against the Indians in this country,that they were immoral persons who were not fit to live in close contact with the Africans. It was also said, that the African did not wish to have the Indian in the country, and that the European was standing up for the Africans' rights as against the Indians. There was never grosser hypocrisy than this; for, all along, it has been the Europeans themselves who have been scandalously to blame in this very matter and it is really their own guilty consciences which have made them frame this charge against the Indians. One of the leading members of the Economic Commission (which brought forward this accusation) was guilty of causing an African to be flogged, till he died under the lash. You know what an experience W. and I both had in South Africa, -if anything the full record here in East Africa is worse.—The greed and rapacity and cruelty of which I have heard is simply atrocious. And these very Europeans, who do these things, are now laying the blame on the Indians and attempting to drive them out of the country! My whole heart is sick out here with it all, and I long to get away from it. I have found it, sooner or later, the same every time I have come out to these foreign countries. The truth is, that the greed for gold has eaten like cancer into the heart of my own nation and what you have warned me about—that it would grow worse instead of better, after the War. has surely already come to pass. It is palpably so out here. We seem to be able to do great wonders of mechanical organisation and transport, but the heart of things is unsound and so the evil grows like a malignant disease. On the surface, things seem so marvellous, and men say, - 'What miracles have been wrought!' (And it is truly wonderful what has taken place, mechanically) but below the surface, deep down, there is such a terrible breaking up of things sacred, that nothing now can stay the deadly plague. These African people, whom I have learnt to love, are slowly dying. I will write down the words of a Government official in East Africa who knows:

"There is no surer sign of social disintegration than for the marriage tie to become unstable among the mass of the people. In the mixture of men of different tribes in European employment in British East Africa the customary union is by the month—the men and women arrange such a union by themselves, the woman receiving which are the cause of offence in a large unions in East! Africa may last for months at all 301/2-16

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among ordinary African labourers. These need their money to pay the tax. For them there is provided an immense class of prostitutes, a totally new feature in African life. But most of the men who are monthly wage-earners have women of their own. Their industrial life being precarious, their liabilities to their women are correspondingly restricted. They have no wives as they have no homes. They get their wage as the end of the month, they change their masters at the end of the month, (to travel perhaps for days to other masters) and so they marry-for a month! These unions have no sanction in native law, or our own. As is inevitable, children are rare and diseases are common. But such unions are not felt to be disgraceful, as by many prostitution is still felt to be disgraceful. The system fits the labourer's life. The State may awake some day to the fact that it is manufacturing disease faster than any conceivable means of prevention can overtake it."

This is the plain record of one, who states that he has lived more than half a generation closely in touch with the people and has watched the process going on. I have seen the Africans whom he has thus described, and I can fully believe that what he has stated is the bare fact. There is a look about them, in East Africa, especially round Nairobi-which is due to a joyless and sadly degenerate life. And yet, it is these very same Europeans, (whose demands for 'labour' and whose recruiting of 'labour' are reducing the African only too often to this level) who are now declaring, that the Indians are contaminating the African and exploiting him till he becomes a mere 'hewer of wood and drawer of water'! The truth is, that the exploitation and the permanent inferior status of the African would be far, far more pronounced, if the Indian were out of the way and the European had to deal with the African alone.

But here, in Uganda, I have seen something different and it has cheered me; while East Africa only depressed me. The African people here are simple-hearted Christians, deeply attached to their religion, and they had a start of fully thirty years before the European traders and settlers came, with their 'civilisation'. Indeed the Europeans (except the missionaries) here had altogether a secondary part to play in Uganda. There are a large number of Indians, and they are respected. When I was under treatment in the Hospital, I asked the Doctor his own opinion. He is the greatest Doctor in the whole of Central Africa, -of the same standing in his profession as Sir Leonard Rogers in Calcutta. He has done more than any other man living to stamp out sleeping sickness. His name is Doctor Albert Cook. He told me that he had patients from all over East Africa be-longing to all races. When I mentioned to him the charge of moral depravity, which had been brought against the Indians the Down and been determined to uphold to the last the Local Republic Down Restal Karith Clerent Printing Government of 1900 A.D.

indignant, and he said to me at once They are moral people I have to deal the most moral people I have to deal with —He then wrote to me the following letter, to use publicly as I might think fit ;-

> C.M.S. Hospital. Kampala. Uganda. December 22nd, 1919,

Having been in charge of the largest Hospital in Uganda for over 20 years I give it as m deliberate opinion that there is less venered disease among the Indians resident in Kampal than in any other section of the community.

This Hospital has over 200 beds and wehar and Out-patient practice a large In-patient among the Indians.

> Albert R. Cook, O.B.E., M.D., B.Sc. (Lond) B.A. (CAMB.)

This is not all. Yesterday I was invited by the Prime Minister of Uganda, who is practically ruling the country, as the king is very junior, to attend a session of the Uganda Council, when have kep all the great Uganda chiefs were assembled I asked them the question,-If they wanted the for women Indians to leave the country,—and they unant mously answered that they did not. I asked specially them if they thought the Indians were immoral people and they said, "Certainly not; they respect has grow how they respect to the people and they said," our women and we have no complaint against The Chief Justice said to me, "If the Indians were to go all our trade would vanis and we should all have to wear barkelot again!" These chiefs are magnificent men. The are the most enlightened in the whole of Africa and they have had close contact with Indian for generations. Sir Apollo Kagwa and the Chief Justice have signed a letter and handed to me, on behalf of the whole Uganda Chief Council. It completely destroys the argument of the Europeans in East Africa that they a 'speaking on behalf of the voiceless Africant That argument is very similar to that of the Anglo-Indian official who speaks of represent ing the 'voiceless millions in India'. We have known it of old!

These African people win one's heart to They are absolutely simple in the affection and devotion. Since I came to Ugan and they saw how the Indians received me, the have come to me also. The young Bagand students have been with me every day and have been tolling. have been telling them about you and how you would have loved them and how great was jo love for students in every part of the world as how young men always flocked to you instructively as soon as how young men always flocked to you instructed all ing tively as soon as ever they saw you transfer for the work of the work o promised them a copy of your English translations in the Indian Day of tions in the Indian Edition for their library at they cheered like anything when I announced They are brimming and an announced they are brimming the state of th They are brimming over with patriotism and an determined to uphold determined to uphold to the last their trail

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m and a eir treat not to allow their rights to be encroached upon. to allow their rights to be encroached upon. They have just come to the full flood tide of their own National Movement and they have their own National Movement and they have their own the learn which our Indian erything yet to learn which our Indian they have been learning. They have been students have been stagged the English Fever' stage and have not the stagged the stagge divolgh the English Fever' stage and have not drough the national desired them about sticking other own beautiful language and their very gaceful National dress. There is a wonderful gatching among them and it has been deeply goving to me to find how they opened out their hearts to me in these few short days.

The more and more I have seen of the Gujarati Indians who have come out here (they are nearly al Gujaratis) the more I have been proud of them. You can't tell what fine men they are in character and how true they have kept to their Indian tradition of gentle courtesy to the weak. Sc. (Lond) Thave never seen one harsh deed or heard one harsh word from them towards the Africans: and on the other hand I have seen so many acts ofkindness. No wonder the African is on their side in this great controversy. And then they have kept their lives pure in the midst of great temptation. I feel that it is their true respect for woman as mother which has sustained them. hey man They see everyone giving way around them and t. I asked specially the European; but they themselves have been true. They all tell me that religion has grown altogether weak among themselves; but the heart of religion is there, and the

response is immediate. My friend, Mr. Abdul Rasul, has a large estale here and in the early morning I watched his labourers coming to their work. tot Baganda, but the lower tribes. What was one included was to notice, that there was not one single harsh word or any blow struck at though the labourers were over a thousand innumber. Everything went on quite merrily and there was lawar the line. The and there was laughter all along the line. Rople seemed well fed and they were receiving the seemed well fed and they were receiving they came for these amonth. In earlier times they came for 1 or 2 rupees.

Sometimes, I have felt,—"Why should we not the and have done with it?" But I am quite that the whole than that this is wrong, and that the whole by being lace races in Africa depends on their the proud white man all alone. The European all alone. The European Africa: proud white man all alone. The European past, always degenerated in Africa: by the past, always degenerated in Arrival and crime country has been marked with and crime, scarcely less than that of the this continent has been the oreat Crime of how for the continent has been the one great Crime of so-called civilised world. But India, in all transfer with Africa. There have been hardly any library of Indian slave-dealing and hardly a sign with Africa. There have been hardly any of Indian slave-dealing and hardly a sign and her olyn sad arrange of humiliation and and imperious, as and imperious, as She is not proud and imperious, as She is not proud and imperious, and Africa is to have a start and I am certain at the Arab,—and I am certain

play her part in the salvation of these people. The time has nearly come for this. India must throw off her own oppressive treatment of her own depressed classes, and that she is rapidly doing. Her heart is pure and free from racial arrogance. The scene I have witnessed this morning of these kindly Indian managers of this large estate, managing so many of these people, and treating them fairly without any harshness, has given me hope. We must not retire before this bullying bluster of the West. We must not give way to this threatened expulsion. For the sake of the African himself, who needs us, must stick on and make our case known to the world in a dignified and reasonable way.

What the Egyptians Want.

It is said that some Egyptian students in England have written to a prominent daily there that nothing short of independence will satisfy their countrymen. That seems to be a correct reading of the public mind in Egypt, considering that Saad Zagloul Pasha, a most prominent Egyptian Nationalist and chief of the non-official Egyptian delegation in Paris, has, according to the Hindu, written to the London Times claiming "complete independence" for his country, and declined to listen upon any other terms to the suggestion made by Mr. D. A. Cameron in that British paper that he should be appointed Prime Minister. The Egyptian patriot wrote to the Times in part.

"Your contributoris quite wrong in his suggestions as to the future and as to my personal feelings. In reality I can content myself with nothing less than complete independence for my country. It is not a matter of making concessions, but of an absolute right, which cannot be split up into different parts. This is my own profound conviction and the unanimons opinion of my countrymen." "If moreover, I ever could, by some impossibility, deviate from the line of conduct which has been sanctioned by the whole of Egypt, the Egyptians would consider me the greatest criminal." "Your contributor is no less wrong when he says that the whole question would be solved if I were appoint-I would rather be the ed prime minister. humblest subject in my own independent country than occupy the highest possible post in Egypt submitting to a foreign protectorate."

It is presumably this plain and fearless statement of honest convictions which has She is not proud and imperious, as urgent announcement of British point of the Arab,—and I am certain urgent announcement of the County of the Arab,—and I am certain to be raised at call, India Dennit Gurlig Katin Santon add that "owing to the delay which has occurred it should be much more specific than the declaration to India in 1917."

Indians in British East Africa.

The February issue of the Modern Review last year (1919) opened with a long and important article on "Indians in British East Africa." It was written by Mr. G. V. Tadvalkar of Nairobi, British East Africa, and communicated to us by Mr. C. F. Andrews, who asked us to give it the first place on account of its importance. We did so. But, so far as we know, it went unnoticed by the press. Now that Mr. Andrews has, with his usual magnanimity and self-sacrifice, gone in person to Africa and sent a telegraphic message from Nairobi to Mr. M. K. Gandhi, who has communicated it

to the press, it is to be hoped that the condition of the Indians in British Ba Africa will draw serious public attention Mr. Andrews' message runs as follows:

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"East African Indian situation most critical los always always attempt in the loss of the dangerous, because united attempt is he made by European associations to close the door against future immigration and to so Indian franchise. The chief reason is stated be that through Indian contact deprayity is the last advance under Christian W. result, but advance under Christian Wester civilisation. Government Economic Commission report recently published takes same attitude mentioning specifically Indian moral deprara and approving South African exclusion policy

Neither Indians nor Europeans angels, but that the former are moral more depraved than the European colonis in Africa is a pure invention.

Since the above was written, Mr. A. Asia":—
drews has contributed articles and letter
"The on the subject to many Indian papers. KUNTAL-

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Length of Articles.

We prefer articles containing not more than three thousand words. articles have a better chance of early publication than longer ones.

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Writers wishing to comment on or criticise anything appearing in this Review are requested kindly to say their say in not more than five hundred words.

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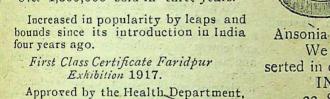
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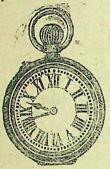
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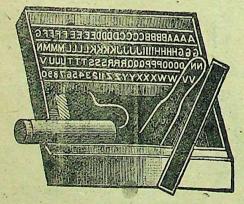
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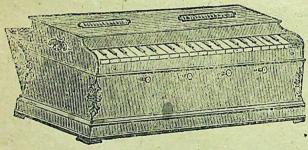
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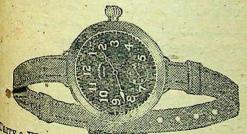
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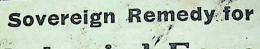
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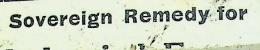
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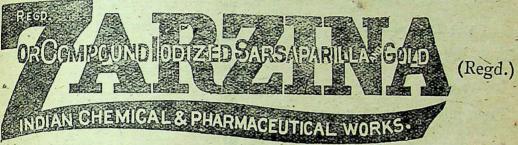
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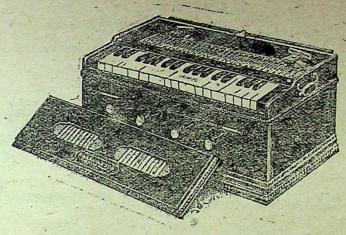
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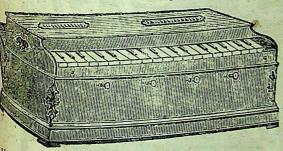
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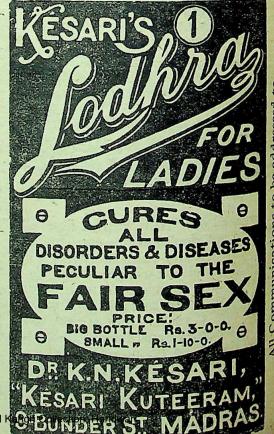
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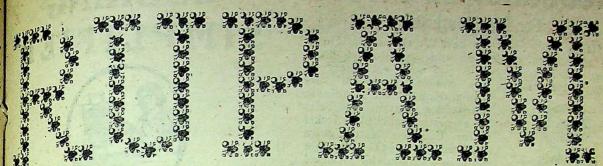
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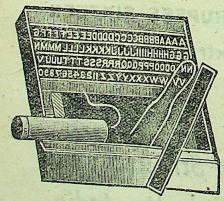
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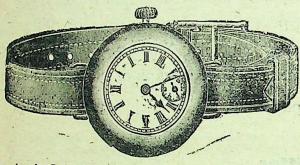
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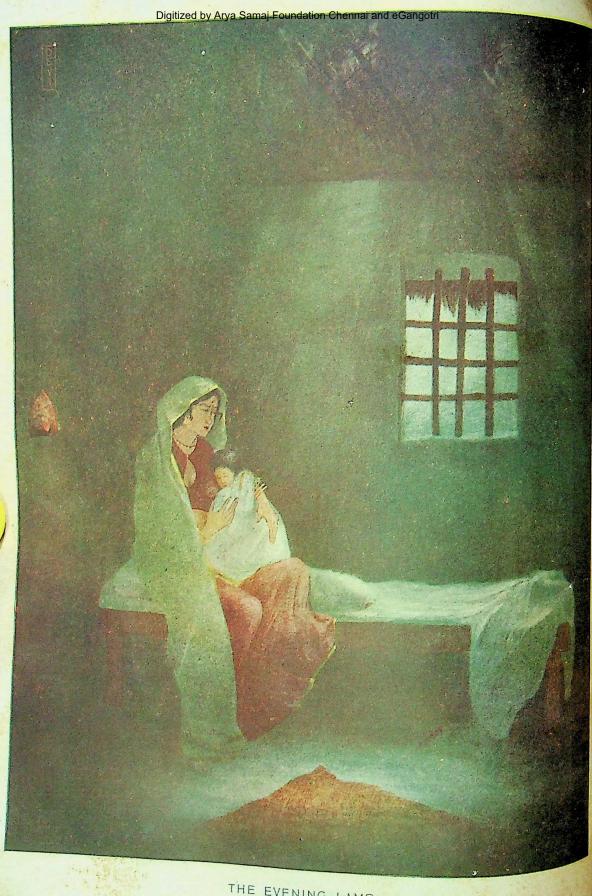
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THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. XXVII No. 3

MARCH, 1920

WHOLE No. 159

NABOTH'S VINEYARD

A PARABLE OF EAST AFRICA

By C. F. ANDREWS.

THE following is the text of the Bible Story from which my parable is derived :-

And it came to pass after these things, that both the Jezreelite had a vineyard, which was plerred, hard by the palace of Ahab, king of

and Ahab spake unto Naboth, saying, Give thy vineyard, that I may have it for a uden of herbs, because it is near unto my and I will give thee for it a better vine-adthan it or, if it seem good to thee, I will tre thee the worth of it in money.

and Naboth said to Ahab, The Lord forbid ne, that I should give the inheritance of fathers unto thee.

and Ahab came into his house heavy and Pleased, because of the word which Naboth Electroelite had spoken to him: for he had I will not give thee the inheritance of my turned away his face, and would eat no

Et Jezebel, his wife, came to him, and said thin, Why is thy spirit so sad that thou

and he said unto her, Because I spake unto the Jezreelite and said unto him, Give thy rine yeard for money: or else, if it please will give thee another vineyard for it: answered, I will not give thee my vine-

Jezebel, his wife, said unto him, Dost tat bread en the kingdom of Israel? Arise, give the kingdom or Islaci. and let thine heart be merry: give thee the vineyard of Naboth the

the wrote letters in Ahab's name, and them with his seal and sent the letters in Ahab's name, and the elders and sent the letters in Ahab's name, and the elders are the name of the elders and to the nobles that were in And shadeling with Naboth.

And she wrote in the letters, saying, Proclaim and set Maketters, saying among the and set Naboth on high among the And set Naboth on high among and set two men, sons of Belial, before And set two men, sons of Belial, Delocation witness against him, saying, Thou rumours have reading. And the men of his city over the elders and Here, for instance, is or the men of his city, even the elders and

the nobles who were the inhabitants in his city, did as Jezebel had sent unto them, and as it was written in the letters, which she had sent unto

They proclaimed a fast, and set Naboth on high among the people.

And there came in two men, children of Belial, and sat before him: and the men of Belial witnessed against him, even against Naboth, in the presence of the people, saying, Naboth did blaspheme God and the king. Then they carried him forth out of the city and stoned him with stones, that he died.

Then they sent to Jezebel, saying, Naboth is stoned and is dead. And it came to pass, when Jezebel heard that Naboth was stoned, and was dead, that Jezebel said to Ahab, Arise, take possession of the vineyard of Naboth the Tezreelite, which he refused to give thee for money: for Naboth is not alive, but dead.

And it came to pass, when Ahab heard that Naboth was dead, then Ahab rose up to go down to the vineyard of Naboth the Jezreelite to take possession of it." (1 Kings 21. 1-16.)

I have taken this narrative out of the Old Testament for my parable, because it has been in my mind night and day during the time that I have been travelling up and down the country and have been trying to enter into the difficulties of the Indians,not so much merely those of the educated classes, but rather those of the uneducated and the illiterate.

As the pressure of the European in the land has grown stronger and stronger and as the European attitude has become more and more hostile, these poorer Indian people in our midst have evidently felt more and more distressed, bewildered and amazed. They do not understand in the least what has been going on. Alarming rumours have reached them and they seek

Here, for instance, is one Indian, with his

little market-garden plot on which he grows vegetables for sale in the township. Here is another Indian, with his tin shed near a railway station, where he keeps his grocer's store. Here is a Sikh carpenter, from the Punjab, living in a tiny room in railway quarters hardly wide enough to contain his long charpai. Here is a Guzrati goldsmith, occupying a corner of the Indian bazar at an excessively high rentcharge. And now and again one's eyes have been cheered by the kindly, genial, sun-burnt face of a Punjabi cultivator, on the borders of the great lake, or across the waters in Uganda. Such men have come to me, as a friend, speaking to me in their different dialects, and wherever I have stopped for a few moments on my journey, -at some little wayside railway station, in a narrow lane in the bazaar, along the open road, or in the fields, -wherever I have met them, I have had the same questions asked me,-

"Why is it that we are told that we must leave the country?" "Why is it that we, who have done no wrong here, are to be sent back to India?"

And the answer that has come to my mind, but remained unspoken, has been thought out in the words of the Bible narrative I have quoted. For the command appears to have gone forth, which becomes louder every year, - "Give me thy vineyard, that I may have it....because it is near to my house.".

It matters nothing that the Indians had opened up the distant places of the interior and established themselves in their small shops and holdings long before the European and South African settler came. Questions of past rights, questions pioneer services rendered, questions of priority of claims,-all these things are brushed aside. The Indian quarter of the bazaar which was the very first to be established, -often in what was then little more than a wilderness,-has now come too near to the European. It is "near to my house"; and so in some way or other it must be removed.

be offered. A better site will be given in

exchange, or else the worth of it in money will be paid.

"I will give thee a better vineyard for it or if it seem good to thee, I will give the the worth of it in money."

This promise, at first, is readily given A site outside the township is offered in exchange for a site in the middle ofth town which is too near to the European ands, lo quarter. But, with an obstinacy that go serv provoking and disconcerting, the India objects to his own removal,-

"And Naboth said unto Ahab, T Lord forbid it me, that I shall sell the inheritance of my fathers unto thee." describe

The Bible story goes on to tell of furth pressure being brought to bear. Andt East African narrative, too, becomes more complicated as time goes on. I have spoken of the Indian bazaar problem in because that has always been the fir point of conflict. But the racial strugg thus begun, has almost inevitably ledo by slow degrees, to the far larger issue driving out the Indian altogether from whole Protectorate. tapande

But before we deal with that lan question, let us turn back for one mono in order to see things on the smaller st Let us take a single instance from act human experience a case where, on Indian side, some greed may perhaps he entered in, so as to injure a good but where, as far as I have been able gather from officials themselves, the lim position was basally and fundamental just. The following document is a me rial from some illiterate and semilitation Indians. I will quote the English, as it is written.

"That the humble memorialists, major whom being illiterate is dumb, and not treated beg to make the treated, beg to remind of the time when present Nairobi, which is now the capital in its infancy, a small town of tents, and it was a perfect will it was a perfect wilderness, where none days necessaries of life, such as fresh vegetables of life etc., that they were etc., that they were induced by officers of the officers of th Government to take up lands on the hat headily the Nairobi river, in swampy ground, co une Nairobi river, in swampy ground, to to the consumption of growing vegetables, fruits, the the consumption of the consumptio offered. A better site will be given in the consumption of the infant Nairobi the consumption of the consumption of the infant Nairobi the consumption of the consump that they could get easy terms from Goref

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t in money the distribution of land at Nairobi was then the users they crave liberty to speak from their heart, they were deceived.

yard for it their heart, their rights and interests also. Il give the Hough they are peaceful, hard-working, lawand proverbially patient, but at times adily given their existence is not considered.

s offered their existence is not considered.

That, on the strength of promises made, the

s offered in the swamps in ddle of the swamps in river, draining swamps, removing ddle of the Mairobi river, draining swamps, removing e Europea eds, long grass, and bush, which some time acy that go served as a breeding ground for malarial the India common has had much to do with improvement of wamp has had much to do with improving the talth of Europeans and Indians alike."

The remaining part of the document cannot be quoted in full. It goes on to ell of furthe describe how the whole area in question ur. And my came up to one hundred and five ares divided among thirty-five persons. When this land had been drained by these Indians, who were mostly ignorant and en the fin literate men, and all had been done to al strugg relaim the swamp, then for the first time the land thus reclaimed became valuable. rger issue lis value was still further increased, ther from the being included later on within the township area, as the town that lan transled towards the bed of the river. When the value of the land rose, everymaller sed ling was done to get the cultivators to from act abandon their claims. They were told here, on the again, in answer to their perhaps be repeated petitions, that they could only a good it witinue to hold their plots on a yearly been able tase with pre-payment of the yearly es, the low were also obliged to observe kinds of harrassing conditions and t is a me ther me, or else forfeit the land altosemi-liter other. They were pointedly warned by English, away at any time on a year's notice. In the light of constant difficulties and sts, major larassments such as these, how can sts, major disassments such as these, now and noticing the differential and not dians avoid noticing the differential teament between themselves and none day its every inducement being offered to the to get their to take t none of the every inducement being offered to the egetables of the offers are being more and more the fall of the withdraws.

It is quite true, that much money can still be made by Indians out of trade. It is true, also, that some Indians have become wealthy landowners, chiefly on account of early purchases of land in township areas. It is this very wealth of the Indians that has made them so disliked. It is this also which has led to covetousness.

Among the European settlers themselves, if I may judge from what I have seen and heard in Nairobi, land speculation has had the effect of an intoxicating wine. To make money very quickly has become, with many, the one great object in life. And the Indian, especially in the townships, blocks the way. What easier method, then, than to raise the racial cry against the 'Asiatic'? What quicker path to further wealth, than to confiscate, in any manner possible, the wealth of the Indian by driving him out of the townships first, and afterwards

out of the country?

Little by little the policy hardens down on anti-Asiatic lines. The Press follows the new public taste and adds to the bitterness and the clamour. The sense of generous dealing, the treatment of all men distinction, alike without racial noblesse oblige which makes a man long to help the weaker side, -all these sterling qualities of the home life in England become less and less powerful abroad in their appeal to the inner heart. New which are coarser and more materialistic take their place. After all, the settler has come out to make money, -and why should he not do it?

When this mood is reached at last, hypocrisies of the worst kind are bound to creep in. These self-deceptions are really the cloak to hide an uneasy and a jaded conscience. They are needed to keep a man in good humour with his own interior

offices of cadily withdrawn from themselves.

in the story of East Africa goes on the story of East First of all, the excuse is made, that it

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The mere fact, that a are minimised. minor fraction of East Africa is upland, is taken as sufficient ground for claiming the whole of the Protectorate as a "white man's country".

Then follows quickly the further pretext, which is often quite honestly held and believed, that the Indian really stands between the African and his natural protector, the European; that the African is kept out of his lawful rights by the Indian, but protected by the European.

After these early steps have been taken on the path of racial prejudice,—which has been camouflaged all the while as patriotic duty,—it is not difficult to saturate the whole atmosphere of European life with intensely biassed stories against the Indian character. It becomes the popular thing to believe these. No proof of their accuracy is asked for. The truth itself is not sought. What is really desired is something to flatter the racial vanity of the European and to prejudice him still more deeply against the Indian.

Jezebel's method in the Old Testament was more direct. She said,

"Set two men, sons of Belial, before him to bear witness against him, saying, Thou didst blaspheme God and the king."

Here was a far more brutal way, but, it had the same motive behind it. For when the patriotic cry of "God and the King" is raised against poor Naboth, afterwards any false witness becomes credible.

And so, in this case also, when the racial prejudice of the European has been roused against the "Asiatic", then it is the easiest thing in the world for him to believe that these uncleanly people of the bazaar, these Indians, are addicted to "moral depravity". They can even be described in the Economic Commission Report as importing from India into East Africa "the worst vices of the East," and the phrase is regarded as eminently correct and appropriate.

The Report itself goes on still further to suggest that the African is the innocent victim of the Indian's vice and the Indian

to vice. So the false witness grows in volume.

The culminating point is reached when this moral argument assumes a Christian guise. It is stated with great solemity that, having taken the country as a Pro tectorate, it is the duty of the Europeans and of their Government to set forward wholly Christian western civilisation for the African's acceptance. Nothing must be allowed to stand in the way of this being accomplished. It is for Christianity pure and unadulterated, that the European settler stands.

And the Indian? The Indian is an 'Asiatic' and an 'Eastern' and above all he is not a Christian. No wonder, there fore, that he is morally depraved and unfitted for the task of protecting the African!

Thus, as the crown of all, not only racial bigotry, but,—what was far work in the eyes of Christ,—religious bigotry dragged in, as a kind of supra-patriotic motive, to exclude the Indian from Africa. The name of Christ, - Christ the Eastern, Christ the Asiatic, Christ the denouncerd religious cant,—is taken on their lips to promote the very things that roused His sternest indignation, namely, Pharisais and unbrotherly hatred between man and

It would appear that any stone is good enough to fling at the Indian, when the anti-Asiatic clamour is raised. And stone are hurled in abundance. If the charges vice and immorality and incitement to crime are not sufficient; if his Eastern and Asiatic origin are not convincing; there is the final damning fact that the And if these Indian is not a Christian. stones will not slay him, then there is still his 'unfair. his 'unfair' economic competition with the African, and there is also left, as a last stone to throw at him, his bad sanitation and hygiens and hygiene.

"They carried Naboth forth outside they and start is in a start in the city and stoned him with stones, that he clicited died."

Already, owing to the insecurity of the Indian tenure and the increasing ments of exclusion the the Indian is the inciter to krime as well know Collection randow migration of the Indian East Africa is exceeding the immigration

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tion of Indians into East Africa. More tion of mulack to India year by year and have gone returned. If this process goes much further, the end must soon come; when it comes, the word will be sent posthaste through the land,—

"Arise and take possession, for Naboth

is not alive, but dead." That final step has not yet been taken; the ultimate acts of unfairness have not get been tried. But, all the while, the roice of the tempter is sounding in the ear of the British settler,-

"Dost thou not govern the kingdom?" The voice says, -'If the power is all in the hands of the European, ready for use, why not use it? Why not govern in very deed? Why not legislate away every Indian right till he is obliged to give up the struggle? Does not the White man govern the kingdom? Well, then, let the White man have done with it and rule the Indian out.'

But whatever the tempter may say, whatever steps may have already been taken to defeat the truth, the voice of conscience cannot be silenced. Even while hab goes down to Jezreel to take possession of Naboth's vineyard, the prophet meets him on the way with a word of warning and of doom.

I cannot believe that my fellow countrymen in East Africa will shut their ears finally to the voice of truth. I cannot believe that they will carry out to the bitter end against Indians this injustice, which cries to heaven.

I have met many, among settlers and among officials, who have told me that they consider the whole policy, as put forward by the Economic Commission and Convention of Associations, to be uncalled for and unjust. Personally,-I can only say it, with all reverence and with sincerity,-I regard this policy not only as a blot on the fair name of my country, but on the fair name of my Lord and Master, Christ.

If, in what I have written, I have overstepped the bounds of charity, I ask forgiveness, as one who knows his constant need to be forgiven. I have not had any individual person or persons in my mind while I have been writing. What I have tried to lay bare is the baseness involved in the policy which is being now presented and the falsity of many of its underlying motives.

PARLIAMENT AND INDIAN TARIFFS

BY ST. NIHAL SINGH.

N view of its vital importance, it was only to be expected that the fiscal issue should crop up more than once in the debates that have recently taken place both Houses of Parliament over the Covernment of India Bill. Several Hon'ble Members referred to the subject in the atside the House of Commons, and such references s, that he slicited of Commons, and such received statements from the Secretary of State indicating just how far the fiscal whom the will extend, and how and by whom the fiscal policy of India is to be hade in the fiscal policy of India is the delegant administered. The statement

Curzon, though not so conclusive, is not without importance. Since it is necessary for us Indians to know just where we stand, I propose to deal briefly with the references made in both Houses.

Three Members of Parliament-Colonel Josiah C. Wedgwood (Labour, Newcastleunder-Lyme), Mr. G. Stewart (Coalition-Unionist, Wirral), and Mr. F. R.B. Denniss (Coalition-Unionist, Oldham, Lancashire)hade in the House of Lords by the possile made speeches exclusively dealing in the House of Lords by the possile made speeches exclusively dealing in the House of Lords by the possile made speeches exclusively dealing in the House of Lords by the possile made speeches exclusively dealing in the House of Lords by the possile made speeches exclusively dealing in the House of Lords by the possile made speeches exclusively dealing in the House of Lords by the possile made speeches exclusively dealing in the House of Lords by the possile made speeches exclusively dealing in the House of Lords by the possile made speeches exclusively dealing in the House of Lords by the possile made speeches exclusively dealing in the House of Lords by the House of Lords by the lord by the House of Lords by the Lords by the House of Lords by the Lord tee recommending that His Majesty's Government follow a policy of non-intervention in Indian fiscal affairs. They viewed the subject from three distinct angles of vision. Colonel Wedgwood, as was to be expected from him, was highly idealistic. Mr. Stewart spoke as if he sought merely for information, though he could not effectually hide his displeasure. Mr. Denniss, as became the representative of a cotton constituency, was frankly antagonistic. The Secretary of State for India answered both Col. Wedgwood and Mr. Stewart at length, while he merely pointed the finger of scorn at Mr. Denniss.

Before dealing specifically with the statements made in Parliament it seems to me to be advisable to set down textually the recommendation of the Joint Select Committee in regard to giving fiscal freedom to India, so that the basis upon which that discussion was made may be available to the reader for ready reference. It ran:

"Nothing is more likely to endanger the good relations between India and Great Britain than a belief that India's fiscal policy is dictated from Whitehall in the interests of the trade of Great That such a belief exists at the moment there can be no doubt. That there ought to be no room for it in the future is equally India's position in the Conference opened the door to negotiation between India and the rest of the Empire, but negotiation without power to legislate is likely to remain ineffective. A satisfactory solution of the question can only be guaranteed by the grant of liberty to the Government of India to devise those tariff arrangements which seem best fitted to India's needs as an integral portion of the British Empire. It cannot be guaranteed by Statute without limiting the ultimate power of Parliament to control the administration of India, and without limiting the power of veto which rests in the Crown; and neither of these limitations finds a place in any of the Statutes in the British Empire. It can only therefore be assured by an acknowledgment of a convention. Whatever be the right fiscal policy for India, for the needs of her consumers as well as for her manufacturers, it is quite clear that she should have the same liberty to consider her interests as Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa. In the opinion of the Committee, therefore, the Secretary of State should as far as possible avoid interference on this subject when the Government of India and its Legislature

intervention, when it does take place, should be intervention, when it adding the international limited to safeguarding the international obligations of the Empire or any fiscal within the Empire to while arrangements within the Empire to which His Majesty's Government is a party."

In moving an amendment that he had put down to Clause 24, which, it may be recalled, deals with the business and proceedings in the Indian Legislature, Col. Wedgwood told the House that, in his estimation, the question of imposing or revising tariffs should not be a question for the executive, but should be dependent the Legislative Assembly itself, Since it had been decided that duties were not to be imposed in India in the interests of Lancashire or other parts of Britain, he wished Parliament to "go the whole hog" and to give such a measure of fiscal autonomy as would enable the people of India themselves "to decide what duties shall be put rather than that the decision shall be left to" the executive, which he may well have added, was not to be put under Indian control. He went on to state that "in connection with import duties it is of paramount importance that the will of the people should be expressed, and it ought not to be left to be discovered by indirect means." Vested are powerful interests, he declared, enough even in an ordinary "representative but when a representative assembly, assembly has practically nothing to do, he was afraid, the power of those interests would be even greater.

pleading thus, Col. Wedgwood asked the House to remember that "almost the whole of the evidence from India asked for the transfer of fiscal power to Indians. He hoped that India would not impose any protective tariffs, for they would work to the injury of the common people of India. But he asserted that the people of India were entitled to express their own views as to what they wanted, and if any blame was to arise out of the imposition of tariffs, he wished that blame to fall upon Indians and not upon the British Government. Though he thought that it was almost hopeless to hopeless to get any amendment made to the Bill be did not amendment made to the Bill, he did wish that the British are in agreement, and they think that his well did wish that the CC-0, in Public pomain dis Legislature the Bill, he did wish that the CC-0, in Public pomain dis unit (CA) in the courage cou

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which is necessary for granting fiscal attonomy to this new (Indian) democracy that the people may make their own so that own not put the blame for them "British shoulders.

The Secretary of State told Colonel Wedgwood that the "proper plan of Parliamentary procedure" was that fiscal proposals should be made by the Government. Any tariff proposed in India must be put into a Bill which could only be carried by the votes of the Legislature."

Mr. Montagu added for Colonel Wedgwood's benefit that many of the officials in India were Protectionists, and therefore there had been no controversy over tariffs between the officials and non-officials. The Secretary of State, however, had been in disagreement with the Government of India. Being himself a Free-Trader, as he knew Col. Wedgwood also was, Mr. Montagu hoped that the example afforded by Protection in India would make more Free-Traders.

Col. Wedgwood was not satisfied with the answer given by the Secretary of State, and pointed out that representatives of the Indian people would not be able to put import duties upon articles other than those determined by the Government, nor would they be able to vary the proposals made by the Government.

Mr. Montagu remained firm, however. He declared that whatever the shortcomings of the Government, the responsibility for introducing any Bill containing fiscal proposals must lie with the Government.

This discussion evidently did not satisfy Mr. Stewart, who raised the question of scal autonomy under Clause 33, which provides for control of Indian administra-Mr My the Secretary of State. He asked Mr. Montagu what would be the position if India claimed full fiscal autonomy, as the probably would, under his Bill. What would be would be under his Bill. would happen, he enquired, if, in that case, India were to try to make a bargain with some other country giving that country better the country giving that country better terms than she was prepared to offer this country (Britain)? He added that he that he was putting these considerations before the chow that before the Secretary of State to show that it was wrong for him to destroy the power

that he possessed over Indian tariffs, as he was doing.

Mr. Montagu told Mr. Stewart that fiscal autonomy did not come into that clause at all. But he wished it had, for if there was anybody in the House who thought Britain "ought still to manipulate the tariffs of India in the interests of any part of Great Britain", he (Mr. Montagu) "should like to test that by a Division." (The word "still" is significant.) He asked those who wanted to know how it could be guaranteed that India would not manipulate her affairs to the advantage of somebody else, what guarantee they had that Australia would not do the same, and declared that nothing would do them so much harm as the slightest suspicion that they wanted to alter the tariffs of India in the interests of British trade. They had the solidarity of the Empire to depend upon, and the Imperial goodwill, which had always been developed by mutual trust.

Even that statement did not dispose of the question, for on the Third Reading Mr. Denniss asked the Secretary of State to tell the House "how far the fiscal policy of India" would "be controlled by the new legislature." He reminded him that the matter was "of profound importance to all in this country (Britain) who trade with India," many of Britain's principal industries and many of her great commercialists and traders. So far as he could see, the Bill would remove every check upon fiscal policy or fiscal control of the new Legislature, which would consist, to a great extent, of the rich men, the manufacturers and merchants of India. hands of the Secretary of State would be tied and he would be prevented from placing any check upon British trade with India. He felt that, as a representative of the centre of the great cotton industry, he could not let the Bill pass without a warning as to what was likely to happen in the immediate future.

agitated Lancashire-man Then the went on to remind the House that the cotton industry was the greatest British exporter, and India was their best market. Kangri GregientHatheaSecretary of State had absolute control over India's fiscal policy. He had the power to superintend, direct and control all acts, matters and concerns relating to the revenues of India. That power would be completely swept away when the Rules were made under Clause 23. There was, however, some protection in the fact that the Rules would have to be laid on the Table of the House of Commons and Resolutions would have to be passed by both Houses before the Rules became a part of the Statute.

Further, Mr. Denniss explained, the Secretary of State would be deprived by the Bill of his power of disallowing any Act imposing prohibitive restrictions upon British trade with India. He declared that when India gave her great contribution of £100,000,000 towards the cost of the War, Lancashire agreed to the duties being raised on condition that there would some day, at the end of the War, be a system of Imperial preference throughout the Empire in which the discrimination against British goods in regard to any of the Dominions and India would be done away with. Quoting the Report of the Joint Select Committee as his authority he remarked that apparently the fiscal policy of the Indian Legislature was to be based on the same lines as that of Canada and South Africa, which meant complete fiscal autonomy. The clause stating that "the Secretary of State should, as far as possible, avoid interference on this subject," he declared, meant that he was not to exercise his power of disallowance.

The British must remember, warned Mr. Denniss, that India was a Protectionist country. All the ruling classes and her manufacturers and merchants were absolute Protectionists. The first Budget of the new Indian Legislature would be one which would "not only continue to impose duties upon English imports, but may even discriminate against Britain in favour of Japan, compelled by diplomatic circumstances." He very much feared that if the Indian Legislature were left to control fiscal policy, the British might not only suffer in regard to restrictions being imposed upon the importation of their goods, but they

the cotton industry receiving a prefer.

Mr. Denniss next grew plaintive. He described all the blessings that had accrued to India through British rule—peace, prosperity, law and order, and protection from war, pestilence and famine. With a catch in his voice, he asked if the Indian Legisla. ture was going to repay them now by crippling their industries, or having power to do it by a system of unrestricted duties, He trembled for the future of many British Industries.

In winding up the debate, Mr. Montagu told the House that his conception of Imperialism would not permit him to have "any pride or pleasure in domination or subordination," or "in flying the British flag for the benefit of British trade." The only Imperialism that he thought was worth having was "a trusteeship which was intended to develop the country under the British flag into a partnership in the Commonwealth."

II

Exactly a week later, the Earl Curzon, speaking in the House of Lords, expressed his susprise at the little attention that had been paid to the proposal of the Joint Select Committee recommending the concession to India of "almost absolute freedom of fiscal policy." The proposition to put India on a par with the great Dominions of the Crown in regard to that matter was a fundamental change fraught with stipendous consequences. He would not say that the concession would prove to be "one of the main sources of possible differ ence in the future between certain sections of the community here (Britain) and in India," but he would say that concession was the "starting point to a future career in the growth of self-governing institutions in India, the importance of which" could not be exaggerated.

Lord Curzon declared that he would be the last person to complain that that concession concession was to be made to India, for the made he had "11" "always fought the battles of "all the controversies about he had may even have their goods, but they cotton duties," as some of the Members of the

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man once. He was, therefore, delighted that is views and theories would prevail. But the counselled their Lordships not to "lose to the fact that amount to only of the fact that among the changes that had been (were to be?) created in (by?) this Bill, and among the powers that" were to be handed over "to India, this particular one is in many respects the

most important of all."

Four days after Lord Curzon had thus apressed himself in regard to the concesson of fiscal autonomy to India, Lord Impthill, ex-Governor of Madras, referred wit in the course of a long speech generally hostile to the Government of India He said that he was glad to admit that "we (the British) are making a step in the right direction in the grant of fiscal freedom to India. That was not part of the original scheme, but it was reluctantly conceded by the Joint Committee." Althatit was "essential that this conshould be made if there was ay sincerity in our professed intenton of making India fit for self-government." His Lordship pointed out that national security. "could only be founded meconomic security, and the very first uty of every Government is to provide ion that hat economic security." He, therefore, welmed that part of the scheme sincerely. the had always thought that it would be ight and fair to give India, fiscal free-It was "the only solid benefit" the British were giving India in the Bill, the only thing that will enable India to Wigoverning."

He warned their Lordhowever, that it would take a good years before any satisfactory result possibly appear from the test.

III

The British press has not paid as much to this matter as one would the expected. Such references as have o catego: notice fall roughly into would be categories, namely: (1) those that frankly opposed to the concession ndia, for his made and that paint a dire picture attles of what they are sure will happen, and

India to remember that she is a part of the British Empire, and owes that Empire some consideration.

To illustrate what has been written in papers belonging to the first group, I may refer to the editorial comments that appeared in the Morning Post. And engagingly frank that comment was. It declared that "Mr. Montagu, Colonel Wedgwood, and their like" had no right to claim a monopoly of generous ideals concerning India." It (the Morning Post), also, had its idealism, although it did not wear it on its sleeve. It believed "that the British Empire has a mission in the world." It did not hold, however, that that mission was altogether unselfish. On the contrary, it pointed out that a "nation is an association of people for the purpose of living and defending themselves. Mr. Montagu probably has never considered that the people of Lancashire -our (British) people-live largely by supplying India with cotton manufactures, and that if that trade were diverted, many of these people would starve. Therefore, to surrender our trusteeship is not quite so simple as it sounds. It may or may not be a kindness to the people of India, but it may be the destruction of the people of Lancashire and of many people also in London."

To illustrate the tone of the comment in papers belonging to the second group, I cannot do better than call attention to a statement on the subject that appeared in a Times leader. It remarked that "India has long demanded and must now receive, the same fiscal freedom as the great selfgoverning Dominions. The issue may eventually become the touchstone of Lancashire's sincerity in the cause of Indian liberty: but it declared we must rely upon the common sense and good faith of Indian politicians, whose bounden duty it will be to refrain from erecting tariffs detrimental to the interests of the myriads of Indian consumers."

I may add, in passing, that a consideraattles about they are sure will happen, and the fiscal freedom that feel that justice has been her to subscribe to the principle of impersor do more to India, but that neverthelessic wish. Grant Research and the fiscal freedom that principle of impersor do more that feel that justice has been her to subscribe to the principle of impersor do more that neverthelessic wish. Grant Research and the fiscal freedom. the Joint Select Committee on the government of India Bill appeared to suggest that tendency. For instance, when Mrs. Annie Besant was in the witness chair she was asked by Major Ormsby-Gore: "If the Committee saw fit to support the demand for fiscal (including tariff) autonomy, do you think India would be likely to come into the Imperial system of reciprocal Preference?" (Q. 1422, p. 81, Minutes of Evidence.) Her reply does not matter, for I am talking only of the tendency upon the part of the British.

as disclosed by the position, discussion in the two Houses, as it appears

to me, is this:

In future India is to have fiscal freedom analogous to that enjoyed by the Dominions of the Crown-analogous because the Government of India will not be constituted in the manner that the Governments are constituted in the Dominions, nor will it possess the same powers. Until the Government of India becomes an Indian Government, and until its powers are enhanced to those of, let us say, South Africa-because South Africa is largely peopled by persons of non-British origin, as is India-the convention regulating the fiscal policy of India cannot acquire the potency or even the meaning associated with it in the self-governing Dominions.

In the meantime, while we are pressing for the subjection of at least a part of the Central Government to British control, what means are to be devised to insure that the Government of India, which in no sense will be responsible to Indians, and which, even in its composition, will still remain mainly non-Indian, will give effect to the Indian desires in respect of fiscal matters? The question is really of vital importance, because, as I have shown, the power of initiating any proposal in this respect has been reserved to the executive, and not to the Legislature. Even if the Government of India does not have to get the previous sanction of the Secretary of State before such a proposal can be included in its Budget, or, in view

of the canon of non-intervention, reference on such a subject to the Secretary of State is to be a mere formal matter—though Sir William Meyer's evidence before the Joint Select Committee* would make one chary of forming the latter supposition-the question still remains, how an executive overwhelmingly non-Indian and without any legal obligation to the Indian Legislature, will feel the impulse that a Cabinet in one of the Dominions would feel to translate the popular desire regard. ing fiscal matters into legislation and laspite executive action.

In the proportion in which we are able that no answer that question satisfactorily less hus Indians will be able to derive benefit from the concession that Lord Curzon has in the With th characterised as "the most importanted Mahalak all" offered under the Government of India the lady wand o

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* For the sake of ready reference I reproduce of huma Sir Willam Meyer's exact phraseology together of the with the question asked by Mr. T. J. Bennet of the principal proprietor of the Times of India to brief

to which Sir William replied:

Q. 6963. You have spoken of the liberalists of the Central Government. Would you regan latewell the adoption of the recommendation of the mas no Crewe Committee, that when the Government are in agreement with the conclusion of the Lagrich Committee of the Conclusion of the Conclusio Legislature, their decision should ordinarily allowed to prevail? Would you not regard to acceptance of that acceptance of that principle as a very defining add advance towards a more liberal tone in the definition only is qualified by the formula of the definition of the second of the definition of is qualified by the fact that in all imported menty y matters the Government of India are to be a preliminary consultation with the Secretary to four of State. The Result is that the Secretary with in State would turn them down if he did agree with them; so, as Sir James Brungs with discount to the state would be seen to the second points out in his minute, it really amounts out discurred little

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DEFEAT By Miss Santa Chattopadhyay, B.A.

AHALAKSHMI was as beautiful as the goddess Lakshmi. And if nobility were synonymous with a fat purse and ire regard local fame, her lineage was as noble as any. ation and Inspite of all these, dame Fate touched her We with her fickle fingers and muddled it so, we are able that nobody could help calling Fate a heart-

isfactorily less hussy. enefit from Mahalakshmi and Rajani were both born urzon ha in the same locality and on the same day. portant of With the first faint glow of the morning sun, nt of India Mahalakshmi came into this world to touch the lady of the Red House with the magic mand of motherhood; and she looked more like a boquet of lightning flashes than a token e I reproduce of human love. Under the professional care of the hired nurse and the natural affection of her bejewelled mother, Mahalakshmi began to brighten up into girlhood.

e liberalisis The crimson flush, which the sun's you regat brewell touches had painted on the sky, tion of the tas no longer there and all nature was Government aveloped in darkness. In such a moment, asion of the last ordinarily the fourth daughter of Hrishikesh, ot regard to the last born behind the Red House, in a il imports benty years old. And it is needless to dwell are to her to the superfluity of maids and nurses that the Secretary the fourth daughter of a poor man meets Secretary such in India. And if, in addition, she is he did it fair in complexion...... I had better nes Brund at discuss the situation.

discuss the situation.

Rajani began to grow up, generally on the state work of the kitchen and now and then on the entioned in regarding her widowed sister Jamini. Lying upon arliament is bed of rags, as she performed feats in sponsible to her occasionally, lifted her esserting the elbow and, after forcing some milk after her cooking. In the evening incil." P. State with the delicate throat, went away again to incil." P. State with the elbow and, after forcing some milk after her mother nor her sister could look against the army of Sleep Fairies which tacked her the army of Sleep Fairies which the thrills of one affectionate

motherly embrace and hear the slumber song hummed through the lips that kissed her with such a honey touch—but oh, how rarely! Her eight year old sister Kamini came often instead to see her off to dreamland. The baby's lips would swell up and pout in disappointment and anger, she would push Kamini away with her tiny little feet and try to find solace in rolling on the floor. Kamini drew her up affectionately, pressing her baby face against her own and recited nursery rhymes celebrating the influence of an advancing bridegroom upon the mind of an angry maiden.

The bridegroom did not come at that time, but when he did come at last, people said : "If this is not astounding good luck, what is?" Mahalakshmi, who felt the scratch diamonds as she landed on this world, who had a pageant of maids to run after her, and who rested her feet on the lap of mother earth within a period of four years for not as many hours, would not have been credited with any extra amount of good luck, had she got such a bridegroom. Nobody would have said that she had got anything more than what she deserved naturally, and fortune would not have got her due share of credit; for then it would not have been called a miracle. Perhaps that was the reason why the goddess tried to win fame with Rajani as the medium. She was, most certainly, cognisant of the ingratitude of human beings, and of the superiority of a single present deed to a battalion of past ones in stimulating universal acknowledgment of her miraculous powers.

Mahalakshmi and Rajani always wandered about the village together. People looked upon their ever united presence with the same pleasing sensation as crept into their hearts during the glorious moments of twilight, when night coyly approached day to enfold him in her sombre mystery. Mahalakshmi, who was fully conscious of her charms even at that baby stage of her life, always walked first; carrying stage of her in the evening clight but bat she curadweat with the sonorous pleadings of her thrills of one affectionate silver anklets. Rajani always followed in the

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wake of her playmate. From her very childhood she always felt very shy to show her dusky face by the side of her beautiful friend. Every evening they made garlands of the golden "Champak". Mahalakshmi called every one to come and appreciate her art, while Rajani found her reward in the sweet smell and soft touch of her garland. If Jamini (Rajani's sister) volunteered to dress her hair, Mahalakshmi said: "Do it for Rajani, I look much better with my hair undone." said: "It is dangerous to look so beautiful, for people would then run away with you." Mahalakshmi answered: "Indeed? Haven't I got my Lathials (body-guards armed with cudgels) to thrash such people?" Jamini said: "Certainly you have, but we have no Lathials; so Rajani had better dress her hair." Mahalakshmi said: "Oh! don't fear, Rajani is too ugly to be stolen."

Lakshmi could never do without Raji for a moment, but she could never resist the temptation of snubbing her at every step. She knew full well that she herself was the beautiful daughter of a rich father, while Raji was plain and poor. But knowledge alone of this did not satisfy her. Her pleasure in this superiority over her friend was seldom complete unless she could all the time remind her of the line which separated Whenever she got any new dress or ornament she went with these to Rajani first of all. Rajani said: "They are very nice, and you are looking like a queen." But Lakshmi's cup of conceit was not full with this slender homage. She wanted Rajani to own up her defeat, and herself to gloat in the joy of her victory. So she said: "May be I am, but have you got any silk like this? Have you ever seen such a bracelet?"

It is very hard to make a child lower its head. So Rajani, instead of giving a straight answer, said: "What is the use of having them now; I shall have them when I grow up."

To add a fresh dose to her pain, Lakshmi said: "Can you guess the price?" Rajani, after straining her imagination to the utmost, said: "Ten rupees." Lakshmi went mad with laughter and cried: "Oh my! What a great fool you are! Is it possible to buy a Benaresi saree for ten rupees?" Her friend blushed and turned her head away and answered: "Then I don't know; do I buy these things?" Lakshmi now swayed her head with a proud and satisfied air, an Carly Public Domain Gunkin kangi Concustadiwa Rajani sadly replied conversionally: "That is quite true. It ingly; "That is quite true. How can you

guess their price? You are so poor." Rajay your I went away after this with offended dignity and Lakshmi had to hunt hard for her and when found, to coax her in diverse strains, to restore their friendship to its normal condition means

Being fully conscious of her own higher thoked economic level, Lakshmi now and then enjoy. pleasure of paining Rajani will presents. Rajani's joy at the receipt these could be compared to the emotion bon in the heart of the houseless poor as the god inundate them with their liquid blessing She always got the refuse articles from Lakshmi's toy-land. At first she felt glad what she received such presents, but one dayle elder sister whispered into her simple her the conventionalities of giving and taking From that day she hesitated to take of from her friend and tried to repay her with home-made condiments. But inspite of the the idea of how little she gave in return to the splendour she received from her chu oppressed her child's heart with shame.

But one day this relation of the conquert and the victorious underwent a miraculos They were talking about different things. The garden was suffused with a Hamil current of golden moon-light and the almo phere was saturated with the voiceless mis of youthful dreams. Every discussion profe the existence of some new merit in Lakshi The question arose, Who are the beauties the place? Rajani began to mention name but took particular care not to name Lakst She said: "Sushila, Gouri, Kamal, etc." Lakst added: "Aunt Puti, Mother." She was tri to divert the flow towards herself. Those Rajani all the time knew that Lakshming in fact one of the most beautiful, she liked make her feel a bit uncomfortable before ting her in the list. But seeing how arden Lakshmi was trying to have herself mentions she intentionally said: "Oh, is not Narani's beautiful too?" Lakshmi said: "Haven't named all and house named all who are beautiful in our house don't think there's anybody else." At Rajani said (1777) Rajani said: "Why, aren't you too nice lot ing?" Lakehmi (1) ing?" Lakshmi felt much pleased and si said: "Indeed! I think, then, we are witches." I also "Very. As nice-looking as a monkey. witches." Lakshmi was simply overflow with satisfact: with satisfaction and generously said: let us find out if let us find out if there is anyone beautiful only Mother." At this Lakshmi had convol of suppressed mirth, and cried out:

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or." Rajad Your mother! Is she good looking? Old! What eyes you have got!" Rajani bust into angry tears and said: "All right, I an blind; my mother is ugly; as if beauty al condition means being fat like your mother." She was thoked with wrath and tears, and

away weeping. Early next morning, when it was still a bit dark, Lakshmi woke up amidst her profusion of pillows and bolsters. She thought: "Raji issure not to come to-day. What rubbish! How on earth am I to bring her to her senses, ldon't know. A big girl like her should not be so damp in the eye." Her analysis of Rajani's nature was cut short rather abruptly. She heard the fine sweet voice of the same person calling her from outside: "Lakshmi, little darling, are you still asleep? Come quick, I have something to show you; hurry up, dear." Her voice had a ring of happiness in it. The honey of that joyous voice at once sweetened Lakshmi's heart with the same The trouble of reconciliation happiness. became unnecessary now; but that did not please Lakshmi. Rajani should be like avina to her, that she might draw forth sorrowful tunes out of her whenever she pleased and gay ripples of melody as she changed her mind. It pricked her conceit to discover that Rajani could sing like the

morning lark of her own accord. Still she got up. She found that Rajani, who always stood before her with her pale lace and brightened up only at her bright buch, had come now with a proud face to give her, Lakshmi, a share of her own joy. She larried a small baby in her arms. The baby looked as glorious as a cherub. In its smile lakshmi could find the rival of a bunch of Jun-buds. Its complexion would give the moon-beams a taste of jealousy and the dimples......they were probably the tups out of which the gods sipped nectar. That such That such a treasure was Raji's own, could be easily found from the glow she said of her generally pale countenance. the said: "Lakshmi, just look at my nephew! He is my chhot-di's boy. Isn't he a dear? Have you ever seen such an angel anywhere?" Lakshmi could not say that they had a terchild. better child in their house. Rajani had always miled at Lakshmi's joy, but Lakshmi's smile laded away friend's delight is the cruel touch of her friend's delight. Having got no answer to her ques-lions, Rajani drove the wedge home and said: he much more beautiful than Kamal,

Gouri, your aunt Puti, your mother and you? Isn't he?"

Lakshmi could not say "yes", but the "no" too never came out of her mouth. Rajani asked her to take the child in her arms and cuddle it for a moment, but Lakshmi was quite incapable of accepting anything from one upon whom she had always showered her boons. So she said, "No, I have sprained

my arms", and ran away. As soon as she set her foot in her mother's room, she began to strike her head against the bedstead. This first wound to her vanity was too much for her. She did not give expression to her emotion in roof-rending yells, as was usual with her, but large opal drops coursed down her cheek as a token of the immense grief with which she was afflicted. Her mother ran up to her and asked her the reason of this novel performance. She was half choked, but still she could manage to gurgle out: "Go away, I don't want to see your face again."

"Why, what have I done?"

"You are too fat, you are very ugly. What is the use of having a mother like that ?"

It was a shock to the poor rich mother. She only said: "What nonsense are you talking child?" This only stimulated Lakshmi to strike her head the harder against the bedstead and she cried: "Surely, I will say so. If that wretch Raji can say, why shan't I?"

After much coaxing, the origin of these heart-broken sobs and universal disgust, came to light. Why hasn't she got such a beautiful nephew? What Raji has, Lakshmi must have, or let her die. But what is to be done? A nephew is hard to manufacture. The mother brought her own child and said: "Never mind about the nephew, you have got a beautiful brother." Lakshmi flared up: "I don't want any brothers. They are all like fat frogs. Throw them away, your gaping princes." The prince was soon rolling on the floor and loudly proclaiming his injuries as a result of the excess of her sisterly affection. Conceit and jealousy were like two plants growing side by side in her mind. Up to this time conceit was sucking all the nourishment, so that jealousy remained weak and starved. possibly the reason why Lakshmi wanted to transplant jealousy to Rajani's heart. But kangricollection of this was given because of subjection jealousy had managed to over-

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throw her rival and was now reigning victorious and supreme in Lakshmi's mind.

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The roles were reversed. The one who had come into this world with laurels, was given a petty part, while she who was humbled at every step, took the leading role in the drama of life.

She knew very well that she would never have to collect, bit by bit, her worldly possessions, and that good luck was her prisoner of war—the war she never fought. Why then should she lower herself before others? Why indeed! So Mahalakshmi never took the trouble of speaking genially to others, gave other people uncalled-for information regarding what she thought of them and still believed that the world would be only too glad to touch the hem of her saree. But she forgot that a devotee is ever anxious for a benevolent glance from the deity. Not that she refrained from showering blessings from above like a contemptuous deity, but she gave with scorn and was not blessed with the knowledge that her alms required to be clothed in true love, that they might attract true devotion to hershrine. To step down from her throne as a suppliant before people, was a condescension to which Lakshmi could not bring herself. People who were capable of accepting her scornful favours were also capable of taking her in with impure praise. But how could she aspire to get pure admiration, for she would then have to commit that middle-class crime, loving others? The girl who was born in the mud house could not tear away the bonds which kept her in touch with mother nature. She had nothing to give her fellow-beings, but she had a sweet smile and sweeter words, which charmed others, and she could love. God did not give her external riches; but He did not forget to compensate her with a beautiful soul. But this was enough to enable her to conquer many hearts.

The fame of Mahalakshmi's beauty, gorgeous as it was like that of a full-blown hibiscus, travelled far and wide on the golden chariot of her wealthy father; but though it was possible to procure ornaments befitting herglory, it was by no means as easy a job to manufacture a fit mate for her. The vision of her parents was so influenced by its dazzling environment was fit enough for them. COLANS RIME described

her suitors to her friends and remarked; "Though they haven't got a penny, they have cheek enough to astound me." Rajani said "Don't say so, my dear, you never know what lakshmi's might happen."

Lakshmi turned up her nose and replied: "I hope I have sufficient length of rope to

hang myself with."

Sivasundar had neither cash nor land fulle to 0 but that did not prevent his possession of a let the you sound physique, an intelligent and well-stocked possible brain, and a large heart. From every point of moual la view he well deserved the name of Man.

His mother had invited a few girls one lew impe evening, along with whom came Lakshmi and rere pla Rajani. It was not unknown to Lakshmi how used La Rajani gave her beauty a set-off; so she rou are g managed to enter the house with Rajani by rue? If her side. She looked, in her diamonds and her just a sple silk dress of virgin white, as glorious as the late inf goddess Lakshmi when she rose out of the leace know ocean peeping through the petals of a white ather di lotus in the mysterious dawn of creation the bride Sivasundar had lately arrived in his village this oppo after years of absence due to his education and rath He was, at the moment of this radiant house nor invasion, trying to fix a creeper against landsome wicker-work fencings of their house ledge an this girl figure flashed past his as vain as when vision like a silver cloud with the moon His intoxicated mind shining through it. was only half conscious for a moment of the presence of Rajani, who followed Lakshin like the dark shadow cast by a luminous or Rajani shrank within herself at this unexpect ed sight of Sivasundar. Mahalakshmi lookd up and met his glance; but she saw in it only the homage due to her by right. She would have felt interested in Sivasundar, had he heen fait. been failing in giving her her due, but no otherwise.

Sivasundar threw away the creeper and went to gather information about the beauty who dazzled him so.

When everybody had gone away, Siva dar according to the six and six according to the six acco sundar accosted his sister and asked her say, who were the say, who were the two light and shadow girls? The sister and shadow girls? The sister answered generously, talk in that silly poetic strain. I don't remember the strain in the strain is chadow of the strain in the str ber having seen any light-and-shadow god roma If you mean anybody among Sashi, Lakshill Rajani, etc. 1 Rajani, etc., I may tell you about them. when she met is when she met her mother, she calmly said.
"Ma, dada wants that all else appeared black to it. Nobody was fit enough for them. COLING Public Domain British Richard Was fit enough for them. COLING Public Domain British Richard Washington Hardward." The parents started was fit enough for them. negotiations and Sivasundar made no objection

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emarked the matter over. The exchange value they have they have they have the matter over. they have Sirasundar was discussed at length and a ajani said was struck, but the lady of the house, now what lakshmi's mother, said: "How will my replied bridegroom to put up here in our house, from the bridegroom to decent house. f rope to whild him a decent house." This upset the parents of Sivasundar found nor land like to complain of in the second alternative, ession of a hitheyoung man himself said: "It would be ll-stocked inpossible for a person who would have to do y point of anual labour to live in a palace even if it were Ight from his father-in-law." This gave a girls one is impetus to the controversy. While they shmi and rere playing cards at Lakshmi's, Rajani shmi how used Lakshmi in a whisper: "I hear that ; so she rou are going to marry Mani's brother. Is it Rajani by rue? If so, I shall be so glad; for isn't he s and her just a splendid fellow ?" Lakshmi kept up-tous as the late information about the matter and it of the lence knew all about the affair. She was a white other displeased with Sivasundar, but being creation the bride had to keep silent. Now she got is village his opportunity to give vent to her anger and education aid rather loudly: "Oh, he has got neither a radiant house nor anything. May be he is learned and r against handsome, but will he feed on his knowr house, ledge and beauty? Not only that, he is past his a vain as a cock. Do you know what he says? he moon won't accept a house from my father-in-law.' ted mind he is free to say so, but why then this hankerent of the ing after a rich man's daughter? No one in Lakshii or family has ever lived in a mud house; nous or wither shall I. No, not for him."

Rajani got frightened lest some one heard ni looked that Lakshmi said, for she was speaking very budy now. So she pressed her palms against kshmi's mouth and said: "Hush, there will an awful row if some one hears." Lakshmi that she had crossed the limits of bridely bis fault Crossed the minus to own up this fault. So she said: "Much I care, if it

Very soon, this dialogue gained publicity, and Sivasundar was not denied the pleasure with detailed account. His ideal had already bargaining. At the malignant touch of the pleasure with higgling trement, that Sivasundar had Very soon, this dialogue gained publicity, t remember the romantic picture that Sivasundar had Jakshmi became discoloured and Lakshmi became discoloured and ly said: "I don't want a haughty prinly So in would prefer a poor mate for my

in-law like Sivasundar, but that was no reason why he should not welcome him with outstretched arms. While the sky remains flooded with the brilliance of the sun, who ever notices the dim presence of the stars? But when it becomes dark, the same neglected myriads adorn the sky with their diamond flicker. Sivasundar was no longer under the spell of Lakshmi's beauty, and so now he remembered the shadow-Rajani. He remembered, how he had seen her often but never desired her sight. He did not fall in love with her at first sight, but inspite of that he went to her father as a suitor to claim her as his youth's choice.

Lakshmi was not very glad when she heard of this latest development, but she was able to find some food for her conceit even in this. All her childhood Rajani had to be satisfied with the rejected toys of Lakshmi and today when she was choosing her companion for life. she was getting the same—a man whom Lakshmi had rejected. But who rejected whom? This impertinent question troubled her proud soul incessantly. Was it not an insult to Lakshmi, this eager welcome of Rajani? But one should not trouble about a person who could not get a better bride than Rajani. Lakshmi found consolation by strangling the question in this logical manner.

After the marriage was over, every one assembled in a room along with the newly married couple. Lakshmi appeared on the scene, resplendent in her profusion of jewellery, and the wretched mud house was bathed as it were in a golden current of moon-light. Everybody present, young or old, man or woman, drank deep of this spring of splendour. Sivasundar turned his eyes upon her along with others. For a moment his eyes rested there, as if petrified. Was this an embodied flame or a woman of flesh and blood? He was not sure which. Lakshmi had never before taken any interest in Sivasundar's personal appearance. But now when she played her eyes critically over Rajani's husband, she was forced to admit for the first time that he really was very Still her eyes seemed to say: "How dare you desire an illustrious being like me? You have got your deserts in Rajani."

Sivasundar lowered his eyes. Lakshmi glanced all around her and discovered with satisfaction the presence of universal admiration in the eyes which were undoubtedly giving her the laureis of the day.

giving her the laureis of the day. his oblation as well? She was unable to discover any trace of it anywhere in Sivasundar's momentary glance, eager as she was to find it.

How long is it possible to defer the marriage of a girl? Lakshmi's father had at last to choose from a long list the son of a Zamindar. His ancestry was good and he was not deficient in good looks either. course he could claim no educational career; but was that necessary? Moreover, he was young and there was time enough to study, if he so chose. And it was nothing uncommon in a rich man's son to race and gamble. He was therefore fixed upon as the fit match for

the matchless Mahalakshmi. Evil minds got an opportunity to indulge in comparison. Though no one dared to say anything publicly about the affairs of this wealthy house; it came to be whispered into Lakshmi's ears that, though her would-be lord had a noble pedigree, he was in no way fit to hold the candle to Sivasundar. Lakshmi could not inwardly deny the rumour its truth. She had seen the young man. was he as handsome as Sivasundar? Where was that athletic build and the tall and straight appearance? This man looked more like a lump of butter than a human being. There was more expression in the dial of a watch than there was in his round face. Where was that keen intelligent look which Lakshmi found so admirable in Sivasundar and where the reputation of culture and high education? Her feminine instinct impressed this relentless fact upon her mind that a pink complexion and a heavy banking account are not any of the ingredients that compose a man. this knowledge came too late. The one who was lost was lost for ever. She would have to marry, and if she refused this overfed human tabula rasa, there was no certainty that she would get one like Sivasundar.

She tried to make the best of a bad bargain, but her tears could not be kept back. She beat her forehead in front of her stone deity in a frenzied outburst of insulted pride and sorrow, and cried aloud, "O my God, why, this punishment? Why didst thou show me heaven, if hell only was to be my portion?" She wept much but was married all the same. Rajani came to her marriage. Her only ornaments were a pair of slim bracelets and a necklace of golden beads. But her whole being was changed as if touched by the

such a smile upon her sad face. It was as h the smile of triumphant love which adorned the heavenly countenance of Uma when she got Siva after years of hard penance, had last abl by some miraculous chance, come to illumine to verm the mortal lips of Rajani. Lakshmi mourned adden her lost treasure and, somehow, she could not here? I bring herself to look Rajani in the face,

Mahalakshmi entered her new life, by look she very soon she began to realise the false nature arden. of the stage gear. What she at first took to be a real garden full of sweet-smelling flower uppiness and bird music, turned out to be a collection future h of dead branches and artificial flowers sprayed seeve to over with imported perfumery. She knew comstance for certain that her life was spoiled, and she ist birth. burned with envy as she thought of the smile fred in a that proclaimed the reign of bliss in Rajanis almays this heart. She could not forget the insult which Rajani's happiness offered to her proud the could soul. She became restive in her husband is proud palace, and, finding no solace there, very ofter indow, went to spend weeks with her parents. Be wild see the sweet memories of her golden childhood rindow, I afforded her no shelter from the tortures d wer her h her disappointed heart. She knew not that tradie, of "sorrow's crown of sorrow was remembering birasunda happier things." In her case, her life in he was s father's house became all the more paintd tiles, in because there she met Rajani and her glorios because there she met Rajani and her glorios pare was

was young, jealousy was saile, th When she followed quickly by love and love by jealous in her mind, but, as she grew older, the spring of love in her slowly dried up under by scorebing and the state of the scorching rays of disappointment. Jealous becoming bloodthirsty and wanted to tear open the happy hearts of the hearts others. The fire that burned in her son wanted to spread it. wanted to spread its infernal wings at embrace the rest of creation within the devastating folds. But the fire was in he own mind and could not be transferred.

When Rajani smiled and talked to be friends, Mahalakshmi invoked the god of end and prayed: "O god of destruction, I can be longer live in the light of her smile. never done injury to anybody. Then who should I burn in this everlasting fire? Take odfort, away that I burn in this everlasting fire? the deforture that smile, god! Take away smile!"

The smile which Lakshmi had to wer tangle R upon her face to deceive the world, became continuous the continuo fabulous touch-stone. Never had Lakshmi schukul kungnicodesstory Hattweet he intervention

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sult which Mahalakshmi never went to that house if er prom the could help it. But the house stood rearing husbands is proud head in the skies directly before her very ofter indow, and she was forced to see it. She ents. By onld see, whenever she looked out of the childhood rindow, Rajani, with valuable ornaments all tortures d wer her homely figure, engaged in rocking the not that tadle of her boy or teasing the studious nembering irasundar. In the morning sun the young life in her was seen hurrying about her household re paint the evening twilight she was seen er glorios owing her head to the sacred Tulsi plant. lousy was saile, the same smile which Lakshmi had y jealousy manner the day of her own marriage. Lakshmi the spring the saw how Rajani decorated her plain Jealous with ornaments. What should she do irsty and there along with the right to display it was red. the the thousand loving thoughts and ed to he thadow of beloved. But was there ever red to he shadow of any such thing to be found lakshmi's diamonds? And to-day, even the lakshmi's her merciless joke to its extreme way way when the lakshmi the lakshmi to be found to lakshmi's diamonds? And to-day, even the lakshmi to lakshmi's diamonds? And to-day, even the lakshmi to lakshmi t

halakshmi stamped her feet in fruitless rage.

Witch I II witch! How could she thus usurp all the Raiani and the right!" She wanted to d, became they were Rajani's and nor because they were Rajani's and not hers. But her rage reached its climax when she saw Sivasundar exchanging loving glances with Rajani. "Where did he get such a store of tender glances for that thing Rajani? What was there in that ugly face to give him so much pleasure? O God, I can't stand their happiness any longer. Oh injustice! That I should be the only sufferer while all others live in bliss! Oh torture! O ever-wakeful deity, do justice unto me or wherefore art thou

called all-seeing and all-powerful?"

Like the full moon coming out of a dark curtain of clouds, the neglected youth of this young widow, was showing itself more and more fully through her tortured existence. As she lay weeping alone on the floor day after day, she remembered the days of her childhood, the story of the Light-and-Shadow Girls as heard from her playmates, and Sivasundar, who was the ardent admirer of the Light-herself. Then she was not so beautiful, nor did she then look vainly for a touch of happiness, but it was then that all, love, happiness, all, awaited her pleasure. But now she has got nothing, nothing except a gloomy vacuum in her heart and a burning sense of mad jealousy. The golden lamp, in which the Light shined, is broken and is useless now. So the dark and ugly Shadow reigns supreme, while Light embraces oblivion. Sivasundar passed her doors everyday as he went into and out of his house. His garden was just by the garden of The red pathways of his Mahalakshmi. garden, which meandered through the beautiful flower-beds, were every morning the scene of Sivasundar's departure to his place of business. As his office brougham rolled past the gates of his house, he leaned out of the window to get a momentary glance of his wife and children who stood at a bay window facing the garden. He could see the baby vainly trying to wave him a farewell with his rebellious arms going off in a wrong direction. He could see the soft chubby figure endeavouring after a stable equilibrium by hanging by the lose end of his mother's saree. When he could no more see them, he leaned back against the soft cushions of his carriage-seat smiling pleasantly. It was this stamp of happiness upon his face that Mahalakshmi saw every day as he passed. In the evening, when the sound of the approaching wheels announced the arrival of Sivasundar, his children shouted in chorus, "Ma, father is coming; come quick." And she always came quickly to lighten up his

urukul kangi Kallarian welcome presence.

dant.

These daily scenes appeared before Mahalakshmi's eyes as a weird pageant which sang into her ears a dolorous voiceless song. these were to be yours! But would not the usurping hands that stole your rightful possessions meet ruin; utter ruin!" She cried: "Hasten it God! I cannot suffer this any more."

We do not know whether any evil god really came to answer her prayers; but the gentle breeze that swayed every twig harmoniously in the happy family of Sivasundar, blew one day over the flower-beds of his life in a devastating fury. That day found nobody playing with the children in the garden, heard no ring of joyous laughter and witnessed no exchange of loving Iglances. No wheels crunched on the red gravel and no child came to give its father a farewell embrace with its plump soft arms. All was gloomy where erstwhile gaiety reigned. The servants ran about with a grave expression on their faces. The children fell asleep, neglected and crying.

From the early hours of the morning Mahalakshmi looked several times towards the stone house, but was astonished to find the strange gloom which pervaded it. Why this sudden drying up of the springs of eternal joy? Mahalakshmi grew restless to peer through the opaque walls of the building and discover the cause of this mysterious silence. She had become so accustomed to the soft murmuring of the gay brooklet that flowed past her retreat that the want of its accompaniment made it hard for her to prevent the sorrowful melody of her own life from becoming discor-

Mahalakshmi made enquiries. Some one said: "What has happened? That which happens to the carcanet when the captain jewel is lost. Evil has touched their happy life. The lord of the house is seriously ill and probably will not survive. Whose poisonous breath is it, that has brought this misfortune upon them!" Mahalakshmi thought, "Whose poisonous breath was it?" Whose breath was it that poisoned her own life? But that question gave her no consolation. She hurried to her friend's house after many years. Rajani came out of her room like the incarnation of sorrow and clasped her friend's arms. She said: "Lakshmi, we were playmates from our very years of life, but to-day when grim death darkens my doors, weonest again, omain friend. by the weight of her reward.

In your youth you gave me all you had and now some mysterious instinct makes me sure that your love will not fail me in this crisis when my happiness stands facing tragedy."

Mahalakshmi could not say, "All you have came from me, you thief!" She slowly entered the room where Sivasundar awaited the unknown mystery of death. same handsome Sivasundar whose radiance entered her heart for the first time amidst the joyous revelries of his marriage? Is this the same man whom with all her offended dignit Lakshmi never succeeded in throwing awar like a rejected toy? Is this the same man now in the clutches of cruel, relentless Where is his glorious smile, the intellectual gleam of his eyes?

The Sivasundar who once looked at he with worshipful eyes lay neglected in some forgotten corner of her heart for these many years, but he suddenly came out from his it is we seclusion into the foreground of her memon people and stood shining above this pale victim death in radiant contrast. She remembers that it was she herself who first awakene love in his heart. But rejected, he poured out his love to the last drop into the of another; leaving Mahalakhsmi, his fis love, the owner of a scorched and thirt soul. He was dying. But did she want this Did she pray for this fate to befall he beloved? Her heart throbbed in acute ago and her soul cried out: "O foolish deluded woman, what have you done? You did 15 want this. I feel now what it was that I prayer for. I wanted your love, my beloved, love which was born at my sight but was le to me for ever. But my mad jealousy structure me blind me blind and sent me in the wrong path the publics my love! I desired you and not your death lairajya She could no longer live in the light the Ait this new revelation of her heart's desire, and has she went back home. She shed the tears of spublics thousand years of tragedy in one single distilla-sh and prayed and suffered and writhed in agon in the in "My God, look not so relentlessly on a Crush man hand not so relentlessly on the hell for Crush me, but let him live! Let the hell for consume me and the live! consume me and I will not flinch, but give he in back his life! Let all the evils evoked by the win turn back upon me, but spare him."

But he did not come back. He dedaily hi Years ago Mahalakshmi had breathed a pratto appears to appease her jealousy, and what she wanted so much wanted so much was now granted her;

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This was a new defeat to her. She had This was a would cool her burning heart this or it tears; but for each single drop that this crisis Rajani's tears; but for each single drop that of Rajani's eyes, Lakshmi shed you have bousand. Rajani wept because she had lost beloved; and Mahalakshmi's life became

flooded with tears-while her mutilated soul gasped: "Ah beloved, I am your murderess!"

> Translated from the original Bengali by ASHOKE CHATTOPADHYAY.

> > 76403

THE GANAS OR REPUBLICS OF ANCIENT INDIA*

By BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

ed at he STUDENTS of comparative politics are generally familiar with the norm in the Realpolitik of monarchical India. from his it is well known that the rights of the er memor people and their institutional achievevictim ments under the Hindu royalties were emembers generically on a par with those of the awakene ations ruled by le grand monarque and he pourd such "enlightened despots" as Peter, to the Frederick and Joseph. The political psychoi, his his logy that lay behind the Hindu instituand thirs tons was not different in any way from hat of the French under the Bourbons or of the Germans till the War of the Libera-

But it is hardly known among scholars hat the Hindu constitution grew along ipublican or non-monarchical lines also.1 ktus exclude from our present consideraousy stood ton the patriarchal-democratic "crowned Publics" of Vedic India, as well as the our death larajya or kingless states mentioned in light de Aitareya Brāhmana,2 the koolalamghas (family-soviets or communal legiblics) and ganas referred to in the single with shāstra, or the nationalities desd in 3500 in the Mahabhārata as "invincible" d in ago which the Mahabhārata as "invincible of their being constituted on the int give booked by the were at least three periods in the during which He distance at least three periods in the edapart lindus developed the vair jya or gana the Hellenic and pre-Imperial He dedity history of India during which

To begin with the latest. fourth century A. D. there were "independent" republics with full sovereignty in the Punjab, Eastern Rajputana and Malwa. The central parts of the Punjab were held by the commonwealth of Madrakas. The Yaudheyas had their territory on both banks of the Sutlej. In the second century Roodra-damana (125-150) had inflicted a defeat on them; but centuries before, they came out brilliantly in India's resistance to Alexander. The Abhirs and the Malavas were settled between the Chambal and the Betwa. In the teeth of Samoodragoopta the Indian Napoleon's digvijaya or "conquest of the quarters" (330-75) all these republican nations succeeded in maintaining their autonomy by doing homage and paying tribute. But they lost their sovereignty and became feudatories or protectorates of the Goopta Empire.7

The greatest period of Hindu republics lay, however, between the fourth and sixth centuries B. C. The republican nationalities of India were thus contemporaneous with Sparta, Athens, Thebes and Rome. And their ultimate extinction through the establishment of the Maurya Empire (B. C. 323) synchronized with the annihilation of the Greek city states by Philip of Macedon at the battle of Cheronoea (B. C. 338).

Megasthenes records the Hindu tradition prevailing in his time (B. C. 302) tion prevailing a period of 6042 years it that during a period of 6042

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a "republic was thrice established" in India. 8 Certain cities are also mentioned by him where "at last the sovereignty was dissolved and democratic government set up." The Maltecoroe, the Singhoe, the Moruni, the Marohoe and the Rarungi were, as he says, free nations with no kings. They occupied mountain heights where they had built many cities.10 This is the earliest foreign report about the existence of republican states among the Hindus.

Nor had republics passed into the domain of legend towards the end of the fourth century B. C. For the India that was encountered by the Greeks who had preceded Megasthenes by about 20 years, i.e., who belonged to Alexander's hordes previous to Chandra-goopta Maurya's establishment of the empire and expulsion of Seleukos the Greco-Syrian from Afghanistan (B. C. 303), was a land of republics and commonwealths, used to assemblies or senates, and leaders or presidents. In the estimation of the Greek soldiers, Patala, for instance, was the Sparta of the Hindus. It was a famous city at the apex of the delta of the Indus. In this community, as Diodorus tells us, "the command in war was vested in two hereditary kings of two different houses, while a council of elders ruled the whole state with paramount authority."11

Large indeed in Alexander's days was the number of democratically governed peoples, with the institutions of sva-r j or self-rule though sometimes of the oligrachic character. One of the most important of these nations was the Arattas (Arāshtrakas, i.e., kingless) with their kinsmen, the Kathians. Justin calls them robbers and they are condemned as such in the Mahābhārata also. But they proved to be a powerful military aid to Chandra-goopta in his successful wars against the Macedonians and the Greco-Syrians. It was the splendid assistance rendered by the Arattasis that to a great extent enabled the Hindu commoner to easily clear the Indian borderland of the

empire to the "scientific frontier", the Hindukush Mountains.

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Two other nationalities that have a pan-Indian reputation as having figured in the army of the Kooroos in the armaged. don of the Mahābhārata happened to strike the imagination of the Greeks in a interesting way. These were the Mallon (Malavas) and the Oxydrakai (Kshoodra kas).13 The former are described by Arrian simply as "a race of independent Indians". But the latter are singled or by him as by far the most attached freedom and autonomy. From the mi tary standpoint, both were very power peoples. But like the Athenians ar Spartans they had always been used flying at each other's throats. Alexander however, had to count on a formidal opposition from them. For, as it happens on this occasion, parallel in Hindu annal to the Persian invasion of Greece, the Malavas and the Kshoodrakas "resolva to forget old enmities and to make common cause against the invader." The alliance was cemented, as Diodorus narrato by "wholesale intermarriage, each give and taking ten thousand young women to wives." The strength of the combine army was 90,000 fully equipped infants 10,000 cavalry, and about 900 chariots

called fo Among the other republican nation was t ities of the time we know about Nysaiar Sambastai15 (the Sabarcae?), on the state Macedo ment of Diodorus, that they dwell of a h cities with democratic form of administration to be tion, and about the Gedrosii (Gedrosio charact on the report of Curtius, that they were of the re "free people with a council for discussion North-v important matters of state." Another or uni race is mentioned by Curtius, probate the Sabarra (2000) Indian the Sabarcae (?) of Diodorus, as a port ful Indian tribe whose "form of gord ment was democratic and not regular evident] that ha They had no king but were led by the generals. 7 Their army consisted of 600 foot. 6,000 foot, 6,000 cavalry, and 500 chariot the rolling Similarly the Oreitai, the Abastanoi, realing Xathroi (the Zalanoi) Xathroi (the Kshatriya), and the Arabic Realths are four people. are four peoples whom Arrian calls of the region A pendent tribes with leaders". 10 Of the tegions and push the north resternal Europeans pendent tribes with leaders, naval and push the north resternal property Kather Wishest Frances

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Two other nations came to have close buch with the troops of Alexander. These are the Agalassoi and the Nysaians. The former as Curtius says, put up a strong resistance to the Greek invaders, and may be taken to have been the first historic protagonists of Hindu Bushido or Kshatriyaism. For when they were bleated by the enemy, these gallant patriots preferred death to dishonor and national humiliation. Accordingly they "set fire to the town and cast themselves with their wives and children into the fames."20 Thus in the pride of nationalism, fostered also on the occasion of Moslem invasions in the Middle Ages, has to be sought one of the feeders of the custom that in subsequent ages came to practised exculsively by women, viz., the satee or the self-immolation of widows on the funeral pyres of their husbands.

The Nysaians21 are described by Arrian as a free commonwealth. They had a president, but the government of their state was entrusted to the aristocracy. This aristocratic element was represented by the council of three hundred wise men, One hundred of these Senators were "" How, O King!" Was the reply of the president of the Aysaian Republic to this suggestion of the Macedonian, "can a single city, if deprived of a hundred of its best men, continue to be well governed?" The reply was tharacteristic of the political mentality of the republican Hindus of the Punjab and orth-western India who presented single or united fronts against Alexander's Indian adventure (B.C. 327-324).22

This cluster of republics represented that hat he survival of a type of polity ot hat had been more or less uniformly disd of 600 the throughout the Hindu world. An chariothe volution is the chain of India's political chariotherolution is furnished by the clan-commonne Arabit healths of the fifth and sixth centuries
of the regions of Months eastern and central of the legions of Northern India, roughtly

for these oldest historical specimens of Hindu republics.

These republican peoples are generally enumerated as ten.23 In regard to seven of them there is hardly any information of political importance. The Bhaggas had their headquarters in Soomsoomara Hill, the Boolis in Allakappa, and the Kalamas in Kesapootta. Pipphalivana was the territory of the Moriyas, and of the Koliyas. Ramagama were two branches of the Mallas, one with sovereignty in Koosinara, and the other in Pava. The most important of these ten nations were the Sākiyas of Kapila-vastu, the Videhas of Mithila and the Lichchhavis of Vesali. The last two were amalgamated and went by the name of the Vajjians.

No republic in mankind's ancient history can surpass the Sākiya republic in the magnitude of its influence on worldculture. It had authority over a region which has for two thousand and five hundred years been the Jerusalem of Buddhism, the Tenjiko of the Japanese, and the Tien-chu (Heaven) of the Chinese. Shākya the Buddha (or Awakened) was, as the name implies, a citizen of the commonwealth of the Sākiyas. His father and brother were archons of this state. The common tradition that Shakya renounced princedom is erroneous. For he was not a prince at all, but only the son of a president.

The Sākiyas numbered one million strong. Their territory lay about fifty miles east to west and extended thirty or forty miles south from the foot of the Himalayas. The administrative and judicial business of this republic was carried out in a public assembly. The civic center of Kapila-vastu the capital, as that of other cities of the nation, was the motehall. The young and old alike took part in the deliberations as to the government of the country. The chief was elected by the people. He used to preside over the sessions. The title of the president was rājā (literally king).24 It corresponded in der we have to current and service of that Pyrrhus of Epirus sent to republic pomain Guruke Kangri Collection, 2800 yarcould not describe the Roman Senate except as an "assembly of kings", there was nothing specifically undemocratic in the honorific title of rājā for the chief executive of a Hindu republic.

The republic of the Vajjians was a United States of ancient India. It was a federation formed by the union of eight clans that had formerly been distinct and independent of one another. Vesali was the headquarters of this federal republic. The two most prominent of the members of this union were the Videhas and the Lichchhavis. The Videhas had once been citizens of a monarchical state, and their original territory covered 2300 miles. The Lichchhavis used to elect a triumvirate of three archons to conduct their administration. 25

The principles of the Sakiya republic, nay, the entire philosophy of democratic republicanism, found an able exponent in Shākya, the Buddha, who though he renounced the family-ties, remained an active propagandist all his life. And the propaganda embraced lectures26 on constitutional law, trial by jury, res judicata, government by the majority, the importance of public meetings, and all other branches of civic life as much as on the pathway to salvation and the elimination of misery from the world of men. He had great interest in the welfare of the Vajjian Confederacy and was almost the political and spiritual adviser of its Council of During the last days of this republic, while it was singing the swansong of its sovereign existence owing to the threat of Ajātashatru, King Magadha, that he would extirpate the Vajjians, "mighty and powerful though they be," it was Shākya's anti-monarchism and republican fervor that kept up the spirit of resistance among the elders sufficiently high to accept the royal challenge. For they were heartened by Shakya's judgment that the Vajjians could not be overcome by the king in battle as long as their federation was unbroken.37

We have a picture of ultra-democratic judicial proceedings²⁸ at the mote-hall of the Vajjian Confederacy. A succession of regularly appointed officers administered the criminal law. These wecenthe officers administered the criminal law.

lawyers, the rehearsers of the law maxims, the council of the representatives of the eight clans constituting the union, the vice consul, and the raji or consul himself. The accused could be acquitted by each of these officers of the hierarchy. But if they considered him guilty, each had to refer the case to the next higher authority. The president of the republic was the final judge as to the penalty in accordance with the law of precedents.

It is interesting to observe that the management of affairs of the rural areas of these republics was not the monopoly of the male sex. Women also were proud to bear a part in works of public utility. The laying out of parks, the erection of communal halls, rest-houses and reservoirs, and the construction and mending of roads between village and village were undertaken by men and women in joint committees. 29

The cultural achievements of republican India might easily be belittled. But let students of the history of civilization compare the contributions of the age of Hindu republics with the values of European culture from Pythagoras to Plato. In an inventory of India's contibutions of to the spirit of inquiry and the progress of mankind, the epoch of republis (C. B. C. 600-322), interspersed no doubt with monarchies, must be recognized at responsible for the beginnings of the anatomy, therapeutics and medicine of Charaka's academy, of the linguistics and methodology of Pānini and his scholar and of the metallurgy and alchemy the subsequently found patron-saints in Pater jali and Nāgārjoona, the philosophical speculations of the atomists (Vaishesika) monists (Vedānta), sensationalists (Chit vāka) and sceptics (Lok yata), the schools of political ari of political science that came to be finally absorbed. absorbed in the systems of Kautilya and Shooker at the system at t Shookra, 31 the legal and sociological theories costs in the systems of Kauthy theories associated in the long run with the nom-de-plumes of Manu and Valkva 32 valkya. 32 the elaboration of the Mahi folklore and of the Ramavana and Mahi bhīrata epics, the foundations of drame turgy and fine arts in the Bharata the Batsayana cycles, the origins of

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1 Vide the author's article on "Domocratic leals and Repuplican Insitutions in India", in the American Political Science Review for the American Political Science Review for September 1918; Narendranath Law's "Forms and Types of Hindu Polity" in the Modern Review for September 1917; Kashiprasad layaswal's "Introduction to Hindu Polity" in the same journal, May-July, 1913, and "Republics in the Mahabharata" in the Journal, of the Orissa and Bihar Research Society, 1915, pp. 173-80.

2 VII, 3, 14.

3 Artha-shastra, I, 35 (transl. by R. Mamasastry of Mysore).

4 Ibid, XI, Ch. I.

5 Shanti-parva, Ch. CVII. 23-24, 30-32.

6 Cunningham's Coins of Ancient India, p. 75-79.

7. Smith's Early History of India (1914), p. 285-86

8 McCrindle's Ancient India, Fragment L.

9 Ibid, Fragment I.10 Ibid, Fragment LVI.

11 McCrindle's Invasion of India by Mexander (ed. 1896), p. 296.

12 Ibid, p. 38-406. 13 Ibid, p. 149.

14 Diodorus, XVII, 98;

McCrindle's Invasion of India, pp. 252,

16 Ibid, 262.

17 Ibid, 252.

18 Smith's Early History, 98.

19 McCrindle's Invasion of India, pp. 155, 156, 167, 169.

20 Ibid, 93.

21 McCrindle, pp. 79, 80, 81; Arrian, v. 11. 22 Smith's "Position of the Autonomous

22 Smith's "Position of the Autonomous Tribes of the Punjab" in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1903, pp. 685-702.

23 Rhys Davids' Buddhist India, Ch. II.

24 *Ibid*, pp. 22, 41. 25 Ibid, p. 19.

26 Choolla-vagga (The Sacred Books of the East Series, ed. by Max Muller), XI, 1, 4, IV, XIV, 24-26, IV, x; Maha-Vagga (S.B.E. Series), IX,11,1-4, IX,iii, 2.

27 Dialogues of the Buddha, Vol. II, Mahapari-nibbana-suttanta (transl. Rhys Davids).

28 Vide Hemchandra Rai Chaudhuri's "Lichchhavis of Vaisali" in the Modern Review, July 1919.

29 Rhys David's Buddhist India, p. 49.

30- Brajendranath Seal's Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus; Benoy Kumar Sarkar's Hindu Achievements in Exact Science.

31 Transl. by B. K. Sarkar (Panini Office, Allahabad). Vide the author's articles "Hindu Political Philosophy" in the Political Science Quarterly (Columbia University), Dec. 1918; and on the "Hindu Theory of International Relations" in the Am. Pol. Sc. Review (August, 1919); Law's articles on "Vārttā or Hindu Economics" in the Indian Antiquary, 1918-19.

32 Jolly's Recht und Sitte.

33 Saddharma-poondarika (Lotus of True Law), edited by Kern and Nanjio, p. 234; Scared Books of the East, Vol. XXI, p. 222.

TO A MIGRANT BIRD

By Kolapi, Darbar Sura Singh-ji, Prince of Lathi in Kathiawad, India.

Translated from Gujarati by Ananda Coomaraswamy and Premanand V. Vaishya.

The terrible darkness of life! the endless path before us!

(But when the destined task is altogether done, we shall return)—

Taking thy burden up, fly on, fly on:

Wherever the winds shall waft thee, take thy rest, and be at peace.

To the land of Kashmir, of sweet springs and balmy breezes!

la land of Kashmir, of sweet springs and balmy breezes!

la land of uttermost delight and that is dear to me—

Where shadows of clustered grapes are cast on crystal streams.

Where the branches of lofty trees are waving in pollen-laden air, Rest in the tops of the highest there, and eat of honeyed fruits: It shall make thy weary golden feathers bright and fair again, Though well mayst thou be faint, who hast reached a land so far away!

Thou knowest nought of the terrible mountains and forests on thy way; Yet when thou seest all that lovely land, thou mayest love it well: Its rivers are cold enow, and there shalt thou play and pleasure thee— For the body scorched by the heat rejoices to be cool.

At eventide the Himalayan peaks are dyed with the colour of roses:
Then vale after vale, and countless fountains and lakes grow fairer yet,
And the trees on the mountains above the clouds converse with the stars—
They are bathed in the light of heaven and smile in a happy trance.

Then shall remembrance of all that is dear to thee come to thy mind:
If thy troubled heart be thundering, and even tears be shed—
Yet the sound of falling rain will die away and a voice be heard,
And then shall thy soul, my darling, be melted and drowned in sorrow's bliss.

Bethink thee then of the love of thy Master and friend—My child, my darling, alas! thy tears are falling still, my grief! But perch in the crown of a mighty tree I have reared for thee, And I shall recite to thee, my dear, this little song I have made.

For once on a time, my dear—Ah, yes—I was drawn to go there myself, And I too wept with heart's desire for dear ones far away; And the song was filled with trinkling tears like drops of blood—So filling thy beak with longing, thine own red mouth shall drink thy tears.

And shouldst thou reach the burning desert beyond the Indus, Where blustering winds drive hot across the barren heaps of sand—"Thou mine, thine," indeed: but O my friend, I may not be thy guide, And whatso bitter pain thou myst be in, I cannot aid thee.

Then will your lovely wings be wearied out and draggled and torn, And, Ah, my child, for want of water thy throat be parched and dry: Yet the praise of God shall bestow on thy wings the eagle's power—Onward, then, swiftly onward! not for one moment linger or delay.

There is a host of fellow-pilgrims that have travelled on thy path, And flying thus, it may be thou shalt meet with weal, and may be not:
But if thy destined path prove hard, yet shalt thou be both brave and glad—
This is the burden of life and the means of grace no miracle bestows.

Long ere thou seest the end of thy journey, or mayst reach thy goal, Thou must lift the burden betimes, and fly on thine airy path; Drink with acceptance of thy bitter griefs and dangerous adventure,—In all thy wretchedess have faith that surely love yields joy at last.

It is unfitting an old man should weep: I wipe away my tears—Go now, be happy if thou mayst. Be done with tears—I fold you close: God save you from all sin and lead your heart in the right way!

My blessings on you, little pilgrim! Good befall thee, good befall thee!

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

1. The Feast of Youth.

BY JAMES H. COUSINS.

trear ago there came from the press in India inst book of a young poet, a native of the hammadan state of Hyderabad, but a gali Hindu by ancestry, and brother to Sarojini Naidu. The book was called The Feast of Youth," and it was my happy rillege to introduce it to the world in the lowing words:

I have written in my book, The Renaissance in the problem presented by Harindranath the problem is and magic to poetry to be a second in the problem. ite English language, and in its consequent menace blodia's literary and national future in the possible ming away of other young poets from their true soment of expression, their mother-tongue.

This book, his first, with its lyrical morning joy abird-like assurance on the wing, accentuated that datation of opinion mentioned above, and with aing inconsistency, I here unblushingly, nay, with most introduce the dangerous young poet: the poet man myself rises above the jungles and swamps of mind to some quiet hill top on which he makes dation to a comrade born with new and compelling and utterance which are all, after all, that matter to the soul of humanity in its hunger thirst for articulation.

thousand gold-bags of a Persian king he equal balanced with a grain of sand,

het of nineteen years sings sagely in a poem not book; and it may be that in the scales of art right of much prediliction and a great many of human relationship will be found light in with a grain of genius. We plan out our systems, we expound our schemes of educate talk of the vernacular as the safeguard of vernacular as the safeguard of individual Then comes some individual spirit. Then comes some individual the sacred fire of genius, and its white start glass" look like variations of the primal was a proceed to recognise that our plans We are forced to recognise that our plans We are forced to recognise that our plant we are forced to recognise that our plant of the state alveness, signs of disease through which number of progressing towards health. They are shy progressing towards health. They are shows itself through individual genius rising to show itself through individual genius rising to show itself through individual genius rising the level of a race or an age, and uttering itself satojini pleases to use. It has done so in the sty history has now to record the fact that the history has now to record the fact that the spirit can blow with agual strength simul-All of the spirit can blow with equal strength simulation two points at the compass, on Public Dom

a true bearer of the Fire-not the hectic and transient blaze of youthfulness (which has its place and time, but only a place and time) but the incorruptible and inexitinguishable flame of the immortal Youth which sustains the worlds visible and invisible...... In that conviction I find refuge from inconsistency.'

The first poem sets the tune to the whole book.

"Feast of Youth:"

Lo! over the mountains in silver-grey Enchanted distance, breaks a burning day! Long clouds of faery-flaming fire Gloom on the heaven-looming mountain-tops ... And everywhere warm, silver fountain-drops Scatter the music of desire,

The old stars dance enkindled with divine Ecstatic sparks. The sea is foaming wine! The moon, a luscious ripened grape O'erfloods the Cup of Youth......The ocean shells Transform themselves for rapture, into bells For Youth's bright feet of faery-shape!

Thrilled by the scented breath of Youth, the wind Shapes earth into a rich creative mind! And threshes out the sleeping snow Into an active dream of joy...... The world, A secret flower, its petals hath uncurled Like visible hints of godly glow!

Here we come at once upon an unusual ardour expressed through a succession of images of great beauty. We are in the poetical tropics not only personally in the warmth of the poet's feeling, but geographically in such a phrase as "bells for Youth's bright feet," which is not a

youthful poet's fancy but a glimpse of Indian.
All through the book, indeed, there is a fragrance and brightness and variety of India, but the young poet is less objective and more definitely personal than his sister. He gives us no songs that have India for subject, like Mrs. Naidu's poems describing various phases of Indian life. He takes full opportunity of the prerogative of youth to busy itself with itself, and the result is delightful in achievement and inspiring in prophecy. Nothing could be finer than the lyrical fervour of the poem called "Branches" with its simultaneous revelation of the aspiration of the poet and intermingling of the great triumvirate of creation, God, Nature and Humanity:

Within my being, in her fullest power, and the compass of th The branches of my heart are now in flower,

Through immemorial mists of faded dreams A new thought twinkles like a golden glimmer. My tears flow toward the End in opal streams, My laughter bursts into a thousand gleams And thrills the star-fires with a twofold shimmer !

The Spring-hues deepen into human Bliss! The heart of God and man in scent are blended-The sky meets earth in one transparent kiss-My heart springs up out of the dim abyss On wings of light god-rich and beauty-splendid!

That is the young Indian Poet's response to the spring, somewhat different from the response in Tennyson's line "In the spring a young man's fancy lightly turns to thoughts of love." The young man of the East feels also the subtle urge of the season, but he does not respond with one function only; his whole nature responds, and in his response you have a glimpse of the essential difference between West and East both in life and the arts. One speaks from the point of view of our common humanity, the other speaks from the point of view of our common divinity. One is out to "enjoy life", the other to dedicate life to the enjoyment of it by the higher self. Chattopadhyaya

"Ecstacy"

O make my burning blood Thy sparkling wine For Thee to drink at pleasure and rejoice! Transmute my flesh into a song divine For Thee at will to voice!

Transform my tears into a silver shower, To mingle with Thy rivers clear and white. O! make my laughter an enchanted flower To blossom in Thy light.

Fashion a banner out of my desire, And float it on Thy Palace, secret King ! Cleanse Thou my life with rich, relentless fire Of endless suffering!

O! make each word I speak a crystal prayer, Each thought I think, a deathless Temple-flame, Strike on the anvil of my heart's despair The solace of Thy Name.

To the uninitiated western mind these poems are not unlikely to bring a sense of exaggeration on account of their perpetual sense of being off the ground and their exuberant imagination. Indeed, some of Chattopadhyaya's poems appear to be nothing more than a string of figures of speech, as in this sonnet: ("The God of Warriors.")

I have a God ... His arm is the white sky Tattooed with starry beauty and His proud Determined brow, the dark and threatening cloud, His sword gleams in a lightning flash. His eye Opes in the fiery Sun...The winds that sigh, His burning breath. The thunders bursting loud, His mighty war-drum. Lo! a gleaming crowd Of colours in His rainbow banner high! He is a warrior beautiful and strong... Thro' endless ages, dauntless in the fight Shadows dance upon my pathways CO-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangf Gollection Halpon His face...

He fights alone against the world's dark wrong, Taking its peeple prisoners of right... Across my dreams bursts His victorious song "Out of the darkness march into the light!"

One may easily set that aside mistakenly a such por a piece of oriental figure-design." But any one wan India know wan India know was likeh p "a piece of oriental ngure-design." But any one who has the privilege of knowing India knows an India knows and India knows an India knows and India knows and India knows an India k obects of all thoughts, and rolls through things"; but he did so as the termination of a adventure of the mind towards spiritual real sation. The young Indian poet begins when the old English poet leaves off. He has no ned to argue himself towards an intellectual come tion of the divine immanence: it is in his blow and tissue. What comes new to him is in personal realisation and his joy in giving it utter ance. God as the lonely fighter, God as the Adversary of humanity (instead of the Devil a common minds conceive the matter) is a falliterary figure but is also the essence of Hint philosophy; the last line of the sonnet is only de hill to an English rendering of a prayer from the Upanishads.

Tagore has brought into English poetry the spirit of devotion, and after the manner of the Vaisnavite worship figures himself as the harmanic loved sought by the Divine Lover. Chatter padhyaya too has a sense of double life endless seeking mutual completion. He expresses this his sonnet:

Love! I have known you for one little hour And claimed you mine forever...You have wrough My life into a white continuous thought Of you, and left me breaking ... into flower. Your fragrant breath was prophet to the show Within my heart. Beloved! I have bought Your love with painful silences, and caught Your echo in my soul's resounding tower. Only our mortal lives are lived apart... We are together through the lonely years Invisible lip to lip and heart to heart... You laugh my laughter, and I weep your tears We move to meet each other on our ways O Love! down burning night and burning days

And he gives it expression which is at our more on the surface as regards its expression and deeper as records and deeper as regards significance in "Message"

Secretly He sends His message Swiftly through the flowering years... In a child's resplendent laughter And a woman's tender tears... Sunset-fires are dancing, dancing To the music of His feet... In the burning breast of sunrise I can hear its footsteps beat... ..Lo! His splendour bursts like lightning Through the burning mystic space...

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The phil boston Tr ottry-revi Mdistincti Silver stars are visible twinkles Of His clear, transparent touch... He's moving every moment To the world He loves so much!

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Such poetry reconciles us to the phenomenon stakenly a But any one in Indian throwing the genius of his race into india know in local received as a habit for Indians to dia knows an Indian throwing the gentus of his face into dia knows an Indian throwing the gentus of his face into dia knows an indian throwing the gentus of his face into dia knows an exceptional means developed the put the Time Spirit for letting loose in English the Siamotto of a much needed element that will, it is through a through a become so thin and cold that artificial through a little property of the same as a part of ation of a stimulus of mere sensuousness and including by stimulus of mere sensuousness and physical notement-attempts which have to be justified recaggerating the importance of humanity in trature, and giving the term humanity an logether inadequate interpretation.

tual conception his blood Literary history tells us, if we have only ears him is is b hear, that negation and pessimism are blind ing it utter Leys through which the spirit of poetry cannot God as the Devil a st. "If there was no God," said a scientist, it would be necessary to create one." The man imagination needs a way out. Some net is on the eddy of the great stream that comes from whill tops of inspiration may trouble the from the trkened pools, but it is only where the open poetryth raters race with the urge of the heights and mer of the call of the depths that we have the authenas the le music and joy of poetry. Shelley at the er. Chatte ramning of last century knew that joy. In the ife endless and disputations he did esses this the modelly, though he sang of pain and sappointment. He knew "If winter comes, can wing be far behind?" And this young Indian hour ave would limagination and lyrical rapture shows the ay at the beginning of this century out of the to valleys of gloom and uncertainty into the hight and elevation of inner realisation of His book ends with a song called Aght"; the song itself ends with a salutation blomorrow morning:

God plays upon the heart-strings of the dark To built the cry of birds and flowers and streams. His magic fingers weave each starry spark lato my sapphire dreams.

Out of the depths of night, a vision starts, Haunting my anguish with a touch of flame... the a rich flower unfolds the Heart of Hearts The petals of my name.

The stars are white because His thoughts are white, And are, like them, in deeps of darkness born.

O God! I seek the message of the night And find the gold of morn!

II. The Bliss of a Moment.

The philosophy of a young and vital Asia was broduced to America in the columns of the America in the columns of the Transcript on January 1, 1919. The Athy reviewer of the journal, an American poet not their metrical, described the "free verselic proping Gundot Kingr Collegious landwar described the "free verselic proping Gundot Kingr Collegious landwar

Bliss of a Moment, by Benoy Kumar Sarkar, as "at once rhythmic and full of vigorous fancy". We in the west have long read Indian poetry, expecting to find in it a certain mystic beauty. The magic of rhythm, the richness of expression combined with indefiniteness and unreality, have come to represent the poetry of the Orient to our minds. At the same time, there is a large body of Americans who do not care so much for the diction or melody of poetry as for the message contained in it. In this light we are searching every expression for a message to our own people and to the larger world, as well as to Asia. A curiosity was, therefore, awakened in us by reading in the Boston review that Mr. Sarkar's "volume is extremely interesting, not only in its wealth of unusual imagery and thought, but also as one more indication that the world is rapidly becoming unified, and that Kipling's bold statement that East and West will never meet is found to be quite wrong." Not only are they meeting, but such a message as that contained in The Bliss of a Moment, by an Indian, is more closely allied to our own mental habits than all the works of Kipling.

Since western scholars, such as Max Muller and Schopenhauer, followed even by Indians themselves, treated us to the spiritual glories of the Hindus, we have had enough and to spare of transcendental "bliss". We have been fed on it by India's own great sons, such as Vivekananda and Tagore, as well as by sympathetic western interpreters like Margaret Noble (Nivedita). It might be said that we were in need of such ideas of renunciation and other-worldliness. today, after cultivating our own Emersons, Bergsons, Blakes and Fichtes, to mention just a few among the moderns, we, the alleged materialists of the universe, have come to question the claim of the Orient to superiority in the philosophy of spirituality and transcendentalism.

After reading The Bliss of a Moment, another question has arisen in our minds. If this little volume of seventy-five poems, translations from the Bengali, represents the mind of Asia, in any particular, then we have been not only imperfectly informed, but Asia has been misrepresented to us. Indologists have told us of India "plunging in thought again", unmindful of material things, seeking solace in meditation of an after-life. Such statements bear out the statement of Professor James Harvey Robinson, of Columbia University, an historian of distinction, to the effect that historians have continued, as they always have done, to see their own particular interests "reflected in the dim mirror of the past..... They narrated such past events as they believed would interest the reader; they commented on these with a view of instructing him, fortifying his virtue or patriotism or staying his faith in God. In a way it was not so very important whether they took pains to verify their facts or nottheir motives were mainly literary,

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Mr. Sarkar's message in his little volume leads us to think that Indian historians have been narrating to us facts which they thought would interest us only. His message is one of materialism, aggressiveness and defiance, on which the west has been supposed to hold a monopoly. Yet Sarkar himself is an Indian, a scholar of ancient and medieval India, inferior to none of the historians or literary men who have informed us about the mysticism of Asia. The message which his poetry carries and the philosophy, indigenous to India, which he expounds, carries not the slightest taint of quiescence, piety or mysticism. He has given us, as in his prose, that side of the East which has been scarcely touched by interpreters of the East to the West. The questions naturally arising "Is this the East speaking? Or is The Bliss of a Moment the poetry of a New Asia, the spiritual expression of a rejuvenated East that has embodied itself in the Pan-Islam of the Persian Jamaluddin, the republican endeavor of Young China, the claim of racial equality by Japanese statesmen, the Hindu-Moslem unity of the Indians, the epoch-making, achievements of the Hindu, Dr. Bose, along with the great number of young Hindu scientific, educational and political "missionaries"?

The New York Publicity Bulletin (January, 1919) seems to have caught the spirit of the little volume. In its estimate, the book consists of "poems that electrify with the vitality of their message....They combine the energy and forward look of the occident with the inward, upward

looking faith of the Orient."

The philosophy is, frankly, a challenge to every accepted convention, to every recognized standard of culture and thought, of art, nationality, patriotism. The "bliss" of a moment is, to the poet, the eternal moment of change. Niskam Karma, as taught in the Gita, is his religion. The poem "Shakti" condenses into a few lines his conception of life. Even in the works of western poets, he finds but a reflection of his own self and his own philosophy. Thus he speaks of Browning:

Teacher of efforts of fruition careless, O thou world greatest, best critic of life! Thine is the modern Gita's gospel of hope And work for its own sake, O Seer, energist bold!

Again he questions and answers:

What is progress but revolt and failure! The real heroes are those that fail. Endless existence belongs to that race That is not deterred by the fear of defeat.

Aside from the spirit of Shakti, which pervades every page, the mind of young Asia as shown by the author is found to possess three characteristics: breadth of vision, cosmopolitanism and universalism, and modernism. The whole world is its range of thought and sympathy, and every class of society, from the peasant living in his thatched hut, to Dwijendra-

lal Roy, the Schiller of India, is embraced in its lal Roy, the Schinker Mohammedan of Egypt, the mental scope. The Mohammedan of Egypt, the Indian ryot, the Chinese philosopher, the divine Dante, all forms American poet, the divine Dante, all form a par American poet, the distribution upon which the eye of the intellectual horizon upon which the eye of young Asia are gazing. At the same time is revealed the cosmopolitan viewpoint of the author, and the fact that Asia is utilizing the entire world and all that the human inteller has produced, in its development.

Of Virgil he sings:

Homer's disciple inspirer Of Dante's and Mazzini's, Teacher of patriotism thou Of all ages and climes!

And from Virgil, he comes to America, and finds in the Statue of Liberty a message to Asia. Thus he writes:

Whose message is the basis of character, Origin of morals and source of creeds, Energy behind all world forces, Thou-O Liberty! the very fount of life!

In this manner does he reach into the past the moti and draw inspiration, or stand in the present philosoph and look about him for expressions of the aption energy which means the rejuvenation of Asia.

The broad conception of the lines entitled assionate "The Patrie" are of interest not only in this are so c connection, but also because they strike the kere quot keynote of the author's pedagogic scheme, or which he would build education, without re terence to nationality or race, a scheme diame trically opposed to the accepted nationalists ideas in every country. Such a statement may seem paradoxical, in the light of Mr. Sarkars activities in connection with the National Council of Education in Bengal. But this ! not so, for using his own words, taken from the Vedic Magazine some eight years ago, in all article, "The Hindu Educational System: Past Achievements and Future Ideals", he said

"It has yet to be dinned into our ears that modernization of India, scientifically interpreted, should mean the mean the proper utilization of modern world forth and the assimilation of world-culture in the interest of the development of Indian national ideals along the lines of natural evolution."

The Bliss of a Moment embodies Shakti; the Shakti takes the form of modernism with its accompanying accompanying aspects of cosmopolitanism and breadth of visit breadth of vision. A phase of the broad vision of Asia is found to the broad vision. of Asia is found to be pluralistic. In one pot the author says:

I have rebelled against creeds and codes,

Therefore, my songs would into crystals shape Theories of life among diverse men.

He presents an argument for almost ever se, provided it almost and argument for almost ever se, case, provided it shows energism, life, action. Thus he writes:

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50 much does Mr. Sarkar believe in a variety forms, and in the various manifestations of persy that he seems to have no "morals" in be ordinary sense. His test of human values, the eye bowever, is creation. That to him is not only his not of living, but his test of all human standard. In his belief, out of griefs and joys omes real creation; and such creation is as a work of God. Because is it not true that griefs ad joys are but fruits of endeavour? "Immortal thou, Creator, among men

If sincerely thou hast grieved and joyed,"

Thus the message of a new Asian poet to Imerica is not quiescence and transcendentalism, hienergy. From the lines in which he says

Man that is man is bound to break And demolish barriers old; All human blood, no matter whose, Seeks to challenge the questions closed.

to the poem on "Death", in which is embodied the past the motif of the entire book, as well as the ne present pilosophy of a new Asia, we find a new cons of the applied of life among peoples hitherto little hown to us save through mystics, travelers and Dissionaries. The ideas in the poem "Death" te so characteristic of the poet that they are strike the here quoted:

> Not like a dead animal I would die-Not like one whose heart hides no cosmic heat; My last testament I would write at death Myself, to declare the glories of the earth; "It is energy that is life, its forms Craving lordship, love, warfare, defeat; This ambrosia is not to be had, Except on this earth of mud, trees and stones." If God there be and if it be His might To satisfy man's prayers and demands, And if death is bound to come, I would play For a death full of madness, unrest, life.

Is this Asia speaking, or is it the voice of our on forefathers who founded America and enlared their names on our hearts?

ALICE BIRD.

II. War and Self-Determination.

War and Self-Determination: Four Essays Aurobindo Ghose (with a portrait of the thor in Bengali costume). Pp. 176. S. R. hithy & Co. Well bound and well-printed on Triplicane, Madras.

The four eassys are: The Passing of War?, The Unseen Power, Self-Determination, A League Nations. The last essay covers more than the hoot the book, and there is a short introduc-The book is a complete study on the The book is a complete study on the substance of the lesson it teaches

things we profess. War and violent revolutions can be eliminated only by getting rid of "the inner causes of war and the constantly accumulating karma of successful injustice of which violent revolutions are the natural reactions." The pregnant sentences of the author, surcharged with thought and wisdom, have to be pondered and digested in order that we may fully profit by them. It is not therefore our intention to make lengthy extracts. But our esteemed and honoured countryman has long been out of Bengal, and it may be of interest to the reader to know something of his present views on religious and social questions of which we get incidental glimpses in these essays. His views on world politics coincide with those of all advanced thinkers like Rabindranath Tagore and others who can penetrate behind the passing phenomena into the soul of things, and before whom all hypocrisy and selfishness reveal themselves in their naked ugliness, while at the same time the far-off beneficent results of present tendencies and germs of thought are manifested in a brightness of glory which is hidden from our darkened souls accustomed as we are to live from day to day in the fleeting light of contemporary events. "Salvation for individual or community," says Aurobindo Ghose, "comes not by the Law but by the Spirit. We in India have also yet to realise that truth -not by the shastra, but by the Atman." Elsewhere Mr. Ghosh speaks of "...the singular sophistical contention of the Indian defenders of orthodox caste rigidity on its economical side that coercion of a man to follow his ancestral profession in disregard not only of his inclinations, but of his natural tendencies and aptitudes, is a securing to the individual of his natural right, his freedom to follow his hereditary nature." We should remember that in these and the following passages we have the matured opinions of Aurobindo Ghose, the prophet of Indian nationalism: "...the subjection of woman, the property of the man over the woman, was once an axiom of social life and has only in recent times been effectively challanged. So strong was or had become the instinct of his domination in the male animal man, that even religion and philosophy have had to sanction it, very much in that formula in which Milton expresses the height of masculine egoism, 'He for god only, she for god in him,'—if not actually for him in the place of God. This idea too is crumbling into the dust though its remnants still cling to life by many strong tentacles of old legislation, continued instinct, persistence of traditional ideas; the fiat has gone out against it in the claim of woman to be regarded, she too, as a free individual being." Our next extract that "the western device of salvation by Vedantism, from each of which he takes some vea failure in the absence of the spirit of the theory of man and human society and human will give us an idea of the author's views on

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destiny which he outlines in the following passage: "It is not human reason and human science which have been working out their ends in or through the tempest that has laid low so many of their constructions. A greater spirit awaits a deeper questioning to reveal his unseen form and his hidden purpose. Something of this truth we have begun to see dimly, in the return to more spiritual notions and in the idea of a kingdom of God to be built in the life of humanity. On the old sense of a Power in the universe of which the world that we live in is the field, is supervening the nearer perception of a godhead in man, the unseen king of whom the outer man is the veil and of whom our mind and life can be the servants and living instruments and our perfected souls the clear mirrors. But we have to see more lucidly and in the whole before we can know this godhead. There are three powers and forms in which the being who is at work in things presents himself to our vision. There is first the form of him that we behold in the universe, but that, or at least what we see of it in the appearances of things, is not the whole truth of him; it is indeed only a first material shape and vital foundation which he has offered for the starting point of our growth, an initial sum of preliminary realisations from which we have to proceed and to transcend them. The next form is that of which man alone here has the secret, for in him it is progressively revealing itself in a partial and always incomplete accomplishing and unfolding. His thoughts, his ideals, his dreams, his attempts at a high self-exceeding are the clues by which he attempts to discover the spirit, the moulds in which he tries to seize the form of the Divinity. But they too are only a partial light and not the whole form of the godhead. Something waits beyond which the human mind approaches in a shapeless aspiration to an ineffable Perfection, an infinite Light, an infinite Power, an infinite Love, a universal This is not something that Good and Beauty. is not yet in perfect being, a god who is becoming or who has to be created by man; it is the eternal of whom this infinite ideal is a mental reflection. It is beyond the form of the universe and these psychological realisations of the human being and yet it is here too in man, and subsists surrounding him in all the powers of the world he lives in. It is both the spirit who is in the universe and the invisible king in man who is the master of his works. It develops in the universe through laws which are not complete here or not filled in their sense and action until humanity shall have fully evolved in its nature the potentialities of the mind and spirit. It works in man, but through his individual and corporate ego so long as he dwells within the knot of his present mentality. Only when his race knows God and lives in the

It is therefore essential for us to remember not only western statesmen bent on a reconstruction of the world, but Indian politicians bent on the political unification of India with its diverse creeds and castes—that "vain will be the mechanical construction of unity, if unity is not in the heart of the race and if it be made only a means for safeguarding and organising our interests..... The only safety for man lies in learning to live from within outwards, not depending on institutions and machinery to perfect him, but out of his growing inner perfec tion availing to shape a more perfect form and frame of life......If we are to found the kingdom of God in humanity, we must first know God and see and live the diviner truth of our being in ourselves....'

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IV. To the Nations.

To the Nations: From the French of Paul Richard, with an introduction by Rabindranath Tagore. Madras, Ganesh and Co, 1919. Price Rs. 1-8-0. Pp. 78.

The war and its lessons is the theme of this book. The author is an idealist, some may even call him a visionary, but that only means that he has the gift of seeing things ahead, the thing that are coming to be. With a Frenchman's faculty of lucid exposition he analyses thecause of the war with a sure touch, and with an u erring finger points out the way to the externi nation of war-the only way, viz. : "It is the ver spirit in men and in things which must be altered. It is the soul in each nation which must be transformed ... There is only one more law for men and for peoples." Almost ever sentence of this little book tells; it is full of ap generalisations which are fit to be quoted as maxims. Liberty, equality and fraternity must henceforth be the rule of mutual dealing amount nations as they have hitherto been amore individuals. Patriotism must be elevated. Small nations will be counted great by great spiritual man will become utterly abhorrent and be total forbidden. Man must transcend his love of country try for the sake of the supreme mother-country Humanity. Lasting peace can only be found a free dedication a free dedication by all the nations of all the powers to the service of Humanity. Here are

"Peace had come to imply a state of thing lich permitted to few extracts: which permitted the big nations to the little nations as they pleased. And the pol nations called the pol nations to treat the pol nations to treat the pol nations to treat the pol nations to the pol nations t nations called themselves peaceful when the wishing to wage war with the strongest contented themselves. contented themselves with making war without to make too many risks—on the weakest."

"To hear them—the oppressed nations wishes to never so many defenders. Each one wishes liberate those not to unfold itself and the high property the strivings begin liberate those nations oppressed by the rajyam samriddham."

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politics and unscrupulous ambition, the cossary product of material greed, the just price for the shameless or hypocritical iniquities of all the sea glutted with congress in the sea glutted with congr against those glutted with conquest."

"Some are making use of the names of Right and Justice—but in vain. It is the right and istice violated by them all which is forcing them to this hand-to-hand struggle..."

"...they (the nations of Europe) have tied their hands, one to the other, insuring themselves nutually, through treaties, against any chance

"As long as the state of things which gave it (war) birth remains unchanged, it will be horn again out of its own ashes. Peace will be but a truce, victory but an opportunity for fish conflicts, and that probably between the allies of yesterday."

"Have we not seen how they are capable of doing, when their allied armies, in 1900, ravaged Peking and committed under Germany's leaderthip the same atrocities with which they now reproach her."

"Patriots are seen swelling with pride when their counttry, their mother, has committed one of those very acts which would make them die of shame, had their own sons been guilty of it."

"Honour does not consist in the control of others, but in self-control."

"The greatest country, be its boundaries narrow or vast, is that in which humanity reaches its highest stature...the true."

There are many other passages in the book which deserve quotation, but we have no space

The letterpress, binding, and general get-up of the book are worthy of the best European The main lesson of the book, that politics must be interpenetrated with spirituality, in order to attain truly beneficent results, is one which the great powers of the world will be tompelled to lay to heart by the force of circumstances in the near future. But before this is done, all talk of a permanent peace will be a mere chimera and even the man in the street can The introduction that it cannot be otherwise. The atroduction contributed by lagore is full of wise reflections, and those who lave read his book on Nationalism need not be told that the crimes that the West has committed in the name of nationalism have always drawn forth Tagore's most eloquent hrectives. He has no patience with hypocrisy and shams, and in this short preface he has the pot turned them inside out in his own inimitable gest, to make its mark in the book is one which is sure gest, to make its mark in thoughtful circles throughout the World, and we welcome it as a sober, sane and whole, and we welcome it as a sober, some politics and wholesome welcome it as a sourt, which will one contribution to the new politics wholesome contribution to the new policy will replace the old in the coming dawn

V. Studies in Village Economics.

Studies in Village Economics: By Rai Saheb A. P. Patro, B.A., B.L., F.R.E.S. (Lond), Berhampore, Madras. With an Introductory Note by Dr. Gilbert Slater, M.A., D. sc. (Lond), Professor of Indian Economics, Madras University. Pp. 102; price Rs. 3.

As the population of India is predominantly rural and agricultural, the study of Indian Economics resolves itself largely into a study of the economic conditions of the village. The ryot is the pivot on whom the economic life of the village turns; and nothing gives one a truer insight into the condition of the ryot than the study of his family budget. To such a study a band of selfless workers in Southern Indiaamong whom Mr. Patro's name deserves honourable mention—are devoting their time and energy. A study of the family budget is in its very nature a difficult thing and to be fruitful such a study requires the active cooperation of a large number of workers. Mr. Patro's attempts to elicit the truth about the economic position of the ryots by questioning them about their domestic affairs do not seem to have been always successful. And little wonder. Even an educated man would find it difficult to give an accurate idea of his incomings and outgoings under various heads during a year. Few people manage their households on the lines of a business firm. And the statements made by the ryots, in spite of the presence of local officials and witnesses, are sure to be vitiated by their personal bias, ignorance, lack of a sense of proportion, and last but not the least, by a very natural desire to snub the impertinent enquirer and by suspicion of his motives. A proper training in the principles of modern scientific research would have enabled Mr. Patro to sift and scrutinise thoroughly the facts brought to his notice; but nothing of the kind seems to have been done. Mr. Patro is himself conscious of the defects of his methods and very properly deprecates any attempt to jump at conclusions from his studies. He would be satisfied if his enquiries lead others to tread in his footsteps.

Still certain facts stand out so prominently from these studies of the economic life of the Ganjam ryots that Mr. Patro places before us and are supported by such unanimity of evidence that they deserve at least a passing notice. One of these facts is the extremely low standard of life of the ryot and his growing poverty and indebtedness. Out of the ten families whose budgets Mr. Patro has recorded only one was able to secure the necessary minimum of food (30 oz. per head per day), and that of the cheapest cereals. None could afford fish, meat, or even vegetable curry as part of their normal diet. And all had to spend a disproportionately large percentage of their income on food-a sure sign of poverty. Most were indebted beyond hope of redemption. As Mr. Patro points out,

CC-0. In Public Burner. Guruktilica diet of the Frankar often compares unfavour-

ably with that of prisoners in gaols, though prison diet, as everybody knows, is scientifically regulated to the efficiency minimum. Who knows that this may not often put a premium on

crime?

The other fact which is equally prominent is the growing pressure of population on the soil, which is driving large numbers of Ganjam ryots to seek employment outside their villages or sink to the position of landless agricultural labourers without regular employment or means of subsistence. The growth of such an agrarian proletariate is not only an economic but also a political danger to the country.

Let us hope that further and more accurate information on these points, such as recorded in Dr. Mann's Life and Labour in a Deccan Village, would be forthcoming from the pen of Mr. Patro or his co-workers in the same field.

The Exchange Crisis.

The Exchange Crisis, or Memorandum of Evidence Prepared for the Indian Currency and Exchange Committee, by S. K. Sarma, B. A., B.L., author of Indian Monetary Problems, etc. Madras. 1919.

In few other things has probably the great revolution wrought by the War been more strikingly illustrated than in the immense rise in the price of silver from less than 27d. an oz. to over 85d. an oz. This rise has placed all silver-using countries, especially those whose principal currency is silver, in a very awkward predicament and compelled them to adopt various contrivances to economise the use of the white metal. In India, the rise in the price of silver unfortunately synchronised with the time when the Government was compelled to vastly increase its silver output from the mints partly as a result of the Secretary of State's large sales of Council Drafts and partly to meet war expenditure in India on behalf of His Majesty's Government in England. The legislative restrictions on the free importation of precious metals also quickened the demand for currency by turning people's attention to the rupee (no longer a token coin) as the sole means of satisfying their demand for silver, both for use in the arts (prohibition against melting notwithstanding) and for hoarding. There can be little doubt that both melting and hoarding of rupees have gone on apace during the last few years. Mr. Sarma thinks that the Indian tendency to hoarding is largely due to the fact that precious metals used as ornaments are the absolute property of women (stridhan) in India. But the absence of proper banking facilities outside large commercial centres and the sense of insecurity engendered by the war have certainly been among the most potent causes of such hoarding.

Mr. Sarma goes on to propose certain remedies for the present currency difficulties

Restriction of the sale of Council Drafts by the Secretary of State; (2) Free importation of Gold; and (3) Redemption of the emergency color of the sale of Council Drafts by the Secretary of States by gold from the Paper Current issues of notes by gold from the Paper Currency Reserve and the Gold Standard Reserve.

The simultaneous adoption of these measures will, he believes, considerably improve the Government's currency position and stabilise exchange. He is also of opinion that a reserved tricted sale of Councils will not materially affect India's export trade if foreigners are allowed to pay freely in gold. The fact that the chief exports of India are indispensable to her foreign customers certainly gives India an advantagen export trade, but we cannot concur with Mr. Sarma's view that any restriction of exports arising from this cause is sure to be compensated by increased internal demand for indigenous products. Such a demand, even if it comes, will take a considerable time to materialise,

There will be no two opinions in the country about the desirability of removing the existing restrictions on the free importation of gold These restrictions were not in the first instance imposed in the interests of India and they have not benefited India except perhaps indirectly to a very slight extent by guarding the English gold reserves against depletion and thus helping to uphold British credit.

Mr. Sarma's third proposition only become intelligible if we remember that he believes neither in the gold exchange standard nor in a gold standard for India but wants to revert to the silver standard of the past. By an agreement between the Great Powers it is possible to maintain the relative value of gold and silverat In the changed conditions of the a fixed ratio. world today he opines that even England-the strongest opponent of such an agreement in the past-might consent to try the experiment No one who knows how deep-rooted is the belief in the minds of the English people that England's commercial prosperity is based largely on he gold standard and gold currency could hope for such a consummation. In the event of England still proving recalcitrant, Mr. Sarma expects the other powers to enter into such an agreement without her. Remembering the part London has played in the past in the financial world this would be much like playing Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark. Even if it were possible to leave out Denmark. to leave out England from the transaction, it too late in the day to expect the other countries of Europe to of Europe to go back on their gold standard and adopt bimetallism.

The question before us then resolves itself into this: Can India, without the co-operation of the rest of the the rest of the world of which there is little chance, put a ston to the chance is little chance, but a ston to the chance is little chance, but a ston to the chance is little chance. chance, put a stop to the great fluctuations in the price of silver? If she cannot, then what becomes of the silver. becomes of the silver standard? As a mater of fact, silver may be standard? of fact, silver mono-metallism was turnous Government. Cclints Public Pomain (Furnky Ranger Content of the this unhappy country has passed

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the last quarter of a century" will only minate when the Government of India fully frankly adopts a gold standard and a gold prency and relegates silver pemanently to subordinate position which its smaller deserves, just as the civilised governments Obrope and America did the moment the white

stabilise stabil bout five years ago Mr. Sarma's Indian foretary Problems was reviewed in these commiss. It was said at the time that Mr.

Sarma was one of the few advocates of a silver standard for India, but that his advocacy of the cause of silver was based on many hypothetical premises which detracted much from the value of his arguments and left his readers unconvinced. We are sorry to have to repeat that statement today, although we admire him for consistently maintaining the position he took up half a decade ago.

ECON.

THE MOVEMENT OF PLANTS

Edmond Perrier contributes a weekly of gold W. article to the celebrated Parisian evening paper Le Temps under the they have leading of Le Monde Vivante ("the living rorld"). The last of these articles, pubbled on January 4, deals with the worldmed researches into vegetable life of Sir agadish Chandra Bose. Our readers may da translation of M. Perrier's article in a gold literesting. It is not quite so cordially rt to the adatory as what we have read in English Apers. But it is interesting to see what laise is given by a foreigner who is anxious oclaim the utmost possible credit for his countrymen in particular and for propeans in general. We hope M. Perif fully appreciates the wonderful work the done by the illustrious Bengali man Anyhow, the article is interestin itself, and suggestive of enquiries are more easily made in Bengal than countries where the vegetation is Varied and is not, as with us in India, rennial.

long ago, at the Museum of Natural History paris, Claude Bernard delivered a whole Bernard delivered of life on to animal and the phenomena of life the l mon to animals and plants." In those days, was regarded as a novelty. Until his time (1), Were rather inclined to admit that tything is contrast between the creatures Perficially in two regions of organic life. ations the two regions of organic attinuation the model, it could be said, in fact, ations at in the matter of the gaseous exchanges a matter of the gaseous exchanges a matter of the gaseous exchanges and plants all is exactly the case of the atmosphere and plants all is exactly specified by the state of what happens in the case of from it by restore to the air the oxygen to the air the oxygen to the air the oxygen to the state of the

wholly by liquid or gaseous food, whereas animals require solid nutriment; they propagate themselves by means of seeds, whereas animals lay eggs. Even children almost instinctively distinguish plants from animals. Plants seem immobile and insensible. But when naturalists set to work to examine the facts more carefully, they discovered that, beneath appearances so different, there existed profound resemblances, and that in fact not only are there vital phenomena common to animals and plants, but that all vital phenomena are in essence the same, so much so that we have come to think of life as being a property of a particular substance. to which has been given the name of protoplasm. Every living being, whether vegetable or animal, begins life as a tiny mass of protoplasm. Often capable of rapid movement, whether it be vegetable or animal in nature, this tiny mass contains a central corpuscle, a nucleus, and it has detached itself from another living being, which it reproduces in all its details by dividing itself when it has attained certain dimensions by absorbing the substances which constitute its elements. The whole history of life is that of the modifications which these tiny masses present, as they multiply themselves by division or budding in order to form, in association, what we call an organism. The main difference between animals and plants consists in the fact that the elements of the latter enclose themselves as fast as they are formed in a protecting envelope, composed of an inert substance, sufficiently rigid to prevent any serious change of form under external pressure. This substance, known to us under the name of cellulose, is nothing else than the material of which paper is made. It is the formation of this wall of cellulose round plant-cells which causes plants to appear insensible by imposing upon them their characteristic immobility. But this immobility is They restore to the air the oxygen Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose, has caused to from it by animals; these are Psylstement of the condon by animals; the condon by animals are proposed by the condon by the co merely relative, and a naturalist at Calcutta,

has made the movements of plants visible to all eyes and has described their emotions. own poet Rollinat had felt the souls of ferns thrilling on the open wastes in which they live (2). It seemed to the hearers of Sir Jagadish that this mysterious soul had revealed itself to him, that he was making a new step forward in penetrating into the mystery of things, and this sentiment has naturally roused their enthusiasm. In fact Sir Jagadish, who has founded in Calcutta an institute of vegetable physiology, has invented the means of magnifying enormously the minutest movements of plants and making them visible to all eyes. If he wishes to follow the details of the growth of a plant, he fixes at the extremity of its stem a very light magnetic lever, which communicates all its movements to a needle provided with a little brightly illuminated mirror. This mirror projects its image, which appears as a luminous point, and its movements record, enormously magnified, the faintest movements of the base of the needle fixed at the extremity of the stem, and so we can follow in every detail the movements of growth of the plant. It was by a similar procedure (3) that the French physicist Lissajous rendered visible the vibrations of a diapason in the form of symmetric curves whose arcs crossed one another in the most elegant

As for the idea of fixing to the extremity of a plant's stem a light wand whose free extremity should render visible the minutest motions of its base by amplifying them (3), the credit for inventing this belongs to Darwin, who has in fact described the movements of a growing plant. The merit of Sir Jagadish consists in having modified this procedure of research in such a way as to make the results apparent to a large audience. Dr. Comandon performed much the same feat (3) by obtaining cinematograph films of the field of a microscope, so as to display before a large audience the bacillus of typhoid fever and the pale spirochete of syphilis forcing its way through the globules of living blood. For all that, it is a fact that no one can fail to feel surprised when you see the extremely slow motions of plants so magnified as to resemble the brisk movements of animals.

The motor powers of plants have, of course, long been known to us and show themselves in all parts of the plant, but especially in the flowers which can move either as a whole or by localised motions of their parts. Generally flowers direct themselves towards the light. This faculty is known by the name of "positive heliotropism". In the morning they are turned to the east, and in the evening they turn their faces to the setting sun. So far, only one plant is known, the verticillate sage, which acts in the contrary fashion.

time of day. In our own country, the beards distribution of day. fig-marigold opens its flower at eight in the fig-marigold opens its in the cight in the morning and closes it at five in the after moon. The ornithogallum imbellatum own its French name of la dame-d'onze-heures to that it expands itself at the home is hold the fact that it expands itself at the hour hold of eleven. The Marvel of Peru (Mirabile with w Jalapa) wakes up at five in the evening perthele to go to sleep again at about ten next morning rating the mullen with its great flowers also sleeps aggrat day till about eight in the evening; there is even a species of cactus which only opens it immediates to flower at midnight to close it immediate seminat The purslane is only open from midday to one. These movements of opening and closing are motions of the whole coroli win h and the fact that all flowers do not open at it ints" to same hour proves that the light, heat a pluring humidity to which their blossoming is common with dre attributed are not the sole causes of the min our activity. The wood sorrels, the dandelion to that rose viper's grass and the hawk weed open and cleen at the independently of any variations of light, to are the f perature or humidity.

But each part of a flower may also have in frendices own independent movements. The orchit wittes a possess one larger petal than the others while each is called "the standard". The standard of the pergadinium falcatum oscillates continually to the standard of the standard of the standard of the pergadinium falcatum oscillates continually to the standard of the standard o centauries to cause them to contract in various captive ways exactly as if they were sensible. In the heart if the contract in the captive ways exactly as if they were sensible. In the captive ways exactly as if they were sensible. beautiful white flower of the "grass of para lating ssus", the stamens, each in its turn, extended themselves themselves and thus successively place the dionea, pollen on the pistil, afterwards resuming the upright position. It is the same thing in the case of the monk's hoods, the geraniums, it saxifrages, the dittanies, the rue. Here, which the fructifying pollen. The same cause produces still more remarkable movements in the duces still more remarkable movements in the case of the birthwort. The flower of this plant is a yellow funnel like the twist of paper which the grocer sells you sugar, and does which the grocer sells you sugar, and does which the grocer sells you sugar, and does the which the grocer sells you sugar, and does the which the grocer sells you sugar, and does the which the grocer sells you sugar, and does the small flies can easily penetrate into it. So the same is normally perpendicular to the soil, so the small flies can easily penetrate into it. So the same of order to get the nectar they seek they old more heads brush past the stamens and so the pistil pollen which they deposit on the pistil lightest the flower is fertilized. Whereupon the flower is which hitherto areas. pollen on the pistil, afterwards resuming the leav the flower is fertilized. Whereupon the flow which hitherto erect, lowers itself and become the pendant, and the triangular salient tongue closs which on the open orifice of the design seals it so wal at the contract of the design seals it so wal at the contract of the design seals it so was at the contract of th on the open orifice of the flower and seals it so that no insect can be sealed to the seale it so those that no insect can henceforth enter.

Darwin has shown that many flowers are serving for search that many flowers in search thus fertilized by insects, such as bees in such of nectar, and thus fertilized by insects, such as bees in section of nectar, and that there are some, those of the sage-plant, which possess disposition in public bollant Ctherul Karpra Colland appropriated to the such

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The most celebrated of these are of the seeds open for ndelion to the soil. These leaves en and clear at the end of a long peduncle or stem and light, to the form of a disk carrying all round its to have the marginal tentacles also arbeves of panels. But the marginal tentacles also arbeves of panels. But the marginal tentacles also arbeves of panels. After which the tentacles resume their of panels. These ge and even on its upper surface long of parts disting position round the leaf. These remembers are slow. Those of the leaves of place the leaves were invested with a more delicate striveness. place the summer the summer than the summer th

in seals it so at all attitude. These movements are curiously those of a caterpillar which rolls itself up in seals in touched, or the contraction of a snail in such that the draws himself into his shell. Hence is positive with a sensibility analogous to that the such that he feels of that himself in the same in the such that he feels of that himself in the same in the such that he feels of that himself in the same in the such that he feels of that himself in the same i

been touched, that this sensation has given him a premonition of danger, and that it is because he fears this danger that he enters his shell, where he feels that he is safe. We reason thus because we compare the creature with ourselves. But we ourselves perform many acts under the influence of external causes without feeling or appreciating the causes which suggest our actions. A ray of sunshine suddenly strikes our eyes. We close our eyelids at once and automatically without any conscious effort of the will. We may even hide our eyes instinctively behind our hand. An unexpected obstacle presents itself before us when we are walking. We recoil with an involuntary step backwards. All these unreflecting, irresistible movements which take place without our being conscious of the motives which actuate them, and so are involuntary and inevitable, we call "reflex movements". They involve the existence in us of an inconscient sensibility which commands and is obeyed without giving us any warning. It would seem that plants possess this form of sensibility.

But Sir Jagadish goes farther. According to him, it is possible that plants possess what may fairly be called emotions. For them, he says, it causes a considerable emotional disturbance to be transplanted, and they often die of the shock thus inflicted. They can be saved from this nervous shock, as in the case of animals, by being chloroformed; whereupon, it would seem, the operation of transplantation is almost always Was the poet Rollinat(2) right innocuous. after all? Have the ferns, and all other sensitive plants with them, a soul? Has Sir Jagadish captured this vegetable soul, a soul sleeping and waking like our own? In fact, the living substance of plants does not differ, let us repeat, from that of animals except in the sole fact that it is imprisoned in a rigid envelope, which immobilises it and prevents it from giving visible indications of the excitations it endures. There are low forms of vegetable life, algæ and mushrooms, which only produce this envelope at a late stage in their development. Up to that point, they are mobile like animals, and the same thing is true of the male elements or antherozoids of the mosses and ferns. They were for a long time confused with infusoria, which are true animals. And so we return once more to the fundamental doctrine of the unity of all organic life.

Note by the Editor of the Modern Review.

(1) M. Perrier says that it was Claude Bernard who first found out and declared that life was common to animals and plants, and that in his days the idea was a M. Perrier also says that novelty. Darwin observed and described the movements of plants, and that the French poet RWINKappri Gelection Herstwals of ferns thrilling,

All this is true of Europe. And in the same vein we in India may go back to the age of the Mahabharata (some centuries B. C.) and draw attention to an interesting passage in the Santi-Parva of that work which ascribes certain specific forms of sensibility and neural action to plant organisms :- e.g., response to sound vibrations, as thunder, &c.; the sense of direction and (implied) response to light; the sense of smell as evidenced by favourable (or unfavourable) influence of various scents; also channels of conduction of nerve force; and finally, pleasure and pain, and a sort of comatose consciousness. The writer Gunaratna (circa 1350 A.D.) gives a list of plants that exhibit the phenomena of what is popularly known as sleep and waking and mentions the mimosa pudica, &c., as showing a manifest reaction in the form of contraction. Dr. Brajendranath Seal, who drew attention to these passages, at a meeting held in 1915 in honor of Dr. Bose, went on to observe:

"Let none of my hearers imagine that all this amounted to scientific knowledge or discovery. This was felicitous intuition, earned (if I may so put it) by intense meditation and guided by intelligent observation; but the gulf between this stage and the positive experimental knowledge of science is profound, and cannot be traversed except by means of difficult and delicate methods of quantitative analysis and measurement such as have culminated, in the department of Plant Physiology, in the researches of Dr. Jagadis Chandra Bose.

(2) It is natural for a French writer to refer to the French poet Rollinat's poetic faith in the existence of a soul in the vegetable world. Similarly, an Englishman would draw attention to the following lines written by Wordsworth, long career ended three years before Rollinat's birth:

> "And 'tis my faith that every flower Enjoys the air it breathes." "The budding twigs spread out their fan, To catch the breezy air; And I must think, do all I can, That there was pleasure there."

In the same way, a Hindu may refer to many passages in the works of many ancient and modern Indian poets; e. g., to Act IV in the Sakuntala of Kalidasa (date not later than cothingental grant Gyrukul

where the heroine of that drama bids an affectionate farewell to the trees and creepers of the hermitage, in the same way as she bids adieu to its human habitants She had named a jasmine creeper Vana. jyotsnā or "moonlight of the forest". Said

"Father, I will take leave of my creeper.

sister Moonlight of the Grove.

(Approaching the Creeper) "Moonlight of the grove, though you are locked in embrace with the mango-tree, embrace me with your are like boughs stretched in this direction. Hence forth I shall be far away from you."

In like manner a Chinaman will tell that in his country the artists and poets of the Sung period (960-1280 A.D.) believed that Nature is instinct with life, as has been noted by Laurence Binyon in lin Painting in the Far East, in the following passages :-

"The romantic feeling for nature developed with the Sung age into a more intimate emotion such as we do not find paralleled in Europe if the coming of Wordsworth. The peculiar mod of thought which tinges the verse of the English poet is indeed thoroughly congenial to the port and the artists of Sung." P. 127.

"We may say of these painters, as Walter Pater said of Wordsworth, They raise physical nature to the level of human thought, giving thereby a mystic power and expression; its subdue man to the level of nature, but give therewith a certain breadth and vastness and

solemnity.'" P. 138.

"With the Sung dynasty and the ascendant of Zen thought, a tinge of mystic feeling infused into this passion for flowers.....It is consciousness of a living soul in the nature, parallel to the soul in humanity, making in these constitutions of the soul in humanity, making in these constitutions of the soul in humanity, making in these constitutions of the soul in humanity, making in these constitutions of the soul in humanity, making in the soul in humanity, making in the soul in humanity, making in the soul in the soul in humanity, making in the soul in humanity, making in the soul in humanity. in these sensitive brief blossoms its manifest tion, and touching the mind with

'Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears'

(3) The writer in Le Temps be erred to the 1 referred to the devices of Lissajous, Darris and Comandon. His object in doing sort perhaps, to suggest that Sir J. C. Bost devices absolutely new conception. If that was the object, new horidiagraphic need not have need not have taken any pains to demons essays that let lidian trate modern contrivances, if any, are absolute new in concert new in conception. If M. Edmond Pernet. method were followed, much credit with not be given, e.g., to the inventors

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a bids a parious improved types of steam engines; trees and of the idea of using steam-power can be raced back in history to Hero (130 B. C.) Alexandria, in whose Pneumatica "there is described the aeolipile, which is a primitre steam reaction turbine, consisting of a opherical vessel pivoted on a central axis and supplied with steam through one of the pivots. The steam escapes by bent ppes facing tangentially in opposite directons, at opposite ends of a diameter perpendicular to the axis. The globe rvolves by reaction from the escaping steam just as a Barker's mill is driven by scaping water. Another apparatus described by Hero is interesting as the prototype of a class of engines which long afterwards became practically important." Mr. J. Arthur Thomson, writing to the New Statesman says:

"One of Sir J. C. Bose's truly admirable contrivances is called the crescograph, which records automatically and in magnified expression the growth of plants and its variations under different treatment. With growth measurers (auxanometers) previously in use a magnification of about twenty times was secured, but it took nearly four hours to determine the influence of changed conditions on growth. The crescograph gives a magnification of ten thousand times or more, and reduces the necessary period for experiment to thirty seconds."

Describing the same apparatus Labour Leader writes :-

"What has happened is that our perception of movement has been magnified a hundred million times. A hundred millions is a figure so vast that we can only grasp some idea of it by remembering, were we to increase the speed of a snail to the same extent, it would travel four times round the globe in an hour."

NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

Essays on Indian Economic Problems, by Prof. Brij Narain, M.A., of Sanatan Dharma College, Lahore. Pp. 307; price Rs. 2-8-0.

The series of twenty essays which Prof. Brij larain now publishes in book form has no slight dain to be regarded as a valuable contribution in the contribution of the contribution othe study of current economic problems of dia and is sure to make the author's name Multinown among the economists of the ountry. The essays cover a wide field but the Arger number deal with the problems of Indian furrency, fiscal policy, moment. The author's treatment of these subicts is often original and always thoughtful, and this raises the publication above the ordinary run oct. hary run of bazaar productions and gives it a more than ephemeral importance. The book, whose useful part is a number whose usefulness has been enhanced by a number of diagram. new of diagrams and charts prepared by the author demons Essays on Indian Economics and Prof. Kale's Indian Industrial and Economic Problems on that the shelves of Indian Economics and Prot. Kane state the shelves of Indian Economics and Prot. Kane state the shelves of Indian Economics and Prot. Kane state that the shelves of Indian Economics and Prot. Kane state that the shelves of Indian Economics and Prot. Kane state that the shelves of Indian Economics and Prot. Kane state that the shelves of Indian Economics and Prot. Kane state that the shelves of Indian Economics and Prot. Kane state that the shelves of Indian Economics and Prot. Kane state that the shelves of Indian Economics and Prot. Kane state that the shelves of Indian Economics and Prot. Kane state that the shelves of Indian Economics and Prot. Kane state that the shelves of Indian Economics and Prot. Kane state that the shelves of Indian Economics and Economics and Indian Economics are shelves and Indian Economics and Indian Economics are shelves and Indian Economics and Indian Economics are shelves and Indian Economics and Indian Economics and Indian Economics are shelves and Indian Economics and Indian Economics are shelves and Indian Economics and Indian Economics are shelves and Indian Economics and Indian Economics and Indian Economics are shelves are shelves and Indian Economics are shelves are shelves and Indian Economics are shelves are shelves are shelves are shelves and Indian Economics are shelves are shelves are shelves and Indian Economics are shelves are shelves are shelves are shelv the shelves of all students of Economics. If Mr. Respect of all students of Economics. Narain would concentrate his attention become study of a particular aspect of Indian conomics we feel confident that he would in Ronomics we feel confident that he would in the be aki

permanently enrich the all too scanty economic literature of India.

IMPERIAL STATE BANK.

This small pamphlet of some 16 pages contains two published speeches of Mr. S. R. Bomanji of Bombay on the proposed amalgamation of the Presidency Banks. Mr. Bomanji speaks strongly for an adequate representation of Indian interests both in the directorate and management of the projected Imperial State Bank for India and requests the Government not to unnecessarily restrict the legitimate banking operations of the State Bank from fear of interfering with the vested interests of the European Exchange Banks in this country. ECON.

BOYS' RAMAYANA (INTENDED FOR USE IN Schools). By Dakshina Charan Roy, Translator of "Svarnalata", "Krishnakanta's Will", &c. Students' Library, Calcutta and Dacca.

In this neatly got-up booklet the author has told the story of the Ramayana for children concisely and in a simple and attractive style. Though told in 57 small pages, the story does not read like a summary. It is interesting and be able to produce something pthatomanulcurkú kkanyasugant abledtorlift the bow," p. 6, should read, "He would not be able to lift the bow." In the sentence "Angada, however, being granted an audience, he told Ravana his mission," p. 27, the word "he" is superfluous.

USEFUL INFORMATION FOR MISSIONARIES, by W. E. Boggs. Christian Literature Society, Price, 12 annas.

The missionary in India finds himself, as a rule, thrown upon his own resources in dealing with a great many matters that have to be dealt with in connection with his work. Especially is this so in the district towns and villages, where he may have charge of responsible work, and yet have no one on whom he can rely for assistance and advice in matters related to his work. Necessity often forces him to tackle certain problems which in normal circumstances he would feel were altogether beyond his powers. For itstance, scarcely a missionary has had any experience in building before he comes to this country, but most have to give a considerable amount of time to bricks and mortar. There are hospitals, schools, boardings, homes, etc., to be built, and he soon finds himself immersed in plans, specifications, etc. But he works at a great disadvantage, want of training and even knowledge of the elements of the new work he has had to undertake. Evidently the needs of the missionary in India are known to the writer of this little book, for he has taken a considerable amount of trouble to compile a book which is intended to supply just these important details which are needed by men forced to depend on themselves for carrying out work such as building. Many will be thankful to have his valuable guidance in matters relating to the terrace roofing of houses, the necessary measurements of walls, the constituents and proportions of concrete, etc. Ordinarily, they would not be found save in technical books, whereas in this book they are available in handy form. Very useful, too, will be the tables at the end giving many facts about Indian places, their elevation, temperature, etc. Many will be glad to have in compact form the tables showing the various measures used in India, for these are a source of great vexation to the man who has to deal with them. We do not know exactly on what principle the book has been compiled. While there are many things omitted we should like to have seen, all those given are sure to prove of great use, not only to the missionary, but to all who have any kind of building or other matters to do, and for which they have to depend mainly on themselves.

A LIFE SKETCH OF THE HON'BLE PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU. Published by the National Literature House, Bombay. Price Annas Two.

Written in clear and forceful English, the

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P. M. S. G.

HIS LIFE AND PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU. SPEECHES. By Kapil Deba Malaviya, M. A.

The book contains a short character sketch of Pandit Motilal Nehru as a public man and a collection of a few of his speeches. As the present volume was published before this year's Indian National Congress held its sittings at Amritsar, it does not contain Pandit Nehru's striking presidential address given before that historic gathering. Every patriotic Indian ought to acquaint himself with his life and sayings. The selection of speeches is good.

WRITINGS AND SPEECHES OF KUMAR MANINDRA CHANDRA SINHA, M. B. E. Printed and published by H. W. B. Moreno at the Central Press, 12 Wellesley Street, Calcutta., Pp. 306.

The Kumar has made a name by showing an untiring zeal in the cause of the Bengalee Battalion that partly owes its existence to his labour and munificence, and naturally the book deals mostly with things connected with the war, boyscouting and recruiting for Bengal. As almost all the subjects that have been discussed in the book are such as are not likely to be of permanent interest and most of them have already lost their topical value, the book, we are constrained to say, is extremely uninteresting reading. Still we hope it will commend itself to the numerons friends and admirers of the Kumar, for whom possibly it is meant.

THE TRAGEDY OF SHAH JEHAN by J. C. S. Published by Rai Sahib Munshi Gulab Singh and Sons, Lahore.

A historical drama in five acts, written in rhymed metre. The rhyming, which is to a great extent perfect, testifies to the writer's consummate skill in this difficult performance. His treatment of the material also is happy and sparkling. But the author seems to be oblivious of the fact that he has set himself to the writing of a tragedy, and altogether fails to produce that intensity of effect which ought to be the aim of every tragedy-writer. We are of opinion that his selections that his selection of rhymed verse as a literary medium is partly accountable for this. What is worse the is worse, the sentences more often than not close up with the up with the rhyme ends. So that one meets with a tedious some ends. a tedious series of distinct couplets running through the through the entire body of the book. Success of a december of the book of the book. success of a drama lies in the amount of realistic impression which impression which it creates and for this purpose rhyme is the learning rhyme is the least suited of all vehicles of thought as it is always as it is always a clog in the way of free and spontaneous are the way of free the attempt of the age to discard not only rhyned brochure has, in anutshell, very nicely represented attempt of the age to discard not only burden community to the community of the age to discard not only burden community to the community of the age to discard not only burden community to the community of the age to discard not only burden community to the community of the age to discard not only burden community to the community of the age to discard not only burden community to the community of the age to discard not only burden community to the community of the age to discard not only burden community to the community of the age to discard not only burden community to the community of the age to discard not only burden community to the community of the age to discard not only burden community to the community of the age to discard not only burden community to the community of the community

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the writer of a drama and we have met with numerous instances in which highly idealistic themes have been presented in easy and familiar The writer, in not keeping these facts in mind, has failed to keep with the times, besides arising irritation to the readers and losing much of his own valuable time.

AL-GHAZALI, by the Rev. W. R. W. Gardiner. M.A. Pages 104, excluding bibliography. Pubished by Christian Literature Society for India.

Christian missionaries always write with a ourpose. The object with which they write is influence the largest possible number of their readers to accept their own particular tenets of the Christian faith. And one cannot but admire the incessant labours and clever ways with which they almost invariably seek to attain this

Rev. Gardiner's booklet is no exception to the rule. Accepting the dictum of Professor Macdomald that the Prophet of Islam, if not an mpostor, was at best an opportunist (p. 90), be proceeds to show that "Ghazali in his writigs follows what he believed had been the practice of the prophet" (p. 81). Ghazali may have been one of the greatest Muslim saints; his intellectual greatness may have been acbowledged by some of the greatest European swants; his influence on European thought and rationalism may have been admitted by Lewes and other eminent historians of philosophy; yet all this counts for nothing in the eyes of the karned Reverend gentleman whose estimate of Ghazali can be judged by the following

"We cannot be absolutely certain that Al-Ghazali is expressing his own views" (p. 91).

"Though [he] could write and preach on the duties of the believer, he did not himself follow sown teaching" (p. 46).

"The work of Al-Ghazali has never led and bever can lead to true liberty and advancement"

Apart from the generally biassed tone mainlaned throughout the book, we cannot also longratulate the author on the bad taste disayed in the biographical portion in magnifying the petty domestic differences between Ghazali and his brother Ahmed.

The bibliography though fairly copious is by no means exhaustive.

A. M.

1, DHAMMAPALA'S PARAMATTHA DIPANI OR Edited BE COMMENTARY OF THE THERAGATHA, Edited OF Suring and W. Suriyagoda Sumangala Thera Sangharatana Thera, finally revised by MahaRoda Siri Nanisaana Thera, Finally Revised by MahaPo XIV+592. oda Siri Nanissara Thèra. Pp. XIV+592.

R COMMANAPALA'S PARAMATTHADIPANI DHAMMAPALA'S PARAMATTHADIPANI OR first 16 SHITES, COMMENTARY OF THE TEERIGATISTAD Exists durupaking bargetion, Haridwar

by B. Siri Dewarakkhita Thera, finally revised by Mahagoda Siri Nanissara Thera. Pp. VIII+252.

3. Buddhaghosa's Sumangalavetasini or THE COMMENTARY OF THE DIGHANIKAYA, PART I. Edited by Dhammakitti Siri Devamitta Mahathera. Pp. V+442.

Published by the Trustees Dr. Charles Alwis Hewavitarane, and Srinath Kumardas Moonesinghe, Esq., Saraswati Hall, Pettah, Colombo

(Ceylon).

The late Mr. Simon Alexander Hewavitarane bequeathed a large sum for a neat edition of the Pali Text of the Tripitaka and the commentaries thereof. Accordingly a series has been started with Dhammapala's commentary, Paramatthadipani, on the Petavatthu, as the first volume of it, which we had pleasure to notice in these columns some time ago. We are now glad again to notice the other three volumes of the series

lying before us.

Buddhaghosa, an inhabitant of Northern India (Magadha), and Dhammapala, belonging to Southern India (Kanchipur, Conjeveram), are the most renowned exegetists in Pali literature. Buddhaghosa may be compared with Sayana, the commentator of the Vedic works. He has written his commentaries on most of the Texts in the Tripitaka. As regards the Suttapitaka he has commented on the first four Nikayas, viz., Digha, Majjhima, Samyutta, and Anguttara; but of Khuddaka his commentary is found only on the Dhammapada, Suttanipata, and Jataka. On a large number of other works included in this Khuddaka-nikaya there are the commentaries by Dhammapala. He has also commented upon the Nettipakarana and written Tikas or sub-commentaries on some of the works by Buddhaghosa.

The first two volumes contain both the text and commentary by Dhammapala of the Theragatha and Therigatha respectively. The commentaries are important in various respects. The stories related in them have a value similar to that of the Jatakas, and they deserve to be fully utilized by those who are interested in the

history of India.

According to Paramatthadipani (p. 3) the Theragatha consists of 1360 gathas uttered by Theras which are divided into 21 nipatas or Chapters (p. 2). But the number of the gathas as detailed in the same work (p. 3) is 1294. The Pali Text Society's edition gives 1279 gathas. It is to be regretted that the last seven chapters (Nipatas 15-21) of the Paramattha-dipani are not available either in Ceylon or Burma. So it cannot be ascertained how this omission occured.

In the Therigatha we have 527 gathas by 73 Theris, and they are divided into 16 chapters.

The first part of the Sumangalavilasini, Buddhaghosa's Atthakatha on the Dighanikaya, lying on our table, gives the commentary on the first 16 suttas, from Brahmajala to Maha-

The edition is good, being based on a number of MSS. of Burma and Ceylon, as well as on the printed copies in those countries and of the Pali Text Society. We have noticed some valuable readings supplied by it which are not to be found in the Pali Text Society's edition. There are useful indices, and the get-up is good. The proof-sheets should have been read more carefully, for there have crept in some printing mistakes. The series is printed in Singhalese character.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

ENGLISH-GUJARATI.

AFTERNOONS WITH AHURAMAZDA by Maneck Pithawalla, B. A., B. Sc. (Poona).

This little book of verses by an Avestan scholar on Avestan topics is in the author's own style, now fairly well-known to the public. certainly has succeeded in weaving some five verses to clothe some of the salient points of the Zoroastrian faith. As a book for the leisure hour for one who wants his first glimpse of the ancient Iranian religion this would be indeed a good book. And some of the verse translations from the Gathas and other Avesta passages would certainly be of use to the professed scholar as well. Most of the versification is quite correct in metre and the language clear, but there are places where one wishes the words were somewhat better chosen. Still this one very minor fault (especially when we remember it is a foreign tongue the author is using) need not prevent us from enjoying really pleasant pro-fitable "afternoons". There are pictures added which enhance the value of the little book.

I. J. S. T.

MARATHI.

TUKARAM BUWANCHA ASSAL GATHA or the original collection of the Saint Tukaram's devotional songs, Part I. Publisher: Mr. Vinayak Laxman Bhave, Thana, Pages 168. Price Re. 1.

When the Indu Prakash and Arya Bhushan editons of the Saint Tukaram's songs, both good in their own way, are already in the market for these several years, some justification is needed for adding to their number. Mr. Bhave seeks it by saying that his edition is an exact copy of the MS. written by one Santaji Teli, who was the Saint's contemporary and follower. Admitting this plea to be true, I confess my inability to understand how the collection written incorrectly in almost every word can with any justification be regarded as equal, much less superior, in merit to the editions printed from MSS. much more correctly written down by Tukaram's contemporary followers, much more literate than Santaji Teli, and held in veneration by all to this day. The present collection however serves one good purpose of the Marathi literature, in that it proves that several

mere interpolations, are not such, as these have been included in the utterances taken down by therefore must be recorded Santaji and therefore must be regarded as genuine. It is a pity that Mr. Bhave has not some distinctions of the sound of the soun marked such Abhangas with some distinctive

V. G. APTE SAUNDARYA ANI LALITA-KALA by V. G. Apic. Pages 221. Price Re 1.

GANDHI-GITA by the same author, Pp. 96. Price 5 as.

The author of these books is a well known Marathi writer. He has written several books for children.

1. The first book is an Introduction to the Science of Beauty and Fine Arts. We find many books by English writers and a few by Indian writers in English on the subject of Indian Art and Æsthetics, but there was none in Marathi up till now. Our author is to be congratulated on his successful attempt in presenting the outlines of the subject in a very readable form to the Marathi-knowing public. The book is a pleasant reading. It is written in a simple and attractive style. The subject is introduced in a wonderfully easy and engaging way. Eve beginners will easily grasp its contents and

arguments.

The second book tries to state very briefly the views of Mahatma Gandhi on some of the burning and controversial questions of modern India. They are in the form of a dialogue in 18 chapters between an Indian youth, who typifies young India, and Mr. Gandhi. The youth was sitting disappointed and feeling helpless at the sad plight of his country, and at the paucity of the proposed reforms, when Mahatma Gandhi approaches him, and his preaching removes his pessimism. He preaches action in place of inaction by enunciating the principles of self-reliance, self-effort and selfsuffering. The two remedies for the wrongs of India are Satyagraha and Swadeshi. Byer Indian must practise these without any feeling of hatred or vengeance against those who are the cause of these wrongs. No harm when be inflicted on the offending party. agitation of constitutionalists, only consisted of resolutions and protests conferences and deputations and their constant repetitions, proved futile, Gandhi's principle of work have of work have come as a New Faith, a fresh lor and line of some as a New Faith, a fresh lor and line of action. They open fresh vistas for selfless action, and the selfless action and the use of soul force. istidis, (Gandhi has preached a New Gospel not only his Gandhi has preached a New Gospel not only his know India but to the whole world. If followed, which is the stable of the stable Satyagraha will do away with rapine, murder, revenge and hypothesis with rapine, murder, revenge and hypothesis with rapine, murder, and hypothesis with rapine, murder, and hypothesis with rapine, murder, and hypothesis with rapine, and hypothesis with rapine with hypothesis with h revenge and hypocrisy from the materialistic warring world and warring world and usher in an era of pear and mutual observed and usher in an era duties.

and mutual observance of rights and duties.
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some of the questions asked and doubts pressed by the disappointed youth appear to from a newspaper correspondent or a prernment apologist. I mention them as sils because the book is presented in the form dialogue. I do not think that any typical in would accept any of those roles. They however minor faults of execution. The ain ideas and principles of Mahatma Gandhi every well expressed in short sentences and inple language.

S. V. PUNTAMBEKAR.

DESHACHE DURDYAVA (THE MISFORTUNE OF country) Published by Mr. P. S. Bhase, Grantha-Mala, Bharat Gurava rgaon, Bombay. Pp. 212. Price 14 annas.

This book presents a vivid picture of the mortunate tale of Indian famines and gives us uidea as to how our illiterate farmers perish rwant of food which they would have been to get, had they cared to learn the usefulness cooperative agricultural and non-agricultural

D. P. NAIK.

URDU.

(1) ILM-UL-MAISHAT, by Mr. Ilyas Burney, A, LL. B. Pp. 760. Price Rs. 4. Publisher: uman Taraqqi Urdu, Aurangabad (Deccan). fairly exhaustive treatise on the principles conomics, based on the works of Walker, arshall, Jevons, List and other recognised thorities. It deals in a lucid way with all the ortant problems of wealth,—its production, distribution, its exchange, its consumption, their subsidiary issues. On the whole the is a useful contribution to the science of mey and a valuable addition to the stock of hous Urdu literature.

MASHAHIR-ROMA-WA-YUNAN, by Mr. Syed Juman Tol. II, pp. 378. Price Rs. 2-8. Publisher: man Taraqqi Urdu, Aurangabad (Deccan).

This is a translation of Plutarch's Lives of to well-known to need an introduction. Work of translation has been executed though of translation has been exclume admirably. The present volume only to stidis, Cato, Demosthenes and Cicero. The wed his knowing public will find the work both murder, refer and delightful reading.

A. M.

GUJAKATI.

BHASHA NUN BRIHAD VYAKARAN

Bahadur भाषान दृष्ट् नाक्र्ण) by Rao Bahadur Acknowledgments.

Acknowledgme

abad, published by Macmillan & Co., Bombay, Printed at the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay. Cloth bound. Pp. 580. Price Rs. 3-8-0 (1919).

This is what the author calls a higher grammar of the Gujarati language, and is very comprehensive in its scope. After Rev. Taylor's larger grammar, which was written years ago, there was need for such a work, in order to bring the subject in line with recent researches in old Gujarati in its various aspects. All modern sources and writings bearing on this rather dry and in several places thorny subject, have been consulted by the writer, and although there is room for difference of opinion on a goodly number of views urged by him, on the whole, as we have said, it is a comprehensive work. An index at the end is a feature of the book.

Gazal-e-Rayjur by Bhanunand Pranjivandas, nom-de-plume Ranjur, Published by Sheth Ghelabhai Karsandas of Hansot, printed at the Shankar Printing Press, Surat. Thick paper cover: illustrated: Pp. 103+7: Price Re. 1-0-0. (1920).

This is a collection of gazals, written by one who has been at pains to learn this subject-matter and mode of writing this kind of Persian composition. It is in no way remarkable or distinguishable from the common rut in which such compositions move, excepting for the fact that the beloved or Sanam is made to give utterance to her sentiments, a feature rarely met with in original Persian or Urdu verse.

RAMKRISHNA KATHAMRIT, translated by Narmadashankar Balashankar Pandya, published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound: Pp. 377. Price Rs. 3-0-0.

This is a very readable translation and the story told in it so vividly brings forth the character and virtues of the saint, that no one who reads it is likely to think his time wasted.

KAMALA NAN PATRO OR LETTERS OF KAMALA translated by Shivlal Uttamram Yajnik, and published by Ramaniyaram Govardhanram Tripathi, Bombay. Printed at the Tutorial Printing Press, Bombay. Cloth bound. Price Rs. 2-0-0 (1920).

Letters of Kamala are well-known in English. They portray a perfect picture of Hindu domestic life generally, and more especially of Southern India. A translation of these Letters was published in parts in the monthly "Samalochak", years ago. The translation now appears in book form and furnishes delightful reading. The introduction, which is really meant to say a few words in praise of the translator, possesses however the appearance of faintly "damning"

of the doctrine of Equality. Publishers: The Hindi-Grantha-ratnakara Karyalaya, Bombay. Pp. 492. Price Rs. 2-8, clothbound Rs. 3.

SAVITRI SATYAVAN, Hindi rendering by Babu Nabajadiklal Srivastava of the Bengali of Babu Surendranath Roy. Publisher: Babu Ramlal Varma, Proprietor, Burman Press, and R. L. Varman & Co., 371 Upper Chitpur Road, Calcutta. Pp. 146, Price Re. 1-8, cloth-bound Rs. 2.

RAJAPUTANCHA BHISMA, Sa Marathi work by Narayan Hari Apte. Sole Agent Kshirsagar Ani Co, Price Rs. 2-8.

NAKLI AUR ASLI DHARMATMA, by Babu Sutaj Bhanu Vakil, Publisher, Babu Chandrasen Jan

Vaidya, Etwa. Frice o annual.

Komalavalli, Part I of a Malayalam novel by
Srimati Taravathi Ammalu Amma, the Sister of the
late Dr. T. M. Nair of Madras. The book will be complete in three parts, the remaining two parts being expected to be ready in a short time. The present volume is Priced at Re. 1.

RAFIQ-HOMGOPATHY, an Urdu book on practical Homgeopathy, by Dr. S. S. Johar, H. M. B. (Call), with an introduction by Dr. J. Nirwairy, M.B. Price

Notice to Authors and Publishers of Vernacular Books.

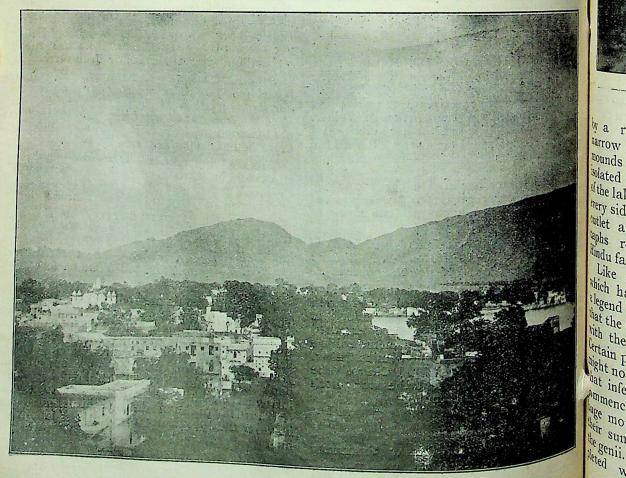
As we have not been able in a good many cases to do justice to books published in most of the principal vernaculars of India, we regret to have to announce that from the next issue we shall cease to publish notices of vernacular books. Authors and Publishers of such books will kindly henceforth refrain from sending them to us.—Editor, "The Modern Review."

PUSHKAR: INDIA'S MOST SACRED LAKE

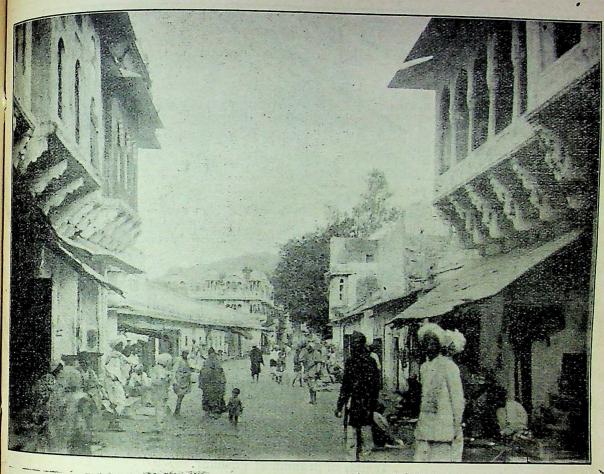
EW would dispute the claim the Pushkar is the most sacred lake in

is the Manas Sarovar Lake in Tibet which, of course, is not in India. Pushkar British India. The only one in Asia is not easily accessible, for it lies some that may compete with it in this respect ten miles beyond Ajmer, and is reached

Like



GCPC In Public Domain, Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar Collection, Haridwar of the Lake and Town of Pushkar.



A Street Scene at Pushkar.

Tarow valley surrounded by immense sounds of shifting sand. There are a few solated peaks in the vicinity. The form the lake is an irregular ellipse, and on say side save that towards the marshy apply representing temples and cenomidu families of high rank.

Like all lakes, mountains, and rivers which have become sacred, Pushkar has legend to explain its origin. It is said that the God Brahma stopped in this spot that in precautions were necessary that he lat infested the neighbourhood. Before the mountains and placed sentinels on the summits to prevent the intrusion of the later when he moticed that his companied.

Saraswati, had not accompanied him and as the presence of a woman was necessary, he employed one of the Apsaras to take her place.

On her return Saraswati was so enraged at the indignity, that she retired to the mountain of gems, where she disappeared. Here according to the legend, she was transformed into a fountain.

In after ages this place was visited by one of the sovereigns of Phurdore, who, tired after a day of hard sport, rushed to the fountain and washed his hands therein. Then followed a marvellous cure. That he might know the place again he tore his turban into shreds and suspended the fragments to the trees to serve as guides to the spot. Returning with his followers he made the excavation which now forms the Pushkar Lake.

when he noticed that his wife CC-0. In Public Domain. Gundkurkangi Collection, Handwar Land.

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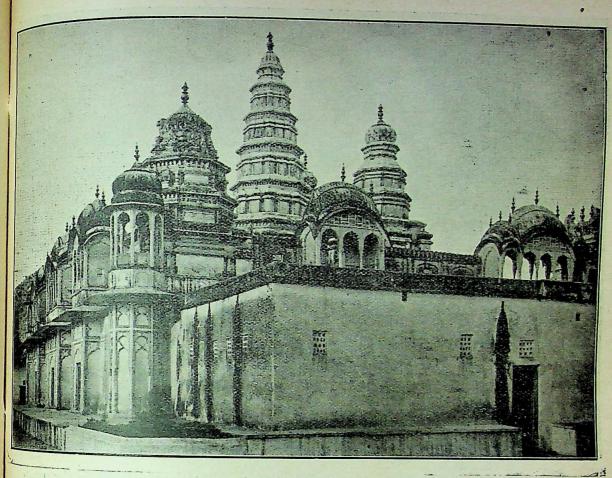
Temple of Brahma at Pushkar.

classes but also the members of the highest families. Wealthy pilgrims visited the place and, in addition to munificent gifts to the Brahmins, they built large temples on the shores of the lake. The kings of Jaipur and Jodhpur were among the keenest devotees of this sacred place, and there was practically no limit to their charity. The buildings erected by the rich nobles now form a triple circle round the lake, and there is probably nowhere in India a more unique collection. Many of the old structures are practically in ruins, but a study of them will give an idea of the great variety of architecture practised in the Middle Ages in India. So keen were the nobles to have a temple or cenotaph in this place that the architects actually erected structures in the very bed of the lake during some extraordinarily dry season when the lake was very low. The result is that many of these buildings are practically covered with water. In order that

people some years ago requested the British Government to construct a canal to carry off the surplus.

The Travellers' Bungalow is a native house in a line with the temples on the shore, and from it the visitor can obtain splendid view of the ghats, which are frequently crowded with pilgrims from all parts of India. It is a scene of great acti vity and interest. Even before the sub appears above the distant peaks on the horizon, says one writer, inhabitants and pilgrims hasten to wash themselves in the healing waters. A thousand bathers appear and disappear among the limpid wares defying the alligators, who, frightened by the noise, keep at a distance. A beyy of young girls, covered merely with gaute veils disposed to veils, disport themselves in the lake in front of the terrols. of the temples of Krishna, the God of Lore, dences making the making the shores resound with their ringing laughter; and when from the to time they pause in their sport and risk the lake should remain at one level that to time they pause in their sport and cook in Public Domain. Gurukul Rahtgrototherow Haricsvaryith their hair streaming

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Temple of Rama at Pushkar.

her their bare shoulders, one might easily the them for the beautiful Apsaras who the able to charm the divine Brahma. be sun rises like a ball of fire from behind glowing rocks, giving a marvellous miancy to the white domes and spires. be pilgrims then throng the ghats, and multitude silently enters the water. the hour of prayer. Every face is tred toward the rising orb and the takes some water in the hollow commence. hand, at the same time pronouncing orisons in a low voice; after which he from the water towards the sun and four points of the compass in succes-Mon. When the rite is over the noise recom-

As is the case in most of the sacred tady to make the case in most of the hidren ins. tady to offer their services to the pilgrims. of the poor pilgrims get rather play hand poor pilgrims get rather of a considerable sum are they able to have the necessary ceremonies performed for them.

Though Pushkar is still visited by large numbers of pilgrims, especially in October and November, when there are about 100,000, this is nothing like the number who went there in the middle ages. Even the noble families have ceased to show much interest in the place, and little is done to keep their temples in good condition.

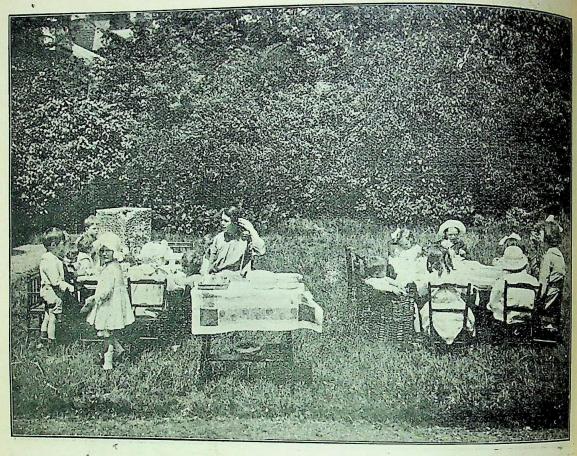
Apart from the sacredness of the lake, Pushkar is of interest because here is one of the very few temples dedicated to the first member of the trinity, Brahma. There are several other places in India where this god is worshipped, but they are insignificant. Here, however, we find a fine big temple richly built of marble, situated on the summit of a mound overlooking the handled, and only log-elle policy handled by the policy handled by t lake, where Brahma is regularly wor-

sted the a canal

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Children lay the table for meals as a part of their Education, and eat their meals in the open. (To illustrate the article on Utopian Schools for London Children.)

priests. In front of the temple are two marble elephants and a few well executed statues. The structure was erected by Gokul Pank, the minister of the Raja of Scindia.

One of the most curious features of Hindu religion has been the subordinate place to which Brahma has been reduced, and the practical extinction of his worship. Rousselette mentions an explanation given to him by one of the priests. Briefly summarised it is as follows: In some mysterious way Brahma appeared in the huge lotus flower which had sprung from the navel of Vishnu, who had for ages been living beneath the waves of the great ocean. On reaching the light Brahma gazed around, contemplating the immensity of space, and seeing no other creature, concluded that he must be the first of all things, the God of Gods. Troubled by the solitude he slid down the lotus stem and found

demanding to know who he was. Vishou replied hotly that he was the first of gods a claim which Brahma disputed. Where upon ensued a quarrel which might have proved serious had not Mahadeva, the god holding the third place in the trinity, appeared. He promised that the one who should first discover the origin of the Deity should be eternally recognised as the sovereign of the universe. After long thought and searching, Vishnu humbly declared he was unable to give an answer but Brahma boastfully gave his ideas As a witness to his statements he brought what he declared was the first created cow, who supported his master's false statements statements. Enraged at this falsehood.
Mahadeva descriptions Mahadeva drew his sword and cut off one of Brahma's of Brahma's five heads, declaring that be should never be should never have either temple or worship.

A malediation A malediction was pronounced on the cow who was condemned to lose the power But to Vishnu, whom he unceremoniously considerukub fangi Collection Haridwar feed on grass.

Vishnu adoratio leity ha One (Pushkar Rama. tyle of a towers, stamba Which Deccan. Sikh sty ateral b The jone of i

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Children wash theirs and themselves as a part of their Education. (To illustrate the article on Utopian Schools for London Children.)

ishnu was given the gift of universal doration, for he had acknowledged that leity had no limits.

One of the largest of the temples in Pushkar is a modern building dedicated to ana. It is a curious mixture of every we of architecture, being surmounted by wers, placed close together like the high of the Jains, and by the minarets thich is the plan adopted from the The outside walls are in the style, and the architecture of the the buildings is in the Rajput style.

The journey from Ajmer to Pushkar is of interest. For the first few miles

the road is fairly level along the banks of. the Ana Saugar, but some distance out one has to pass through a mountain which consists of a perpendicular wall, sixty feet in breadth. On the other side of the defile is a fine panoramic view of the country around Pushkar. But everywhere there is sand; and sometimes it seems almost an impossible task to get through it. Surely there are few places where sand lies so deep on the roads and To attempt to remove in the town. would meet with little success for it would quickly return.

VELOX.

UTOPIAN SCHOOLS FOR LONDON CHILDREN A NOVEL IDEA FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE YOUNG

ERHAPS never before in the history

of the world has the child become of responsible for this, and people have begun rests human life in the recent war is no doubt such paramount importance as he is to realise that the future of Britain rests to day. The horrfold wastage of upon the shoulders of the tiny children we

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Children carry their own beds as a part of their Education.

see around us. They are looking to the children to build up the places which have been laid waste, for "The race marches forward on the feet of little children."

A GRAVE ANXIETY.

It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the care and upbringing of the children of England has become a thing of grave anxiety to the governing bodies, as well as to those people who have the welfare of the child at heart. The methods of education which have been in use in public schools and colleges for so long, and which have, up to the present, been considered as satisfactory and sufficient for the education and upbringing of the young of this country are being discarded as ridiculous and out-of date, and are coming in for an amount of adverse criticism which has completely upset the ideas and standards of those whose business it has been regulations for the conga aning Rublic Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collectory Handthais to be done? ask

MEDIAEVAL METHODS.

Present-day methods of education ar being turned down as mediaeval, and as tending to retard the brain development and deaden the intellect of the child, and me to in many cases with children of a highly nervous and artistic temperament as tend ing to do them material and irreparable car injury.

NATURAL DEVELOPMENT.

It is now argued that children should be allowed to develop in their own was and according to their own particular tastes and inclinations. If a child show natural ability for drawing or painting he must be all must be allowed to cuiltivate that special gift, and it is gift, and it is to be fostered and encouraged according accordingly.

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mestion. I too, wondered, and though applauded the scheme I did not think it pas practical until I visited one of the model schools that have lately been opened London, and saw the working of the wheme for myself.

A WONDERFUL SCHEME.

The whole idea seems to be to allow the dildren to do exactly what they like. There are no fixed lessons, the children musing themselves in their own particular Tay. Theard from the teacher that one mall child of three years drew nothing else but flags for a whole week, whilst mother found equal delight in painting the dog, which is part and parcel of the school.

NEVER A CROSS WORD.

In these wonderful schools these chilfen never hear a cross or ugly word. They are taught by reason, by colour, by measurement, by sound, by observation. hey learn to button and unbutton, to lay the table for meals, to eat their meals properly, to wash themselves, to be clean ad tidy, to sing and to play and above to be honourable, unselfish, and kind one another.

WONDERFUL RESULTS.

The work has already shown the most tion are conderful results, and after two or three l, and as conths the children are entirely altered in elopment alth and character. When they first nild, and the school they are rough and a hight the like the majority of children in Engbut after a little time they become intle and refined, courteous and obliging. tis when they first come and do not derstand the discipline that they are a touble," the teacher informed me, "but should the the teacher informed me, "but by soon alter and become quite differ-

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nting ht nting ht is a beautiful idea and I was amazed t speed see such wonderful results. The teacher's t spend dice was never raised above a whisper to of the children. They were never ded or scolded or smacked as is the To doubt school method. They all seemed to eractly as they liked, and yet the There is a special Training College 371/2-7 CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukur Kangri Collegetion, Haridwar

restraining hand was there, firm yet gentle, but so carefully hidden, that the childish eyes never perceived it.

HAPPY AND CONTENTED.

The children were perfectly happy and absorbed, each one with his own mat upon which he sat with his toy letters, box of bricks, beads or frames, with which he learns the rudiments of education. The teacher goes from one to another and "suggests" how the letter A could be made, or how many beads would make four.

THE BEST FROM MONTESSORI AND FROEBEL.

The most wonderful part is that the children never forget the lessons they learn in this way. Their small brains are never crammed with an amount of material so bewildering and so tiring to the childish mind. They are not worried with things they do not understand. They just develop The whole system has been evolved from the very best of the Montessory and Froebel systems.

MANNERS AND COURTESY.

The children have their dinner at the School as it is considered part of their education to learn how to eat properly, how to lay the table, how to wait upon other people, etc. It is amusing to watch tiny youngsters of three and four years solemnly carrying the dishes to the table without a drop of soup being spilt or a crumb wasted, and waiting upon one another with the old-fashioned courtesy of a hundred years ago.

THE PROMOTERS OF THE SCHEME.

And who, you will say, were the promoters of such a scheme? I was discussing the subject with Mrs. Stroud, the Hon. Secretary, who informed me that all honour is due to Miss Belle Rennie as the Promoter, but I think that second place must be given to Mrs. Stroud who is working for the scheme with her whole heart and soul. It is a great and noble work upon which they are engaged.

SPECIAL TRAINING COLLEGE FOR

attached to these schools, and Mrs. Stroud informed me that they would be glad to welcome all Indian students to the college to whom the idea appealed for a course of especially training. The students are trained in this novel method of instructing the young, which is already having such wonderful results. The aim of the College is to turn out teachers pre-eminently fitted to deal with every phase of the physical, mental, and spiritual development of the tiny child.

THE ULTIMATE OBJECT.

It used to be an old saying here that when children were quiet they were always up to mischief, but this must be ruled out of copybooks now. The children are very quiet indeed in these model schools, for every tiny mite is so intensely interested in something quite new and

fascinating. Everything carried on in the schools is a step onward in the purposes defined, which are—first, the training of the child's nerves, muscles and senses, and second, the training of his character and the bringing out of his individuality.

A WELCOME TO INDIAN STUDENTS.

If there are any Indian students who would care to take up a course of train ing they will be heartily welcomed at the Gipsy Hill Training College and Nurser, Schools, Gipsy Hill, London, S. E., from whence they can obtain all particulars as to fees, etc.

The scheme is a great one, and worth of all support, and the results already obtained are far beyond the expectations of the promoters. We hope they will continue the good work.

EVA L. WILLIS,

EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN MYSORE AND IN BENGAL A COMPARISON AND A CONTRAST

By Professor Radhakamal Mookerjee, M.A., P.R.S.

announcement of Sirdar M. HE Kantaraj Urs, c. s. 1., Dewan Mysore, before a recent session of the Mysore Representative Assembly that all fees in middle schools should be abolished, all education below the High School grade being imparted absolutely free, has been hailed with delight throughout India, as it has clearly shown the solicitude of a beneficent Indian prince and a progressive and paternal state for the social amelioration of the people. But it has also brought to the front some pressing problems of educational policy which if not tackled successfully at the present stage may lead to educational barrenness, if not suicide. Throughout India the prospects of technological training in all its grades have been woefully neglected and to this is in not a small measure due not only our industrial back-

our intelligentia for clerical occupation and the professions to the neglect of the productive pursuits of life.* If we all to this the more or less execlusive pursui of the literary vocation by the Brahman which has dominated the educational ideal we can easily and outlook of India, understand the persistence of the exclusive bookish tradition in all grades d

"Cf. what Sir Nilratan Sircar, Vice-Chancelle the Calcutta Vices Second of the Calcutta University, said in his stood convocation address this year:-

"The economic pressure on the Bhadrahl wever has a second pressure on the Bhadrahl however, has succeeded in working the needs change in mind and temper and for the less to the de ten years it would be correct to say that it the dearth or absence of opportunity for studying the hand technological and acceptance courses in the less than the courses in the less than technological and agricultural courses in the dominant of University that has maintained the dominant of the purely literature that the dominant the dies there had of the purely literary or legal studies of the than the character of the studies of the character of the cha rather than the absence of a disposition on the part of our voys wardness but also the predilections of un young men to avail themselves part of our young men to avail themselves of the predilections of the purely literary or legal station of the purely literary or liter

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radition been more unmitigated, more

arid and barren than in the South. Here

the sociological cleavage between the classes

and the masses, between the specialist and

the layman, between the brain-worker

and the manual labourer, between the

parishad and the parichari has led to a

amulative increase of economic and

cultural disparity wel lnigh destroying the

harmony of social and political life. A

dass of specialised workers who think

with the spinal cord rather than with the

brain, who crowd together in the already

overcrowded literary professions with

consequent evils of middle class poverty,

declining birth-rate and physical degenera-

tion, a class of socially backward and

depressed manual labourers, who do not

get the requisite social opportunities with-

out which their economic efficiency would

mean more drink and more degradation

and yet who are weaned from their

natural and legitimate vocations to train

themselves up in the norms and tradi-

tions of life of the intellectual classes

bat yet deny them entrance,—these are

he sociological data which an education-

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WILLIS,

st in the South must seriously ponder over fore he can try his experimentation. the whole educational atmosphere in the cupations buth is indeed filled with vague but lect of the alarm with opposite and contradictory we add urrents of thought, the dreams of radical ve pursui Hormers and the sighs of conservative Brahmani onal ideal Ractionaries, and yet the longings for the Radual and healthful reconstruction of life an easily exclusive grades of

-Chancellor

of society are clearly discernible. othing is more essential today than to bioth the growing separatist tendencies, blatic have already brought about an bletreets and segregation of cultural therests from those of life and of labour. Bhadrabh is this separatism which has today the need an almost unsurmountable obstacle the need an almost unsurmountable obstacle that it is in the development of a healthy nationalpot studying in the South by easily playing into see in of scheming of scheming that of scheming the scheming of scheming the scheming of scheming the scheming of scheming the scheming that the scheming the scheming that the scheming the scheming that the scheming the scheming the scheming that the scheming t dominant and of zealous Christian missionarios ses in the secondary administrators and administrators and ideas the secondary administrators and ideas politicians to the weakness of the meselves and the dismay of real the linivariated and the dismay of studies and the linivariated are secondary the University down to the secondary

and primary grades of instruction, we should aim at a unification and direction of the abstract analysis or subtle reasoning and the barren intellectualism of the literate castes, and the natural endowment of mechanical skill and dexterity of the proletariat in healthful channels of cure and social endeavour. Educational organisation must have to satisfy this imperative sociological requirement.

Among the directions in which the Calcutta University Commission have recommended a new advance in Indian educational theory and practice are the importance attached to scientific and technological training,* the recognition of the place of the vernacular, the supervision of students' health and welfare and the encouragement of corporate college life and activities, the examination reform, the creation of a teaching and residential university,† the encouragement of research in a teaching university with the colleges of Calcutta taking part in the system of co-operative teaching and the majority of university teachers attached to them. In postponement of new Universities of Bengal, in the organisation and control of secondary and intermediate education, the constitution of the machinery of co-operation between the University and the different Colleges of Calcutta, the Commission, however, have taken only half measures and shown either a disrespect of modern democratic ideals demanding a control of all the stages of education by the people and public opinion or an unpractical and needless compromise leading to a bewildering complication of the machinery which involves serious financial administrative difficulties. But these are questions on which public attention will be

* The Commission's recommendations are quite half-hearted on the subject of technological training, as we have shown in our Notes in a previous issue.—Ed., M. R.

† It is a mistake to think that a residential university would be necessarily an advance on existing conditions. If residence were essential for educational advancement, all the new British Universities would have been residential; but as a matter of fact not a single British Gurllaikersitooneestablished in modern times residential. Et., M. R.

concentrated when the Senate and Post-Graduate Council Committees Calcutta University publish their criticism and suggestions. Meanwhile the Dacca Bill, taken up isolated and piece-meal from the different changes which the Commission recommended that they should be effected simultaneously has been introduced in the Supreme Council, and is awaiting public opinion [the present article was written at the time the Bill was introduced]. 'The trying period of uncertainty and unrest with few compensating advantages' which the Commission anticipated in case of the creation of the University of Dacca without direct amendment of Universities Act, has been all the more anxious, as in the Dacca Bill, in the system of governance proposed and some other aspects of educational organisation and administration, reactionary and orthodox elements and interests show themselves which may be indicative of government views that will ultimately control the re-constitution of the University of Calcutta. These may be local problems in Bengal, but in their solution lies largely the future of the Universities of Madras, Bombay, Allahabad and Lahore, as well as the 'potential universities'. It is wellknown that both the Indian Industrial and the Calcutta University Commissions have emphasised the need of adequate technical, scientific and industrial instruction in all grades of teaching. this merely reiterates the demands of the Indian publicists for more than two decades. The Commission observes: 'One of the chief functions of a University is to meet the intellectual needs of the industrial and commercial world and to establish such contracts between different groups of investigators and of students as will make the whole academic body an active school of thought, of citizenship and public service.' It is only under such conditions that the University discharges its responsibility to the industrial and commercial communities, and industries which these subserve.

And here we must emphasise regional requirements as the basis of technological results of research at Pusa, Poona, instruction as we have complete is not controlled instruction as we have complete is not controlled in the Mational College in the

logical requirements in another field. Ina etermin great industrial and commercial city like Calcutta, it will be altogether inadequate raining nd var if the University College of Science and the rein of Sir Taraknath Palit Laboratory merely experim revel themselves in the analysis of gases Ex. Dew and the enunciation of theoretical laws, levelop1 the analysis of the physical cencepts and malanc the morphology of plants, while specialists as sinc from abroad required for the management rarsued of industrial, chemical, electrical and ddress mining concerns utilise our capital, our of suppl resources and our labour, while our vast its, it agricultural and forest products, our agineer vegetable dyes, tanning materials and drugs preneurs are running into waste, while our agricul in eng ture is a victim of preventible pests and our stablish sericulture a prey to pebrine. The India and pre Institute of Science at Bangalore where and ag some Bengalee students work has already Maintai achieved important results in applied and Eng physics and chemistry which will be ing new fruitful as industrial applications in Mysor, and Agr miversi thus serving as an eye-opener to the Bengalee physicist and chemist whose and kience, whose pupils' specialised knowledge is of situation and ulti no solution to the all-engrossing bread ity itse problem of Bengal. It is social inspiration to a ne and regional initiative that add the much isponsi needed zest and grace to original research gislatio In the Southern universities of Madras and Mysore the industrial and commercial tral rese the aver conditions offer fewer opportunities to 8 iew sta technological department, but both Madras and Mysore are evidently convenient and Again a Madras suitable centres for the advanced training of students to meet the requirements of their mes of latural tanning and leather industries, their mining and engineering works (in Mysore), some power as branches of the textile industry as well tasily es as research in forestry, sericulture ance of N veterinary science, industrial and applied bound mitatio chemistry, including for example colour be lap chemistry and the preparation of dyes gas analysis, oils and distillation, develop agricultural chemistry in connection with a university ogical a a university agricultural course and farm. Mustrig The Agricultural College at Coimbatore Aprove the Droposed which t Mysore and the National College the Mistrion Adyar might usefully promulgate and in factorial court in the contract of the con the proposed agricultural results of research at Pusa, Poona, Kangri Collection, Hardwar at Pusa, Poona, Por Or Other and in fa eld. In termine their regional applications, city like raining young graduates in agriculture adequate und various agricultural occupations. In and the aw of the great economic initiatives and y merely aperiments and the forward policy of the of gases fr. Dewan, Sir M. Visvesariya, in the prelopment and organisation of the indusal laws, maland mineral resources of Mysore which epts and is since been steadily and progressively pecialists mrsued, the new university must have to agement idress itself more adequately to the task cal and ital, our supplying Mysore with new industriaour vast sts, mechanics, mining and irrigation cts, our agineers, work-shop managers and entremeneurs for her workshops and factories, nd drugs engineering iron works and mining agriculs and our stablishments, her great water-falls, dams and preserved forests, her mulberry fields ie Indian and agricultural experimental stations. re where Maintaining the departments in Science already applied and Engineering on old lines, and establishwill be mew departments of Botany, Zoology Mysore, ad Agriculture on the models of the older to the wiversities which will be engaged in pure hose and science, will not meet the demands of the lge is of stuation and will lead to disappointment g hread and ultimate reaction against the universpiration by itself. The Mysore State has moved ie much ha new conception of its duties and sponsibilities to develop by paternal research. Madras Islation and administration the industal resources and economic well-being of mmercial teaverage people. An old university in a ies to a Madras state will be totally out of place. nient and gain among the provinces of India, aining of adras is least fitted to develop along the des of western industrialism, while both of their r mining latural resources in minerals and water e), some ower as well as state encouragement are as well they establishing the industrial predominare and the of Mysore. Thus the Mysore University applied shound sooner or later to outgrow the mitations of its birth, and its nurture in e colour telap of the agricultural alma mater, to of dyes, on, also develop along the lines of scientific, technogical and industrial work, work on the on who dustrial and industrial work, work on the dustrial applications of science and the mbatore approvements of the arts, industries, lege at Mich the arts, must state, lege the leg the Device has forced upon the University.

Mysore Representative Assembly has referred to 'the criticism levelled at our industrial policy', that it is largely one-sided and is a matter of the state running a few concerns in which the public have no share, as not altogether unfounded. It is only when the university creates an industrial atmosphere necessary for the birth and growth of sound schemes of industrial advancement that private initiative and enterprise will come forward to reap the full benefits of direct state aid and encouragement to industries.

But a more important instrument for the creation of the industrial atmosphere than a university, truly regional and civic, is the school where the syllabuses should be so oriented as to increase the industrial bias in student life. In the field of education India needs above everything else a modernised secondary education in which science and vocational instruction and guidance are indispensable. Calcutta wanted not a University Commission, but a Primary and Secondary Education Commission to consider the problems that pressed for an immediate solution.

It is to be regretted that primary education and the earlier parts of secondary education were placed beyond the scope of the Calcutta University Commission. For it is difficult to over-estimate the importance of providing our country with the right kind of practical school instruction. To give a practical bent to education, it is the primary and secondary schools rather than the universities, to which the statesman and the administrator must look.

The recent memorandum on education published by the Mysore Government, is remarkable in Mysore for the breadth and telap of the agricultural alma mater, to origical and industrial work, work on the approvements of the arts, industries, and agriculture of the state, which the far-sighted policy of several the far-sighted policy of several the pewans has emphasised so much the pewan of Mysore in his caddiffense tombhe Gurutt, Karns Calegnodification, training in agri-

culture and one industry in the rural middle schools and two industries in the City middle schools; (3) revision for a three years' course in industries or agriculture as optional within the curriculum combined with general education in the High Schools; (4) specialised technical schools for more advanced courses as well as continuation classes for adult workmen.

Such a scheme would provide for a wellordered gradation of technical education combined with general education. It will develop among the students a technical sense which will enable them to adopt themselves more easily to the more advanced courses in applied science and technology at the University. create a taste for independent livelihood, the appreciation and the demand for an industrial career, which are now so essential sociological requirements in India. It is for this reason that I think the scheme enthusiastically advocated by Mr. Reddy on which he has brought to bear his wide and accurate first-hand knowledge of the educational organisation Germany, America, Canada and Japan, as well his sympathy with and keen and quick perception of the new social and economic motives of the masses marks a development of critical importance to the history of educational policy and ideals in India. The Mysore University, on the other hand, represents the last term of an obsolete series, a new institution bending under the weight of old wrappings. Nothing is more interesting in the Calcutta University Commission Report than the description of the stages of the development of western education in this country, characterised by a close imitation of the models of the older University of London exactly when by a curious irony those models were being rejected in England. If we must imitate the west, let us imitate not the obsolete west, but the new and the changing west. And yet in Mysore, inspite of the fundamental reconstruction of the Indian university system and organisation that is now going on, we find the university absolutely impervious to those definite advances in Indian educational theory and practice, just he for an nomeira Sertikul

which will sooner or later revolutionise al the universities in the country on the hass smooth of the Calcutta University Commission!

Oxford and Cambridge, London in its for older form and its imitations, for example outry Calcutta and Madras rather than the new and tec universities, or Chicago or Wisconsin, are more influential chicago in moulding the ideas of higher education comme in Mysore, while the newer vices of the lis diff state-aided and state-controlled univer the se sities are already beginning to appear in the governance of the University by the ing th state-made national-official bureaucracy In secondary education there is realing a serious attempt at 'modernisation'. The educational organisation in the primar and secondary grades of instruction represents a new departure that has important lessons for educationists throughout India, who are all thinking to develop system of primary and secondary educe aits pla tion that will combine literary education with industrial training in all grades.

It is sad to reflect in this connection that even such a distinguished and pract cal body as the Calcutta University Commission which have grasped the educational situation in India have Jet applied disappointing remedies which are worse than no remedies to the reorganis ation of our characterless sterile second ary education. Much of the education England has been backwardness of attributed to the neglect of science and vocational education in the lower grade and both Germany and America har for the last two or three decades been serving as models throughout the world for the introduction of vocational course at at s alternatives or optionals in general schools and continuation classes for the working folk. This forms indeed the child ride range feature of modernised secondary education which The Commission know it very well, and which yet have totally neglected the importance it is of vocational of vocational instruction and guidance lt is recognised Philippines under the guise of securing illuminating introduction to science, it is adergated the philippines under the guise of securing in the illuminating introduction to science, it is adergated the philippines under the guise of securing in the illuminating introduction to science, it is adergated the philippines under the guise of securing in the illuminating introduction to science, it is adergated the philippines under the guise of securing in the illuminating introduction to science, it is adergated the philippines under the guise of securing in the illuminating introduction to science, it is adergated the philippines under the guise of securing in the illuminating introduction to science, it is adergated the philippines under the guise of securing in the illuminating introduction to science, it is addergated the philippines under the guise of securing in the illuminating introduction to science, it is addergated the philippines under the guise of securing in the illuminating introduction to science, it is adderest the illuminating introduction. It is adderest the illuminating introduction to science, it is adderest the illuminating introduction. It is adderest the illuminating introduction to science, it is adderest the illuminating introduction. It is adderest the illumination in the illuminati

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thole report is more conservative and pactionary, more untrue to modern the basis procratic ideals of education and more mnission's satisfactory as we consider India's recial requirements; and yet the Commisdon in its fully understood the defect in our r example ountry arising from the neglect of science n the new and technology which they wanted to Leeds medy by the provision only of some influential training among the courses education and mended for the intermediate colleges. ces of the his difficult to overestimate the dangers d univer the set-back thus given to educational olicy, for in India it seems that everyty by the ing that comes from the west is accepted reaucracy without discrimination as an axiomatic

It is a matter for congratulation that priman Mysore at any rate in the reorganisaof education they are devising a theme which will combine general with wational education right from the very bittom carefully handling the material its plastic infancy and making transition higher education easy and natural. tshould be noted in this connection that Mysore memorandum has rightly mognised that compulsory education ithout adequate provision for vocational isped the struction may do more harm than good. have yet Bengal inspite of the Report of Dr. der's Commission the cause of the primy schools is being similarly arranged ad the work of class V will be of vocamal nature and is intended to suit the quirements of those boys whose studies ould ordinarily not extend beyond the amary stage.

We find the attempt in a recent memoades bed adum circulated by the Government of the work and note with great interest the 1 course fort at simplification and unification of the general general curricula and the co-ordination of s for the curricula and the co-ordinates a chief of curriculum which will now comprise a the chid range of subjects, a simple knowledge which is essential for the pupils in our

portance It is schools.
guidance It is right that nature study and

weather observations and nature observation in the nature diary that will now be introduced will prove to be of great interest and delight to the pupils whose knowledge will be related to environmental facts and conditions. gardening will introduce an efficient system of practical instruction.

But besides the garden the school also requires a small workshop. The vocational bias is to be encouraged from the very beginning. Unfortunately the pupils in the Bengal scheme can leave class IV for the higher grade of secondary instruction without going through any vocational instruction. The work of class V will be of a vocational nature, but it is meant for those who do not rise beyond the primary stage. It is true that in primary schools technical subjects such as agriculture, horticulture, handicrafts or industries should not be directly taught, but ideas relating to rural economy and industries should be conveyed through the lessons in the text-books and mainly by practical demonstration in school gardens and workshops. Rural agriculture and village cottage industries with special reference to the region or locality must provide the data, familiar to sons of agriculturists and artisans, through which elementary botany, mechanics, rural husbandry, etc. may be illuminatively introduced.

In the secondary stage direct vocational instruction ought to be more emphasised. In the rural middle schools agriculture should form a compulsory part of the curriculum, while in the urban middle schools, as the bulk of students are not likely to adopt agriculture as their main occupation the course in industrial training ought to be compulsory and more diversified. Nor should our high schools persist in imparting a uniformly barren education. three years' course in industries or agriculture should be provided as optional guidance derigate should now form an essential only for the university but and only for the un part of the student population, whose

they do not ordinarily go beyond this stage. All this is implied in the Mysore I. G. of Education's scheme.

It will thus be the task of secondary schools to continue the practical course so that the student may earn living without a long course of subsequent special training in polytechnic institutes and workshops. The introduction of music, marching drill and country games as well as hygiene, village sanitation, sick nursing and domestic economy are among other excellent features of the proposed curriculum in Bengal. These assuredly demand recog-

nition in the curriculum for the primary

and secondary schools in Mysore.

The problem of the medium of instruction in the primary and middle grades and that of special measures for the promotion and supervision of the education of the backward and depressed classes is discussed with a passion and a bias that will surprise a northerner. But these are South Indian conditions and problems. In this solution the southerner should also find some lessons from the educational experiences of the north. The vernacular is gaining an increasing ascendency in the secondary schools in Bengal and we look up to a time as near when the vernacular will be used as the medium throughout the secondary schools and intermediate collegiate stage for all subjects other than English and Mathematics. The multiplicity of tongues in the Punjab and Madras in the midst of which none get sufficiently encouraged and developed as to become the medium of secondary education or the ordinary and favourite channel of culture is largely responsible for water-tight compartments in culture and in society and narrowness of vision and ideals which are the bane of social and educational life and organisation in the South. The remedy can only lie in raising the status of the vernacular and giving it its rightful place in a scientific organisation of secondary and university education on the one hand and systematically cultivating vernacular literature as an instrument of culture and its propagation on the other. Nothing is more mischievous and indefensible for a South Indian University than the neglect of the state state of the real contractions and failures, society than the neglect of the state state on Hinderstand the full benefit of the state of the state of the full benefit of the state of the st

vernacular; for it is a vernacular, protected and encouraged, and ultimately possessing an educative literature that can alone metio bridge the yawning gulf between the dexp intellectuals and the masses, a gulf which adv the sole English standard will only ed is v increase to the confusion and death to all there t the higher democratic ideals of university antine education and extension.

A problem more pressing, more imperative is that of panchama education. We have the nama-sudras and other similar classes in Bengal, but the cultural disparity is not so marked as here, the lack of social opportunities not so economic emphasised. The solution can come only with the rise of a new social and economic democracy that will restore the balance between worth or service and respectability on the social hierarchy; the sliding scale NURI social stratification based on the recognition of the virtues of heredity a well as of individual variation and specific orealize talent; the gradual and increasing desired one to the intelligentia to relate their life and ud ha productive inizens. interests to healthy and pursuits and not to parasitical profession er car and explorative means of livelihood; at the o economic revolution in which the Brahmins anat and non-Brahmins will hold their own side Jousand by side in arts, industries and labour the rigners economic uplift of the masses, rise in the this standard of comfort and of activities will bens. new social opportunities, the desire for new social harmony, a new idealism react from emotionalism which will about m ceremonious disputations abstract God and a far-off heaven by establish the paradise here on earth and now; the birth of a new faith in each man infinite worth, be he a prince or a parish All this implies a new social and or conscience and educational organisation of the state in the secondary or university grade while it can to some extent lead will have very largely to follow than state agencies of education are private civic and social service social service organisations that evoke and units and unite sacrifices of the educations dreamers and interest and dreamers and dream dreamers and idealists, whose hopes and fears, assistation fears, aspirations and failures, society and

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Possessing in the gradual and healthful reconcan alone metions of life by educational initiatives ween the dexperiments which will no longer be gulf which advance of public opinion. Their will only red is very great throughout the South ath to a there the bureaucracy exhibits an adauniversity antine opposition to new experiments;

but more especially in Mysore where in the fields of education, industry and politics alike the capacity of the people to avail themselves of the opportunities given to them by an enlightened Prince and nationalist Dewans lags far behind latters' anxiety on their behalf.

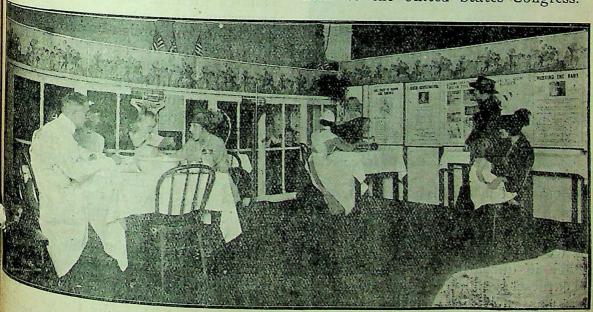
AMERICANIZATION

By Miss M. Austine Stanley, M. A., INSTRUCTOR IN THE HARVARD SCHOOL FOR BOYS, CHICAGO.

ng scale in URING the early months just followon the ing our entrance into the Great War, we in "These United States", began nd specificative that a large foreign element had g desired ome to us in the last generation or two life and ud had chosen to become American productive intens. When our regiments sailed away professions or carried with them the descendants nood; the old colonial families, the sons of Brahmins naturalized Americans, own side ousands upon thousands bour; the rigners who had not been long enough e in the this country to become

Then it was, the thought came to us, what had we done for these foreign-born men, that they should wish to share with us the uncertainties of war?

For the most part, in times of peace, the foreigners in our midst were left very much to themselves. Coming here they usually became identified with some particular groups of their own countrymen; among whom they lived and worked. If any wished to become American citizens, we adopted them-elected them mayors of cities, governors of states and even sent them to the United States Congress. If



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any remained here only a few years, made a little money by hard labour, and then returned to the country from which they came, we never regretted their departure nor missed them after they had gone. Of the foreigners between our shores, we asked only this that they obey our laws and respect our traditions-only this and no more.



American Indian in his primitive state.

What then united these people to us in time of war? We do not definitely knowyet we have positive evidence of their loyalty in our army, navy, and marines; and earnest support in the Liberty loan bonds; as well as in their liberal subscriptions to the Red Cross and the Salvation Splendid Work done by the women.

Army funds. CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Hong at the various canthe these was flour to the Red Cross and the Salvation Splendid Work done by the women people after all, it is the mothers who make the people after all, it is the mothers who make the people after all, it is the mothers who make the people after all, it is the mothers who make the people after all, it is the mothers who make the people after all.

Had we been inhospitable and unkind to these would-be American citizens? had not meant to be inhospitable and unkind. Had they been lonely and home sick in our midst-these voluntary exile from foreign countries—and we had no comforted them? We had not meant tob thoughtless and unsympathetic and the unnecessarily add to their loneliness ar perhaps even regrets.

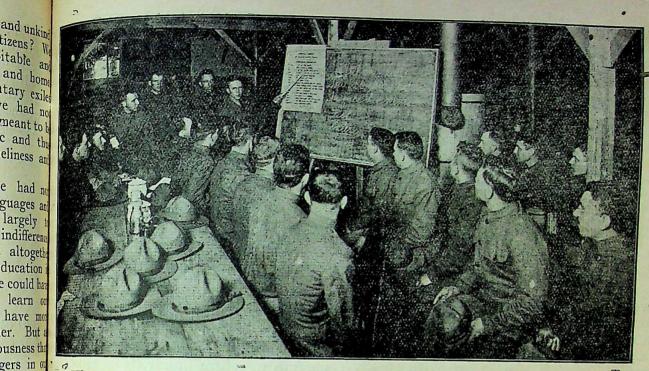
No doubt, the fact that we had no understood their various languages at various customs contributed largely our unconscious neglect and indifferent even these would not altogethe excuse us; for in this country education free for the most part, and we could have insisted upon this—that they learn or Thus, we could have more language. readily understood one another. But a soon as we came to the consciousness the we had neglected the strangers in a midst, we began to prepare to avoid, in the

future, such mistakes. To that end the public evening school prit o commenced to conduct special classes for be Many factor bey inv the adult foreign-born. and shops set apart an hour a day, the which to give instruction to their foreguifferer born employees, in reading and writing in s English, and in the study of America ten re citizenship. In the public parks the schools by children gave in the open air patrio dizens. thousands a which thousands of foreign-born mothers that programs to fathers came. In the community cents all a was established community singing. many nationalities met and sang togeth an and In no way can the hearts of the people so readily reached as through the Though the words of the song may change the the type in the type i the tune is always the same, which property aid that we cannot sing together and On the anniversary of the Independence Day all the foreign society sewed in this country were united to participal thing the in the celebration—and this they did not the colling to willingly will be and the colling to the willingly. While in the theatres and at treby movies were movies were shown pictures of our ments, the training at the various cantonments,

Over and above all these was

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Foreign-born Soldiers in the American Army Learning English.

ning school pirit of the times. Thus the women's classes debs began to hold meetings to which ny factor bey invited the foreign-born women. At r a day, the experiment was met with doubt, neir foreg difference, and even active opposition; and writing in spite of such conditions there were of American represented twenty different langus the school women who had become American r patrion tizens.

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ands These meetings were always most interothers Many of the women spoke hesitanity centres and in imperfect English, in the ging. He sussions, but all were most anxious to ng together and to render some patriotic service.
Here were discussed the rights of citizenugh music the welfare of the babies; the edunay change tion of the children; proper food values: hich proper aid to the sick; and other kindred

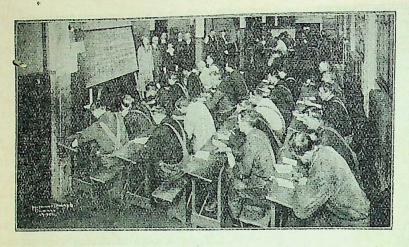
ry of thus, as together these women knitted gn society sewed for the comfort of their men particles string for the comfort of their men y did not the common bonds of work and sym-

our men in the summer of 1918, we, in Chicago, an All American Day to which we wited All American Day to white racial representatives of all the racial hundreds people the city. They came—hundreds

countries, including India. A program was given in the big ball room of the La Salle Hotel. One of the most attractive things on that program was a pageant, "The Roll Call of the Nations". An American Indian from our army welcomed the repre-Each came dressed in the sentatives. native costume of the land of his or her forefathers. Each brought the flag of the country represented. "These guests" were received by "Miss Columbia" and "Uncle Sam", to whom were surrendered the foreign flags, and who gave to each in exchange an American flag. Then a chorus of many nationalities sang the "Star Spangled Banner". It was most impressive.

"Lest We Forget"—In the early fall of this year, we had an All American Exposition under the auspices of a Chicago Citizen's committee of a hundred and seventy-five members headed by Governor of the State of Illinois, and supported by the United States Government.

It was an attempt to bring about a better understanding between the foreign people—representing forty in Pallic Denain. Gutte Wellspir Collection Herbert Conship that together



A Civics Class for Foreign-born Americanised Citizens.

we might form a more perfect government. It was more especially an effort to demonstrate the ideas of the Honorable Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, who said:

"America is a land of but one people, gathered from many countries. Some came for love of money and some for love of freedom. Whatever the lure that brought us, all have come bearing gifts and have laid them on the altar of America. All brought their music; all brought their art and handicraft; and each their poetry; all brought some homelike familiar thing. And all brought hands with which to work; and all brought minds that could conceive; and all brought hearts filled with hopes-stout hearts to drive live minds, live minds to direct willing hands. These were the gifts they brought from many countries."

The places selected for this patriotic experiment was the Coliseum Hall. Because of its bigness in area, it was possible to stage a large and picturesque show. Against a striking historical background, various periods of our development from the colonial period down to the present were depicted by means of small booths set against a huge all-encircling screen on which had been painted choice bits of American scenery. In the center was a beautiful Court of Honor where various entertainments were given twice a day.

One of the chief attractions of the exposition was the exhibit of works of art and handicraft by foreign born citi-These were classified as to their of the exhibitors. It is hoped committee then there were the programs of the exhibitors. It is hoped committee the programs of the exhibitors. It is hoped committee the programs of the exhibitors. It is hoped committee the programs of the exhibitors are the programs of the exhibitors. It is hoped committee the programs of the exhibitors. It is hoped committee the programs of the exhibitors. characters not as to the national descent

exhibit to secure support for a movement in this country to produce, as far as possible the arts and crafts which w have been accustomed to import.

At one end of the Col seum was an exhibit of pottery, vases, lamps and clocks-all made in delicate shades of blue, brown and green; and the potter him self at work in his fascing ing little shop.

The public library has an interesting exhibit books in many language

together with some rare exhibits from their choice collections.

There was a bureau to give information on naturalization; a child's welfare de partment, where hundreds of babies was weighed, measured and examined an goodly advice given to the mothers on the care of small children; the health depart ment had a special exhibit of charts about tuberculosis; while the agricultural depart ment sent valuable charts contains instruction on raising chickens, and the canning of fruits and vegetables.

In the cafes were served things good! eat from American and foreign receipt made especially because of their economic or nutritive values.

Much attention was given to arrangement of the programs that the might be not only entertaining but all Indian. instructive; therefore, memorial service were held for those who had served in the wars of this country; there was an Am Day with a general and his staff as guest of honor; a Navy Day with an admir and some of the sailors from the Gree had bec Training Station accompanying the rule him; there was a Children's Festival song and dancing; there was an Oriente other in program; there was an American program with was an American program with program with their charmingly plaintive folk-lore songs; there was a costume at the banquet at which were worn costumes saved for a hard saved for a hundred and fifty years; then there

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American Indian in his modern state.

Private Pontiac Williams; One Hundred and wenty-fifth Infantry, is a full blooded Ottawa Idian. He was in all the battles of the One Bundred and Twenty-fifth except Soissons. He was wounded at Chateau-Thierry and was ond the Distinguished Service Cross for gallant

tome to us from many foreign lands and he rul one American citizens—for one of rules of the All American Exposition that no one could have a part orients of the rin the exhibition or on the program an intro The was not an American citizen.

There were conferences on child welfare, Colonia tealth, music, and Americanization, while costume at the end of the evening there were imping, and end of the evening there are independent independent sports of running, jumping, intermissions

American citizens of many nationalities, played popular music.

Two programs were given by the North American Indians. That the children of Chicago might know the historical background of this country there was staged for them a setting of the Primitive North American Indians—a forest with tepees, a kettle boiling on the tripod, a papoose asleep in a cradle on the bough, and Indians in blankets and feathers sitting in a council. A dignified old Indian chief made an impressive and solemn oration in his native dialect; young braves danced to the beating of a small drum; women and children sang soft and tuneful lullabies; while the pipe of peace was offered to the four winds of heaven and then passed around the council circle.

The second program given by Indians was to show what the Indians of today are doing in that they are not unlike other American citizens. There are Indian members of Congress, lawyers, physicians, teachers, army officers, business men, artists, musicians, and writers, who are only a generation or two removed from

the life of the primitive Indians.

We did not forget the Indians from India or Hindustan, as we used to call that country in our school days less than twenty years ago. There are very few from India who become American citizens, but we wished especially to honor those few-some of whom served in our army during the last war. Therefore, Dr. Sudhindra Bose came over from the University of Iowa, and spoke on "World's Debt to India". By special permission Mr. T. Chatterjie recently arrived from India. dressed in the Bengali dress, gave a Sanskrit recitation. From persons who had traveled in India we borrowed their collections of pottery, brass ware and pictures. While Mrs. Pettee sent us from San Francisco a valuable collection of embroideries and draperies.

Why are the people of the United States called Americans? There are other large wrestling. During the intermissions have been called Americans.

All American Bande odo Representation of the control of the c and important countries on the two



A Mixed Class of Foreign-born Men and Women studying English.

Portuguese in language and customs; Mexico has a mixed race of Spanish and native Indians; while Canada is essentially British in type. The United States have even in Colonial times a population of various nationalities—English, French, and Spanish. Thus in the beginning of our history a new nationality was formed. Our language customs, laws were and borrowed from many foreign peoples, and we have enrich ed these by valuable addi. The Fathers of the tions. American Revolution started a great political experiment and we must carry on their work.

of the American One Indian Senators, Robert L Owen from Oklahoma, has said:

"There is an abundance for everybody in this countryenough to make all of our people happy, well fed, well housed, well dressed, and under a system of good government with fair distribution these results would be accomplished and the ideal of America would appear in concrete form, and not merely as a political philosophy if we could thave sympathetic co-operation of all the peoples."

A MONUMENT TO INDIAN HEROES BY THE THAMES SUGGESTIONS BY AN INDIAN ARCHITECT.

N instance of how the nationalist impulse is asserting itself among our young men is furnished by Mr. Phirozshah Rattonji Udwadia, who is studying architecture in England. While talking with me the other day he said that if a memorial was to be raised to the Indian soldiers—say by the banks of the Thames—to remind the British how Indians fared forth without the least hesitation to help the Empire in its most critical hour, it should be purely Indian in design. That would be in thorough keeping with the subject, he declared. A monument eastern in design and execution, moreover, would attract far greater attention than one that was purely western or only an attempt at being eastern.

Udwadia is about 28 years of age. From his earliest youth he has been fired with the zeal to become a great Architect. After studying up to the Matriculation standard of the Bombay University, he joined, nine years ago, the office of the Consulting Architect to

theory and practice of architecture at the st Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy School of Art under Mr. George Willet, F. R. I. B. A., and Mr. John Mered After three years of hard work L. R. J. B. A. he passed his final examination, and was awarded the Lord Mayo medal and the first

So pleased with his work were his teachers at the School and his immediate superiors at the Office that he had little difficulty in security a scholarship of Rombay a scholarship from the Government of Bombs, to travel about T to travel about India for a year to study Indian monuments monuments, and he made a splendid set of measured drawing the made a splendid set of measured drawing the made as plendid set of the measured drawing the made as plendid set of the measured drawing the made as plendid set of the measured drawing the measured dr measured drawings at Agra, Ahmedabad, Dholka, Ajmer, and Pawageal Ajmer, and Pawagarh. Afterwards he joined the office of the consults. office of the consulting architect, and helped in the carrying out variance. carrying out various modern buildings.

In August 1916, Mr. Udwadia received a tolarship from the scholarship from the Government of India study architecture in Government of India study architecture in England. He arrived to September 1916, and at once joined the late tectural Association. from 10 to 5. In the mergings has Dodied Greukul Royal Collection in London. A year of the intermediate examination of the land of the lan

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sholarship expired the next year, but as he had of finished his studies, Sir Ratan Tata readily the to his help and gave him a scholarship, which is repayable by instalments after he is attended in life. The last-named scholarship ended astautumn, since which time a generous Parsee by, Mrs. Hodiwalla, who has adopted him, as supported him. Mr. Udwadia hopes soon the final examination of the Institute, which will enable him to become an Associate the Royal Institute of British Architects—so ar as I know, the first Indian to have that

lasked the young architect what would be the right way to proceed if it was decided to raise, on the bank of the Thames, an Indian monument to the Indians who have fallen in the war. He answered that the work should k entrusted to Indian master builders, who bould go to the monuments already existing India for inspiration. There is, for instance, the Tower of Victory at Chitore. Then there monuments which, though not designed or the purpose of commemorating victories, night well serve to inspire the architect who Tished to carry out the best Indian tradition architecture in giving England a monument Northy of the great service that Indians rendered to the Empire's cause.

"The only way in which a monument Indian design and execution can be secured," Mr. Uwadia emphasised, "is by employing Indians odesign and build it." He thought that there as not the least doubt that there were men India to-day who could carry out the work beginning to end, without non-Indian in such a manner as to win the admiration the whole Western world. If Indian artistic bility were given full scope, the monument bould prove to the western world that there te still master-builders in India, in spite of the dverse conditions forced upon them by Western dilisation overlaying Indian civilisation.

Fergusson wrote, many years ago, "architecthe in India is still a living Art, practised on be principles which caused its wonderful deve-Pment in Europe in the 12th and 13th cenbries; and there consequently, and there alone, the student of architecture has a chance of seethe real principles of the art in action."

The Report on Modern Indian Architecture sued in 1913, shows conclusively that India has a "living style-tradition" in architecture. The plantage of that The photographs reproduced in that ight have been described an analysis of the fact of hight have a doubt on the point the fact of sadition." To some it may appear "to be no he more retired by-ways of the land." These studied in the light of modern discouraged to grow into tchitecture, may be encouraged to grow into

Government of India, "can be made to supply all the complex needs of modern India in a manner in conformity at once with sound business principles and with the canons of true art."

A developed Indian architecture, that expert believes, can provide buildings that will be modern, convenient, economical, practical, and



Mr. Phirozshah Rattonji Udwadia.

not over-ornate. Everything will depend upon the materials that are employed, and the architects who handle them. There is nothing really inherent in Indian art, he says, that demands over-elaboration, unpracticality, or inconvenience; and there is no element necessitating lavish expenditure that cannot be overcome by skill on the part of the designer.

The Indian type of architecture can best be developed by throwing the profession of the architect open to Indian youths, Mr. Begg believes. They would bring to it that enthusiasm without which it would be impossible to develop an indigenous form of architecture in India of to-day. These Indian young men should be thoroughly grounded, in the architectural schools of Britain, in the principles of architectural design as they are understood in Europe and America, and, when trained, should apply their minds to designing buildings to meet the complex demands of modern India, drawing their inspiration from the best examples of old and traditional work in their home-land. Thus an indigenous architecture, modern requirement and yet distinctively Indian, carrying on the traditions of art and putting distinctive, may be encouraged to grow into ed, based upon the legg, F. R. I. B. A., Consulting Architectory in Eurukul Kangia olasi Pheradown traditions of art, and

craftsmen possessed of hereditary skill to execute them. Why waste these precious national assets? Why employ capable Indian craftsmen to cate bastard products after the Western manner? Instead of constructing buildings in India of an Orientalised Western type, why not modernise Indian art to make it meet the requirements of to-day, and thus insure a style of architecture that will be truly national, and that will express Indian thought and aspirations, will not be an Indianized imitation of ancient Greek or Roman, or Anglo-Saxon styles.

To return to the topic under consideration: The building of a monument to commemorate the undying service rendered to the Empire's

cause by Indians should prove a project in which every true Imperialist should be interested. The British, the Dominioners, and Indians could join hands to pay tribute to the men who were the first among the Empire soldiers to fling themselves into the firing line in the principal theatre of war. The Rajas, Maharajas, and Nawabs of India, who have given large sums of money for various purposes connected with the war, would not, I am sure, hesitate to contribute towards the erection of a memorial that, in the years to come, would remind posterity of the part played, of her own freewill, by India in the great war.

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THE QUESTION OF AN ANDHRA UNIVERSITY

T is somewhat gratifying to learn that additional Universities will be started shortly at Nagpore, Lucknow, Agra and Rangoon. It is an irony of fate (a cruel irony, indeed) that though the question of the Andhra University has been on the tapis for nearly two decades and eminent administrators, scholars and jurists of the type of Sir Thomas Holland, Sir Ashutosh Mukherji and Justice Abdur Rahim have made unequivocal pronouncements on the imperative necessity of multiplying the number of Universities in India and of granting one to the Andhra-desa, and despite the fact that, in accordance with the progressivist tendencies of the times, Universities have already been successfully started at Patna, Mysore and Benares, and they are about to be founded at Dacca and Lucknow. Our Madras Government should live in a paradise of blissful indifference to the real needs of an important section of its people. It is an indubitable fact that the Andhras, possessing a distinctive history, traditions and a language of their own, are also the pioneers of social reform and comprise about half of the total population of the Madras Presidency, numbering about millions out of the aggregate of forty. While Bombay, with a population of about 19 millions, was blessed with a University half a century ago. The Andhra-desa is still without

Two main objections were raised by the

patiraja in the Madras Legislative council about two years ago. One was the lack of sufficient number of colleges forming the basis for a new University, and the other was the want of funds. As regards the first it may he stated that Bombay, nearly 20 years after the formation of her University, had only four arts colleges and even in the British Isles, all the three colleges of Sir Andrews' University seem to have come into existence, long after the formation of the University. At Oxford and cambridge too it was after the formation of the Universities that colleges were instituted to give them permanence and cohesion, e.g., the University College and Balliol College were founded in 1249 and 1263 A.D. respectively while their mother University at Oxford originated towards the close of the 19th century. Coming to Madras itself, it seems to have had only one or two colleges when its University came into being in 1857, all the important colleges, including the Christian College, having been founded subsequently. The Andhra-desa has now j first grade colleges and 6 second grade colleges, some at least of the latter having an assured probability of becoming first grade in the near future.

Next coming to the question of finance, it well-known for the question of finance, it is a well-known fact that over fifty per cent of the revenue is have the revenue is being spent on military purposes and that only of es and that only four or five per cent is being doled out town la spent on military peing doled out town la spent out to doled out towards such vital branches as education and ably mooted by the Hon. With B. Philic Weenka Quruku Kanori Collection, Hardwards for diverting

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meet such urgent wants. It behoves the Government therefore to pay heed to the lowing precious utterance of the Viceroy at te recent Calcutta Convocation and confer the Andhras at a very early date the bless-University of their own: "The best bource of a country is the capacity of its pople and the best way of developing its sources is the development of that capacity of the best place for development of that apacity is the University."

The Hindu' of the 6th February gives an wount of what became of the fate of the solution on the subject of the Andhra Univerwin the Local Legislative Council. little Hailes, the Director of Public Instruction, tile professing lip-sympathy with the propos-Andhra University, urged two objections to besame, viz., (1) That no definite scheme was id on the table by the mover, and (2) That the bject was one to be tackled by the Imperial founcil, since the present Madras University telf was ushered into existence by the Indian liversity Act of 1857. Two more objections ree raised by other Hon'ble members, viz., but the Andhras should raise necessary funds fore they could aspire to a University of hir own, and, lastly, mass education and the provision for those already engaged the task of education should be the first acern of the Government prior to creating ditional universities.

To take these objections seriatim, regardthe first, (viz., want of a definite scheme) perhaps as much the duty of the Director verolve a scheme calculated to subserve the acational interests of about 20 millions of Andhras, as that of the mover who is a man in educational matters. If the Director really as sympathetic as he professes to be, could he not have suggested the formaof a committee of professional experts laymen to devise a practicable scheme? ophter, such a scheme may as well be out after the proposal receives legis-

As regards the second objection, the Madras University, no doubt, came into existence under the Indian University Act, but it was the first time when universities were started in the different provinces of India almost simultaneously, for which the prior sanction of the Indian Government was needed. But this is no reason why a Provincial Government should consider itself as incompetent to create an additional university, when the needs of an important section of its people demand it. Hence this objection seems to have been meant rather to evade the issue than to face it in a bold and sympathetic spirit.

The last two objections also evince a similar lack of sympathy and imagination on the part of those who raised them. For example, how could the Government have found money to raise the salaries of the already over-paid I. C. S., I. M. S. and Police officers and for the creation of additional Inspectors of schools? Again are the people concerned collecting funds for all the beneficent measures passed by Government? Was any such collection made by the people concerned for the older universities and for

the recent Dacca University?

Regarding the greater urgency of mass education, &c., it is no doubt an undeniable fact, but if the Government evince real zeal and genuine sympathy, it can find means both for promoting mass education and the starting of the Andhra University, by the retrenchment of extravagant expenditure in Military Department and Public Works Department, &c., and by the abstention from summer exodus to the hills. If mass education really has, in the eye of the bureaucracy, the first claim on the public purse, how is it that the Imperial Council is about to give legal sanction to a very costly Dacca University scheme and a still more expensive Calcutta University Reconstruction scheme?

M. VIRABHADRA RAO.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[N. B. Contributions meant for this section should not exceed 500 words in length.]

Professor Foucher and the "Nationalists".

We have received three communications on

lectures, of which the substance is given below in the words of the writers.

Hationalists' in his Calcutto in Haliyetsian Guinkirkangh Collector, Hardwar was

far from contemptuous or disparaging. At least that is the impression of me and my friends, some of whom are considered as authorities on Ancient Indian History both in India and abidad."

II. Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar writes: "The February issue of Modern Review contains a short note with regard to M. Foucher's lectures in the Calcutta University, in which, among other things, M. Foucher is alleged to have referred to Mr. Arun Sen in a contemptuous manner. This is absolutely untrue. He no doubt referred to Mr. Arun Sen and Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, and expressed his dissent from their views on questions of Indian art, but there was nothing in his statement which could be construed, by any means, as contempt, either towards Mr. Sen, or the "Nationalists" as a class. I was present in all the lectures. It will not be out of place to state that I had several private interviews with M. Foucher and sometimes carried on prolonged discussion with him. But although I supported the socalled nationalist point of view he was always courteous and polite in his answers. From what I have seen of him on these occasions, I am decidedly of opinion that he is a perfect gentleman, incapable of using contemptuous language towards anybody, whatever may be his differences with him."

III. Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda writes:

"I heard the remarks of the amiable French savant, Professor Foucher. I found nothing caustic in his remarks about 'nationalists', and his allusion to Mr. Arun Sen, whom he named along with Mr. Jayaswal, did not sound either belittling or contemptuous. I have also consulted other friends of mine who heard Professor Foucher, and they unanimously declare that there was nothing offensive in his language."

Mr. Lajpat Rai on the Relation Between the Sexes.

We have an able presentation of women's case in an instructive article published in the February number of the Modern Review from the pen of Mr. Lajpat Rai, but one or two

points seem to call for some comments.

1. Mr. Rai says that some of the educated Indians still hold the ideal of woman which was prevalent in the West in the 1st half of the 19th century and since that ideal has changed in the West in the last half of the 19th century, he sees no reason why we should retain the same ideal. The suggestion is that we should adopt the ideal of the present day West; this again implies that we should look to the West for our ideals,
—at least in this matter. I do not object to of Western ideals on Indian soil will be for the good of our country or of the bulk Domain Gradual Kangri College His to think that the ideal of western is always in the trinitarian relation is always in the trinitarian relation in the trinitarian relation is always in the trinitarian relation in the trinitarian relation is always in the trinitarian relation in the trinitarian relation is always in the trinitarian relation in the trinitarian relation is always in the trinitarian relation in the trinitarian relation is always in the trinitarian relation in the trinitarian relation is always in the trinitarian relation of the trinitarian relation in the trinitarian relation is always in the trinitarian relation in the trinitarian relation is always in the trinitarian relation of the t

think it to be a healthy sign of our national mind to look up always to the West for our ideals This attitude of mind should be deprecated in the strongest terms. Can not India evolve her physical described own ideals? Has her physical dependence resulted in the death of her spirit also?

2. Mr. Rai condemns the idea that the desire for children can be a justification for marriage, He calls it a superstition. I confess, I am a vio tim to this superstition in a more or less modified form. Although he admits that it is social duty to get children, he lays exclusive emphasis on the development of personality which marriage is to accomplish. He forgets that children contribute very materially to the development of the personality of their parent Personality cannot be rightly and fully dere loped without children, whose presence impose duties and discipline on the parents. It is not very clear, moreover, how the developmental THE one's personality would suffer seriously if one's open not brought into relation with a member of the opposite sex. It may be replied that the wit larliame influences the husband and the husband the nb-head wife and that they are complementary to eat seembly other and thus help in developing each other the Cap personality. But children also are helpful i c." T the development of personality. There, even if a parlie the development of personality be the only many a object kept in view, one must get not only a institution husband or a wife but children also. It is very that on the clear that, without such conjugal relationship le write what Mr. Rai calls a social duty will remain ut fulfilled. If on the strength of this fact, the dean lanapad for children is put forward as an adequate just laon, t fication for marriage, it seems utterly arbitrather bo to call this a superstition. Mr. Rai seems thas be have missed entirely the significance of the bir hapada of a child; it is not simply the result of man miss physical desire—the child is not a commodial I do 1 delivered to the society in fulfilment of tans by contract, but it is the incarnation of the spiratore the creating itself anew. It is in this sense that think it is in this sense that think it is in this sense that the s think it a religious duty to get children. It word the purpose of God implanted in our so other which cries for fulfilment in our desire marriage and marriage and marriage and realises itself in our children wonym unless it can be conclusively proved to me the Med none of my descendants even in the remote fitte and is a are going to contribute anything to the better deriver ment of the world or for the glory of God a tad shall continue to believe that the strongs will be argument for ment of the world or for the glory of God a tad shall continue to believe that the strongs will be argument for mentions of the strongs will be argument for mentions of the strongs will be a strong will be a stron argument for me in favour of marriage who be the implicit be the implicit desire for children—the desire namely to fall the namely, to fulfil the purpose of God

I recognise that a certain type of good is a realised in our be realised in our conjugal relation, but we not see its crowned. not see its crowning phase till the couple hich Mr blessed with children. Parenthood seems to water the very fruition and

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married life is merely the wife. This may be Western and as such may recommend itself as restern and Rai in his sojourn in the West, priest is neither Indian nor true. The wife gother with her trials and tribulations stands

on a much higher level than the mere wife with her life of comparative ease.

The above remarks however do not take away anything from my sincere appreciation of Mr. Rai's article as a whole.

"DEVADATTA."

HINDU PARLIAMENT AND SAISUNAKA STATUES

By RAMAPRASAD CHANDA.

HINDU PARLIAMENT.

It is not elopment of the February issue of the Modern Review opens with an article by Mr. K. P. layaswal with the heading, "The Hindu Monarchy" and the Jayaswal with the heading, "The Hindu at the with ladiament under Hindu Monarchy" and the susband to labeading, "The Jānapada or the Realm ary to each other to capital City: Period 600 B. c. to 600 helpful in the Capital City: Period 600 B. c. to 600 helpful in the Capital City: Period 600 B. c. to 600 helpful in the Capital City: Period 600 B. c. to 600 helpful in parliament is based by Mr. Jayaswal not e the only a my account, description or definition of such rect only a institution found in any source whatever, not only a institution found in any source whatever, It is ver int on the occurrence of the word Janapada. relationship the writes:—

remain the expression Jánapada, a derivative from the designate just announced the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and the control of the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and the control of the contr

ly arbitrate the books, and in inscriptions. In our day of the british apada.' Its use as a technical term has commodified in the sport of the sport sense the word Janapada was never "taken to mean" desire apada" except when it was treated as a desire desire desire apada" except when it was treated as to me the desire and Medini. Mr. Jayaswal admits that Janathe better desired from the latter by the addition the better derived from the latter by the addition of strongs setully defined to suffix. Sanskrit grammarians y of the strong a taddhita suffix. Sanskrit grammarians in the desired suffixes are added. According to the paura from pa

and of course in the only sense in which it is capaple of being used. One of his sutras (V. 4. 104) runs :-

Brahmano janapadākhyāyam.

"(The suffix tach is added to) brahman when

denoting a janapada."

The rule relates to a tatpurusha (determinative) compound of which the second member is brahman (Brahman) and which denotes that the Brahman is a janapada (Brahmano janapadatwam akhyayate.—Kāsika). As examples of such compounds are mentioned Surāshtra-brahmah 'a Brahman of Surāshtra,' Avantibrahmah 'a Brahman of Avanti.' So janapada in this sutra means 'belonging to a janapada or country.'

For traditional explanation of words used in ancient texts we have to rely on authoritative commentaries. One such commentary is Vijnanesvara's Mitākshara in Yajnavalkya-smriti. I shall cite a line of Yajnavalkya (II. 36) to show in what sense Vijnanesvara takes janapada (in singular)-

Deyam chaura-hritam dravyam rājnā jana-

padaya tu.

"The king should hand over the stolen property (when recovered) to janapada."

Here janapada is thus explained by Vijnanesvara-

Janapadaya swadesa-nivasine yasya dravyam tasmai.

"To the janapada or the inhabitant of his own country to him whose property it is."

Of course Mr. Jayaswal does not follow the commentator. Under the heading 'compensation bills of Janapada to the crown,' he writes, "The paura from pura) by adding a suffix in the but we immarians janapada is derived from janapada them that he enjoins on the complete of tatra bhavah, 'who lives there'. It is not be possible for Mr. Jayaswal proposes to ascribe to the opinion of Vijnanesvara. I believe it will not be possible for Mr. Jayaswal proposes to ascribe to the opinion of Vijnanesvara. I believe it will not be possible for Mr. Jayaswal to cite any known commentator who takes janapada and paura in the sense of realm and city assemblies. The ignorance of the commentators, the diposition of vijnanesvara in the sense of realm and city assemblies. The ignorance of the commentators, the diposition of vijnanesvara in the sense of realm and city assemblies is opposed to the diposition of vijnanesvara. I believe it will not be possible for Mr. Jayaswal to cite any known commentator who takes janapada and paura in the sense of realm and city assemblies. The ignorance of the commentators, the diposition of vijnanesvara. I believe it will not be possible for Mr. Jayaswal to cite any known commentator who takes janapada and paura in the sense of realm and city assemblies. The ignorance of the commentators, the diposition of vijnanesvara. I believe it will not be possible for Mr. Jayaswal to cite any known commentator who takes janapada and paura in the sense of treatment of them that he enjoins on the them that he enjoi refund bills were presented according to Yajnavalkya to the Janapada, as it is to

tional mind our ideals. precated in evolve her dependence 0? it the desire marriage,

I am a vic ore or less that it is a s exclusive personality He forgets ally to the eir parents fully dere nce imposa

Mr. Jayaswal's claim that these institutions are referred to in the post-Vedic Brahmanic

I shall now turn to some of the other evidences adduced by Mr. Jayaswal in support of his parliament. He asserts, "The technical significance of the Janapada as a collective institution has now been established by Khāravela's inscription of 165 B. C." (p. 122.) Let us see how it has been established. Line 7 of Kharavela's Hathigumpha inscription opens with a sentence which is thus read and translated by Bhagavanlal Indraji:-

anekani sata-sahasani visajati Anugaha

pora-janapadam.

'(And thus) he showered hundreds of thousands of favours on the people of the town

and the country.'

Pora (the Prakrit equivalent of the Sanskrit paura) is here taken as a part of a copulative compound pora-janapadam. Mr. Jayaswal reads poram instead of pora on the ground that there is an anusvara above ra in the inscription and on this anusvara he bases the fabrics of his city and realm assemblies (J. B. O. R. S., III, pp. 448, 456). But in the facsimile of the inscription taken by Mr. R. D. Banerji and published by Mr. Jayaswal, this part of the line is clear. Here we find no trace of the sign of anusvāra above the ra of pora, but there is a big hole of very irregular shape above the following ja which is evidently mistaken for anusvara by Mr. Jayaswal. Mr. Jayaswal may say in reply that he has examined the stone and found the anusvara all right. Those who have experience of deciphering inscriptions know well that paper impressions where the writing is found in black and white enable one to read such records better than on the stone where the colour is uniform. Mr. Jayaswal translates the sentence thus:-"(He) bestows numerous privileges-by hundreds and thousands—on (the corporate bodies) the Paura and the Janapada." The rendering of anugaha (anugraha) as privilege is also forced. In the foregoing lines of the inscription no privileges are referred to but there are mentioned the various acts of public utility done by Kharavela which are evidently described in the sentence in question as hundreds and thousands of favours conferred on the inhabitants of the city and the kingdom. The meaning of paura (pora) as used in the ancient Brahmi inscriptions is clearly brought out in the following compound of the great Nasik cave prasasti of Gautamiputra Satakarni--(Epigraphia Indica,

Porajana-nivisesa-sama sukha-dukhasa. "Who sympathised with the weal and woe of

all the citizens."

Pora or paura means paurajana, 'one living assembly of the city. In support of his interpreciation of paura Mr. Jayaswal adds, "In the corporate sense it is clearly promotion for the city of the city. In support of his interpreciation of paura Mr. Jayaswal adds, "In the corporate sense it is clearly promotion for the city of politic collectively. The period of the his clearly politic collectively. The period of the his clear which his corporate sense it is clearly promotion for the city of politic collectively. The period of the his city politic collectively. The period of the his collectively have a collectively and the his collectively.

Divyavadana where Kunala is supposed to have popular entered the Paura (used in the singular) that is the Paura assembly" (p. 123). and by whom is Kunāla supposed to han he Pu entered the Paura (used in singular)? In the substitution Divyavadana it is narrated that when Tishyara Kshatr kshita got her forged letter ordering Kunda's reime eyes to be taken out sealed by Asoka's teeth lights per Asoka, who was asleep, dreamt in succession number two dreams; the first was, that two vulture accordi plucked out the eyes of Kunala; and the second states dream was, Asoka saw Kunala entering Pauz number with overgrown hair, nails and beard (p. 410) from th This is evidently Mr. Jayaswal's Paura assembly gane which Kunala entered. But such an interpret Kshatri tion is impossible. Asoka in his dreams say The po what actually happened later on. The paul withat that Kunala entered with overgrown hair and mainly nails is the city of Pataliputra. In the seque by the to the story blind Kunala is led back to the Brahma city of Pataliputra with his wife Kanchanani at the (p. 413). There is not a word about a from the assembly. Paura in this passage means Pura- Vises (v city, the taddhita suffix is added in the origin hapas sense of the word. Mr. Jayaswal again with [1.14] it "The Pauras alone of Takshasila, the capital the North (Uttarapatha) in the time of Asou avasana are related to have become hostile &c." (p. 121 This is not accurate. Mr. Jayaswal has hims quoted the passage in note 75 where rebellion is thus described:-

Takshasila-nagaram viruddham.

"The city of Takshasila revolted," who means the inhabitants of Takshasila revolta Here nagaram is used and not pauram: Abo Kunāla's step-mother Tishyarakshita's kir Mr. Jayaswal writes, "Tishyarakshitā address her letter, according to the Divyāvadāna, to the Pauras, i. e., an organised body" (p. 11 The original runs:-

Taya kapata-lekho likhitas-Takshasilakit paurānām Kunalasya nayanam vinasayitavis

"By her was written a forged letter to citizens of Takshasila that the eyes of Kull should be destroyed."

The meaning of the term pauros Takshasila is made quite clear in the state that follows in the state of the s that follows in the text:

Raja hyasoko valavan prachanda ajuapayat Takshasila-janam hi,

satror Mouryasya vamsasya kalanka esha "The fearful and "The fearful and mighty King Asoka order the inhabitants of Takshasila, uproof the Man this enemy; he is a stigma on the Mar hay in family."

Here the author makes quite clear that be found the pauras of Tolor makes quite clear that be found to the pauras of Tolor makes quite clear that be found to the pauras of Tolor makes quite clear that be found to the pauras of Tolor makes quite clear that be found to the pauras of Tolor makes quite clear that be represented to the pauras of Tolor makes quite clear that be represented to the pauras of Tolor makes quite clear that be represented to the pauras of Tolor makes quite clear that be represented to the pauras of Tolor makes quite clear that be represented to the pauras of Tolor makes quite clear that be represented to the pauras of Tolor makes quite clear that be represented to the pauras of Tolor makes quite clear that be represented to the pauras of Tolor makes quite clear that be represented to the pauras of the pauras the pauras of Takshasila he denotes Takshasila he denotes city whow the collectively.

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Ited," whi ila revolta am: Abox hita's lett itā address dana, to t

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sed to have ponarchies. According to tradition preserved gular), that the puranas the period begins with the rise of (3). When was a the change is described as the d to have the Puranas the change is described as the epuranas the change is described as the obstitution of the Sudra rule for the ancient (shatriya regime. What was this ancient (shatriya regime? Before the conquests of Nanda-oka's teeth (shapadma Northern India was divided into a succession number of small states—sixteen in number ording to the Buddhist texts. wo vulture according to the Buddhist texts. Most of these the second states were ruled by Kshatriya Rajas with a ering Paur number of outlying states heterodox in culture rd (p. 410) for the standpoint of Brahmanism, and ruled ra assembly ganas or Kshatriya oligarchies. The ancient interpret khatriya monarchies were limited in character. dreams at the power of the censecrated Raja was limited The para by that of the Samiti—assembly, which probably wn hair and painly consisted of the men of his own clan: in the sequely the rights and privileges enjoyed by the back to the brahmans who according to the proclamation anchananii at the Rajasuya ceremony were excluded about a from the jurisdiction of the Raja; and by the neans Pur- Vises (vaisyas) or common free people also. the original hapassage of the Satapatha Brahmana (VII. gain with I.1.4) it is said :-

Yasma u vai kshatriyo visa samvidano'syam e of Asolu arasanam dadati tat sudattam.

Siyana's commentary-

Loke hi 'Kshatriyah' raja 'visa' swakiyaya where pajays 'samvidanah' sanjananah aikamatyam priptah san 'asyam' prithivyam yasmai Mushaya 'avasanam' 'dadati', tasya Mattam sobhanadattam bhavati.

"And to whomsoever the Raja (Kshatriya), with the approval of the Vises, grants a settletent, that (settlement) is properly given."

twas incumbent upon the Raja to secure approval of his common subjects or Vises (Vaisyas) before making a gift of any land within his dominion. The great military Magadha, the foundation of which has perhaps laid down by the later Saisunaka ings and the superstructure of which was wited by Nanda-Mahapadma, overthrew most the ancient states and overshadowed others. he political consequences following the rise of the Magadhan monarchy in Northern India bet points the political changes he rise of in the Greek world as a result of tise of the Macedonian monarchy at about tates such as Though some of the old type of tates such as the Kshaudrakas, Malavas, and laudheyas survived long, the political interest tow centred round a succession of imperial frastice hat held transities, both Indian and foreign, that held

account Bana writes of some of the people through whose land the army marched, "others, despondent at the plunder of their ripe grain, had come forth wives and all to bemoan their estates, and to the imminent risk of their lives, grief dismissing fear, had begun to censure their sovereign, crying 'Where's the king?' 'What right has he to be king?' 'What a king?' '(Cowell and Thomas's Eng. tr.). Bana joined later on, so he could not have accompanied Harsha in this his first expedition. But Bana must have overheard such conversations when he accompanied the emperor in his later expeditions and so his testimony deserves credence. In a copper grant of King Dharmmapala of Bengal who reigned probably in the first half of the ninth century A. D. it is said of his father Gopala, "That the people (Prakritibhi) elected him king with a view to put an end to anarchy." Though the epigraphic records tell us of this solitary instance of an election of the king by the people, it must have been much commoner in practice. In this grant we catch an echo of what is said in the Satapatha Brahmana about the king's duty to consult the people before making a gift of land. After enumeration of the various official and non-official bodies to whom the grant is addressed it is said-

Matam astu bhavatam.

"Let this be approved by you."

The materials for the ancient political history of our people are very scanty and scattered. It is only by critical sifting of this evidence with infinite patience and not by giving free play to imagination and sentiment and ascribing to words meanings unknown to tradition, that we can hope to reconstruct a bare outline of our ancient political life.

II. Two Pre-Mouryan Statues.

Under the heading "Indian Periodicals" appears "a layman's hurried summary" of articles in the Journal in the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, December, 1919. Some of the remarks with which our "layman" introduces his summary deserves serious consideration. He writes:-

"The discovery which Mr. Jayaswal claims to have made, would upset the conclusions of. Indologists who had hitherto considered the ancient Hindus to be incapable of evolving any school of sculpture of their own. These conclusions the masties, both Indian and foreign, that held ancestors, in the world ancestors and ancestors and ancestors and ancestors and ancestors and ancestors and do not affect our forefathers' sculptural and

be also sources of error, and often of more

serious errors" (p. 200).

In the case of Mr. Jayaswal's discoveries at least it may be said that he has been very hopitably received by European savants. One of these savants, His Honour Sir Edward Gait, has, as Mr. Jayswal himself admits, rendered the making of these discoveries possible. Another of the European savants Dr. Vincent A. Smith, who in his History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon upheld the theory of Greek influence on Indian art, had been doing his best to support Mr. Jayaswal's theories and to advertise them in Europe. In the joint meeting of the them in Europe. In the joint meeting of the Asiatic Societies of Great Britain, France, Italy and America held in London Dr. V. A. Smith called attention to the theories of Mr. Jayaswal. Professer Barnett, while rising to oppose these theories, said-

"Mr. K. P. Jayaswal by his learned and

able paper on "Statues of Two Saisunaka Emperors" (J. B. O. R. S., V. pt. I, pp. 886) has rendered such a service to the study of history and antiquities that I feel the utmost dence in expressing any opinions at various diffidence in expressing any opinions at variance with his theories. But as I have been honoured with his theories to contribute some notes and other results. by a request to contribute some notes on the presente important subjects which he has raised, Ido so with the prayer kshamantu sādhavah []. B. O. R. S., V. pt. IV., p. 513]. Bugus scholars who approach theories like Mr. Jayaswal's calculated to prove the originality of our ancestors in regard to all the elements of culture and civilisation in such spirit cannot be accused of "imperialistic" or "race superiority

The writer of the summary feels that he has been unjust to some foreign indologists, and apologises to them.]

MORTALITY IN INDIA

By Rai Bahadur Thakur Datta, Retired District Judge.

FEW weeks back "United India" published an article by Sir Sankaran Nair, K. C. I. E., on "Poverty in India," in which the late Member of the Government of India for Education and Sanitation said:

"The increasing death-rate was also one of the points always pressed by the late Mr. Gokhale in the Legislative Council. The figures which must have been supplied by the Sanitary Commissioner of the Government of India along with the Census returns, must place this matter beyond dispute and we can scarcely understand the reason for the non-publication of such returns, and the conclusion to be drawn from them by the Government. The withholding of these and other papers, to which we have already referred, has raised a good deal of comment in the Indian press, and needs explana-

I had recently occasion to see a high British officer who had compiled one of the Provincial census reports, and happened to tell him that the most telling indictment which the Nationalist brought against bureaucratic rule in India, was that the vitality of the people and their power of resisting disease had decreased as evidenced by the rising death-rate. He could not believe it and asked me to send him the statistics. I have taken some trouble in looking up the var Suffakul Kangri Callerting Hardwar 17.5

Reports in the Punjab Public Library, and as there is a good deal of ignorance as regard to take the correct figures, both among English officials and Indian Publicists, I send them to you in the hope that the discussion maj draw the attention of the Press and publich this most important subject, and lead them ! study the question in all its bearings.

2. "The Indian Empire" which form vol. I of the Imperial Gazetteer of India published in 1907, under the authority of the Secretary of State for India, has a table showing the Mortality-rate per 1000 of the population for the last twenty years 1881 1900. I copy here the figures given on 512, as also the remarks of the official compiler on pages 513, 515, and 517.

P. 512 "Mortality-rates per thousand in the chief provinces of British India, 1881-1900

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Province.	Recorded Mean for 1896-1900 881-90. 1891-95. 1896-1900 30.18				
188	81-90.	1891-95.	30.18		
Bengal	22.1	30.7	36.9		
Assam	26.7	30.2	33.1		
United Provinces	32.8	32.2	32.4		
Punjab	31.3	34.5	45.6		
Central Provinces	33.0	33.8	48.5		
Berars	33.2	38.8	22.1		
Madras	20.5	20.7	41.3		
Bombay	26.2	29.6	26.2		
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P. 513, "We see first that in spite of the I, pp. 880 perive registration the recorded rates are the students are high and exhibit a progressive perally very high and exhibit a progressive the utmost they are indeed much above the European at varied if Austria-Hungary and Italy be at variance and ard, if Austria-Hungary and Italy be n honoured and Italy be not to the English statistics. notes on the occented to the English statistics, and this as aised, I to have seen applies equally to the birth-rate." P. 515. "Estimated mortality per thousand 1881-90 Females Males All 40.6 38.6 29.6 ligland & Wales 20.2 18.0 19.1 " P. 517. "Starting from Ireland and promsing east and south there is a gradual and gular rise in the mortality of infants, until in idia under ordinary circumstances probably bout one-third of those born die within the

> Comments on the above figures are sperfluous; it will be seen that the rise in be mean death-rates during 1896-1900 over bose of 1881-90 was nearly 40 per cent in lengal, Assam, and Central Provinces, 46 pr cent in Berars, and 50 per cent in Lower

3. The Director General of Commercial htelligence, India, publishes every year big tolumes dealing with the statistics of British brary, and ladia. The figures which I shall now give as regard the taken from part five "Public Health".

The first issue gives the vital statistics 1906-07 and preceding years; thereafter was published annually, and the which I could find was the tenth issue 1916-17, published apparently in 1919. for the whole of British India the figures wen are since 1885, but for the provinces by those for 1897 and future years were lothcoming.

British India Population in Year No. of Rate per which deaths deaths mille (1000) were registered 1885 Millions 194 1886 51,14,848 26.371887 49,45,171 25.511888 54,30,726 28.03 1889 51,12,833 26.41 1890 54,59,703 28.21 1891 58,45,927 1892 30.12 207 58,83,478 28.4 1893 213 69,22,767 1894 32.51 54,98,750 1895 25.7572,58,148 1896 33.48 212 1897 61,78,357 28.94 1898 68,14,337 32.04 1899 214 76,58,642 36.03 1900 56,58,838 26.56 1901 64,36,413 30.01 83,34,155 38.91

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1902		HO 00 11-	•
1903	100	70,62,417	31.67
		73,18,183	34.91
1904		83,80,801	38.05
1905		80,52,230	
1906			36.14
1907	000	77,75,837	34.83
	226	83,99,623	37.18
1908		86,53,007	38.21
1909		69,98,014	30.91
1910			
1911	000	75,18,034	33.2
A STREET, STRE	238	76,39,544	32.01
1912		70,90,991	29.71
1913		68,45,018	25.72
1914		The second secon	
1915		71,55,770	30.00
		71,42,413	29.94
1916	-07000	69,40,430	29.10
1917		78,03,830	32.72
The highest	mortalia	tv was in -	04.14

The highest mortality was in 1900, 1904 and 1908 when the death-rate exceeded 38 per 1000; the lowest was in 1886, 1893 and 1913 when it was less than 26 per mille. It may be useful to compare these figures with the death-rates per mille in some of the European countries for 1912, given in the reports. They are: England and Wales (1913) 13.7; Holland, 12.3; Denmark, 13.0; Norway, 13.5; Sweeden, 14.2; Scotland, 15.26; Prussia, 15.5; Ireland, 16.5; France, 17.5.

4. It is not necessary to give for the Provinces the population figures or the total number of deaths; the ratios per mile for the past twenty years are the chief thing and I copy these for seven of the Provinces to which the Reform Scheme will apply. Behar and Orissa is a new province, the N. W. Frontier Province was separated from the Punjab in November 1901.

	-	J			1901				
	Year	Central Pro- vinces and Berars.	Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.	Bombay.	Punjab.	N.West Fron- tier Province	United Pro-	Madras.
	1898	23.40	26.57		29.16	31.1	1	27.38	21.00
	1899		31.31		35.72			33.19	20.10
	1900	57.82	36.63		70.07			31.23	23.40
	1901		21.04			36.01	19.2	30.30	21.30
	1902	25,32	33 43		39 04	44.1	24.4	32.54	20.12
	1903	35.52	35.33		46.91	49.01	28.4	40.25	22,20
	1904		32.45		41.39	49.36	28.68		22.80
	1905		38.33		31.34	47.6	26.8	44.00	
	1906	43.47	36.08		35.06	36.94	33.73	38.07	
	1907		37.72		32.82	62.1	35.12	43.46	24.30
	1908	38.12	38.56		27.15	50.7	35.8	52.73	26.20
	1909		31.35		27.38	30.9	26.6	37.84	21.80
	1910	44 88	33.11			33-3		38.67	
	1911	34.67	32.69		25.35	34.1	23.3	44.95	22,10
	1912	42.34	29.77	31.01	34.89	26,0	23.4		24.30
	1913	30.28	29.35	29.14		30.12		34.84	31.40
	1914	36.69	31.57	28.3	29 45	32.0	24.7	34.40	25.3
	1915	35.00	32.83	32.2	20.12	36.60	28.8	30.04	22.00
	1916	39.95 ng 660	28.37	32.8	33.32	30.70		29.50	21.90
u	KWIKa	ngr6Gøl	eggono l	Harigwa	40.76	37.9	29.9	37.91	26,20

Taking the decennial periods the recorded mean of the mortality-rates in the five larger Provinces were:

C	1881-90	1891-1900	1901-10
	22.I	30.75	34.60
Bengal United Provinces	COLUMN TO THE REAL PROPERTY.	32.51	39.35
	31.3	33.45	44.04
Punjab	26.2	35.45	35.10
Bombay		21.4	23.23
Madras	20.5	21.4	3 0

These figures show that compared with the first decade, 1881-90, for which figures are forthcoming, the third decade, 1901-10, shows considerable increase in the mean death-rate everywhere; the rise ranges from 13 per cent. in Madras, 20 per cent. in United Provinces, 34 per cent. in Bombay to 41 per cent. in the Punjab and 56 per cent. in For the whole of British Bengal. the figures are:

> 1885-90.....27.44 1891-1900.....31.31 1901-1910.....34.55

or an increase of 26 per cent. In all other civilized countries whether in Europe, America or Asia, the mortality rates are being considerably reduced. In England and Wales the death-rate per thousand was 21.3 in 1861-1870; 19.1 in 1881-90; 18.5 in 1891-95; since when the fall has been very rapid as that it was 13.7 in 1913 and 13.3 in 1916 (see Daily Mail Year Book for 1919 pp. 270). Since 1912 the mortality statistics of India began to show some improvements, the lowest death-rate being in 1913, but the sixtysix lakhs of deaths due to influenza in 1918, will add greatly to the mean deathrate for the decade 1911-20. In 1918 the death-rate in the Punjab, due to the havocs of this terrible epidemic, was as high as 81 per mille. In 1916 in England and Wales with a date-rate of 13.3 per thousand the average duration of life was 75 years, while in India with a date-rate of 29.10 during the same year it was less than one half.

The number of patients admitted into the various Lunatic Asylums in British India are also noted in the (Public Health) satistics, and I give figures for the quinquennial years:

18851212	1010
18901125	19101517
18951199	19152225
19001191	19162263
1005 1667	19172423

It will be seen that between 1885 and 1900 the number of lunatics admitted was about 1200 a year, but in 1905 the number rose to 1667 and the increase continued until in 1917 it reached 2423, or nearly double of what it was in the first twenty win, bu years. Is there any satisfactory explanation of this increase, except that we in common with most civilized nations, are experiencing the baneful effects of pitiless materialism and hard competition which have increased the quired struggle and worry of life with the greater use and curse of drink and drugs? Whata stand pity that the Fates have given us the evils of the present Industrial age, but have iving fu brought us no compensating good in improving the staying power of the people!

6. Contagious diseases, of which the ravages are so insignificant in countries where people have great vitality and live under better sanitary conditions, exacted a very heavy toll in India. From 1897 to 1917 the deaths registered as due to cholera were 71. 74,361; during the same period the mortality aggregated 81,97,010; from from plague small-pox it was 18,40,082 deaths. If we demission add to these the influenza mortality, we have Constantly the terrible total of nearly 25 million deaths leaths in 21 years due to these contagious diseases or an average of over 111 lakh deaths a year The number of deaths due to other preventible causes—malarial fevers and famine —is appalling; the figures under these head are available, but it is not necessary to quot them here, as they will be discussed another article. According to the higher sanitary authorities three-fourths of these deaths would not have occurred if the people hygiene and had more education, better greater wealth. What are the casualties of man compared to these figures? It is computed that in all the that in all the wars in Europe, America and Asia during All Asia during the past one hundred and fly years—including years—including the Napoleanic battles, the American civil American civil war, the Russo-Turkish and Russo-Japanese Russo-Japanese wars, as also the Great War to ye which has which has recently ended, the number of persons killed or of those who died of wound for did not equal did not equal one-third the mortality from the lan preventible causes, viz., malaria, contaging the stly of diseases, and faminate the mortality of during the stly of diseases, and famines in India during the stly of past fifty years past fifty years, i.e., since the first regular canto

There are no means of ascertaining the sickness 7. There are no means of ascerned by how much sickness prevails among the general how much sickness prevails are the general how much sickness prevails and the general how much sickness prevai

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countries live under d a very 1917 the were 77 e mortality 10:; from s. If we

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computed nerica and d and fifty attles, the

nitted was three thousand hospitals and dispensaries the number of the property of the propert hich treated thirty-four millions of patients performed fourteen lakhs of operations; by are doing very useful work in relieving st twenty but as they provide accommodation for explanation infinitesimal part of the people suffering n common disease their returns are of little value. the Army units and the jails are, however, charge of trained medical officers who are quired to keep record of the number of missions into hospital, of the daily sick stand of deaths in each group; they have submit monthly and annual statements but have ining full particulars to superior authority. The mitary Commissioner with the Government India publishes every year a report giving the statistics for the whole of India. Mowing table compiled from these reports taken from p. 171 of the Indian Year lok for 1919 edited by Sir Stanley Reed,

Ratio per mille of Strength. British Troops.

y e .	1908-12	1913	1914	1915
Admission into hospital Constantly Sick	638.4	58.5	614.1	823.1
Deaths Dick		29.7	31.8	
the base to year.	6.1	3.3	4.3	5.94
Inc	lian Troop	os.	and the	97 795

1908-12 1913 1914 1915 Emission into hospital 578.3 531.7 astantly Sick 566.5 74.14 20.9 21.4 33.9 5.4 8.55 4.2

The mortality figures thus become to sickness. Roughly speaking, for every there were ten persons constantly sick British troops, but we may leave se out of account as they are in the tropics mably more prone to sickness than the soil. The figures for Indian ops show that for every death among over one hundred persons are admitted in spitals and five (as against ten among British ops) are "constantly sick". As these proporpattles, and are "constantly sick". As these proportical to be almost constant from Great War to year in a large body of men (nearly number of lakks) stationed in different places, it will of wound for estimate of we take them as a rough for estimating the amount of sickness ality from estimating the amount of sickness contagions the land. The army we know is composed luring the difference of vigorous men in the prime of life, during lar ected for their good physique; they live cantonments away from crowded and

are when sick treated by experienced doctors who have all the appliances of Medical Science at their command; they enjoy sick leave and are retired as soon as they snow signs of advancing age or of deteriorated health. It is therefore no wonder that the mortality (5.57 per 1000 strength for the eight years 1908 to 1915) among them was less than one-fifth of the death-rate (31.12 per 1000) of British India during the same period. We shall not, therefore, be far wrong if we assume that the proportion of the sick among the people-men, women and children-who have to live under insanitary conditions without good houses, without wholesome food, suffering from splenitis due to malaria, from consumption and nervous diseases in towns, from diabetes, rheumatism, heart disease, from dyspepsia, diseased teeth and defective eyes, diseases from which the troops are almost immune and with no medical treatment worth the name, was double the sickrate of the army. But as it is possible that the general population comprising infants, children, young and old persons have a lower vitality and less resisting power and they succumb more quickly under the onslaughts of disease, we shall take it that their sickness bears the same ratio to deaths as that of the Indian troops. Taking for comparison the Punjab with its virile races, who furnish a large quota of men to the army where famines are rare and the canal colonies produce an abundance of food-stuffs for export, the mean mortality-rate of 44.04 (in 1901-10) means that out of every 1000 persons living 220 or more than one-fifth were "constantly sick" day and night and that if there were sufficient hospital accommodation in towns and villages there would be in the Punjab for every 1000 inhabitants 4404 admissions during the year or 12 each day, every one of the patients remaining on an days sick. These figures average 18.3 however give no idea of the sickness prevailing in a population of 238 millions. During the eight years 1908-15, 7.38 millions people on an average died annually in British India and hence taking the army ratio as our standard we have 36 millions who were certaining and and and anitary surroundings in barracks or lines each year. Can nothing he generated by Military engineers; they receive this appalling sickness to eradicate the german hourishing engineers; they receive this appalling sickness to mitigate the ravages on drill or on guard duties; they of malaria, or to provide medical treatment

for the vast majority of the unfortunate

people who fall sick?

8. "Health is the statesman's first duty" said Lord Beaconsfield. The blessings of Peace and of safety from invasion are invaluable; good laws and the rigorous administration of justice do conduce to the greater security of life and property; trade and industry, helped by good roads and other means of communication—Post Office, Telegraphs, Railways, Steamers, etc., may lead to the economic betterment of certain classes, but in the eyes of all thoughtful persons the value of these gilts is greatly diminished if not counterbalanced and nullified, when these are coupled with to have constant fear of disease, with greater sickness with higher mortality, with lower vitality and lower vitalit with higher mortality, with lower vitality and with a decreasing duration of life.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

How to Bring on the Golden Age.

In reviewing Mr. F. S. Marvin's book "The Century of Hope" in the Indian Review, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar says, in part:

GOLDEN AGE IS IN FUTURE, NOT IN PAST.

Further, all the activities and movements of the nineteenth century, which were directed to the realisation of the humanitarian ideals of the eighteenth by raising the outlook and uplifting the status of the masses and promoting the flow of one life among them and the higher elasses, rested their "golden age" in the future, not in the past. It is a commonplace that we cannot break with the past. That commonplace has often proved a hindrance to progress, especially in India. The conflict between the past on the one hand and the present and future on the other is always with us; and progress is realised by a reconciliation between the two. The reconciliation, however, can be effected only by choosing the best of the past and building the future on so much of it as is righteous and as such sanatana as our Rishis call it, that is to say, ancient, and ever abiding as the enduring principle both of individual and of national life.

He asks:

Is the nineteenth century, which Mr. Marvin holds out for the West as "the Century of

Hope", equally so for India?

The good and bad of that century have no doubt affected India. But a hundred years of progress are too short a period for a vast and ancient country such as India to afford a guarantee that the coming years will be there-fore necessarily a continuity of that progress

Making use of and referring to the catching appellation of protestant movements within the pale of Hinduism coincid kanello of the fast 20 centuries, first, been in practice of a passive character.

The roots of all these protestant movement regative of Hinduism from the Upanishads to Buddhisa from Buddhism to Bhakti lay in the Vedas, w m, it cause the central point of the Vedas rested and acq their gospel of Gita, the law of righteousness, and oligation first, it is the seed of that gospel that fructibe inse. It according to the Upanishads, as righteousnes Hence " meaning to be right with God by contemplated Hunter next, according to Buddhism, as right conda laching by self-restraint and service of humanity, as assive lastly, according to the Bhakti school, as a nord Ah life lived by faith in and love of God and the bakti s service of man. This is "the living past" white wor has moved India for twenty centuries. It is terr living in the present of India with the ideal givene progress as humanity because, in the midst might much that darkens India's civilisation dome to when the ideal givene progress as humanity because, in the midst might be much that darkens India's civilisation dome to the india's the ideal given by the india's civilisation dome to the ideal given by th the last 20 centuries, the fact stands to it Mara signal credit that the labour of those centuries the fa has resulted in the gospel of Ahimsa para plain dharmah—abstention from injury to others the highest religion or duty, and in the gost lood to of peace as the creed of creeds.

DEFECTS OF INDIA'S PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT

It is true that this ideal, which from living past has been struggling across these centuries to centuries to move India's life up to now, failed to realize to failed to realise itself actively in several departments of that 1:5 ments of that life. For one thing, the line in the name of the in the name of the gospel of Ahimsa, retired to be cruel to and live to be cruel to and killing the bug or the sept but does not see the but does not see the cruelty of infant marie enforced widows enforced widowhood, the rigid exclusiveness, and so forth caste, and so forth; he tamely submits despots in political despots in politics and priesteraft in religion inseparate moves listless in face of autocracy, whether the state or society the state or society.

Why has not the humanitarian ideal apel of ferti India fructified?

Briefly, the humanitarian ideal of India to fructified especialistical confidence of the confidence of

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Railways, economic the oyes of the oyes of these set the second and the control of the control o these gilts and unmade men, nations, kingdoms, and terbalanced stitutions. It is a great thing for a people stitution their ideal put into the tabloid of a upled with where their ideal put into the tabloid of a er sickness atching phrase. The word indeed must be vitality and and flesh or else it withers. But before it is ade flesh it must be conceived in the womb society. So a great idea condensed into catching phrase rouses better than anything the emotions of the ideal in the average and appeals to him most effectively as te 'tremendous dialectic" or audacious logic this unsophisticated mind and heart. It was nod, therefore, that India's ideal of humanity ras phrased in a formula which has become a busehold word. But, unfortunately it was so brased as to give the ideal the impress of a movement reative character and tend to make it a Buddhin assive virtue. When an ideal takes a passive e Vedas, wim, it loses half its vigour. Under its influence as rested an acquire the habit of temporising with its at fructible use. It makes us Hamlets, not Hampdens. ighteousna Ince "the mild Hindu", of whom Sir William ntemplated Inster wrote as "the product of Buddhistic ght condor tachings incorporated into Hinduism." This manity, at assive spirit of humanity signified by the chool, 25.1 ford Ahimsa was apparently perceived by the God and the Maratha saint Inaneshvara who is regarded tands to have Maratha saint Jnaneshvara who is regarded ose centure as the father of Maratha nationality, distinctly usa parat main that Ahimsa means not merely abstainfrom injury to others but actively doing the good to and uplifting the low, the ignorant, weak, the sinful, the fallen, and the despised.

No ORGANIC UNION OF PEOPLE.

This Bhakti movement, however, lasted for short a time—for only 60 years—to repair defect. And the habit of temporising with eideal which was its necessary result led to addity; that timidity led in its turn to a toiling the intellectual classes and nt marne toiling masses. As pointed out by Dr. Clusivenes and Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, Ranic was decause there was no submin religion ganic union between its priesthood and laity, whether the secular life of the people to make the people of humanity of the people to make the jan ideal of humanity flow as one stream boldly to hottom. Was replaced by Brahmanism, the mischief

ignorant people." It was not the philosopher and the prophet raising the average man to his level but rather going down to the level of the latter and lowering his ideal to put them in good humour. We see the tradition and trace of it in the gospel of those who now either oppose political and social reform or are indifferent to it. They say: "We must take the people with us." Instead of taking the people with them, they allow the people to guide them. The humanitarian ideal, which is the inherent condition of progress, is a spiritual ideal, because society as a union of men is a spiritual cohesion; i.e., a union of their spirit materialised in their organisations and institutions. And the first condition of a spiritual cohesion is the spirit of fearlessness in the pursuit of an ideal. That is why the Bhagavad Gita places abhayam, i. e., fearlessness, as the first of the virtues of a commonwealth. Hence Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar was right when in 1805, in explaining why India's progressive movement with its ideal of humanity from the time of the Upanishads down to the years of the Bhakti period had failed to fructify as it deserved, pointed out that it was marred by "the want of that dashing and fearless spirit which carries out the convictions of the heart in spite of external resistance."

Sir Narayan concludes by pointing out that the Kaliyuga is India's Golden Age of hope.

THE KALIYUGA IS INDIA'S GOLDEN AGE OF HOPE.

He might have added that it failed also because for centuries the philosophers and thinkers of India have let the masses to rest the Golden Age in the past, not in the future, by constantly dinning into their ears the doctrine that this age as the age of Kali is the age of sin, decay, and corruption. That false auto-suggestion has weakened the national mind by robbing it of all hope. It is the poets and saints of the Bhakti school who protested against that libel on the Kaliyug and deified it as the Age of Hope. In their religious teachings we see the ideal of humanity inherent in progress emphasised as it had not been before in India as the ideal towards which the Kaliyug more than the ages which preceded it was marching with its watchwords of humanity and progress and all as equals before God and

To India, therefore, that century may be described as "the Century of Hope", provided we build our future on the aspirations of the present by improving on the Vedic ideal of righteousness developed into the Bhakti ideal Was replaced by Brahmanism, the mischief or manual one worse. The great Shankaracharya says gress. But for that of his works that he has to compromise practise the virtue of fearlessness emphasism, as he really discerns de-oth Polein Romannian Curuley thron Critical and the principle of national discerns de-oth Polein Romannian through the really discerns de-oth Polein Romannian through the real through through the real through the real through the real through the real through through the real through through the real through the real through through the real through the real through the real through through the real through the real through through the real through the real through through through the real through the real through through through the real through the real through through the real through through the real through through the real through through the real through the real through through the real through through the real through through through the real through through the real through t practise the virtue of fearlessness emphasised

growth. The virtue of the democratic spirit of the Bhakti school carried into and spiritualising our political, social, and economic, in fact, all the sides and strata of our national life is our hope for the future.

The Method of the Indian Artist.

In the February issue of the Arya, Mr. Archer's attack on Indian Art has been criticised, and we think his position has been successfully assailed. The Arya thus characterises the method of the Indian Artist :-

A seeing in the self accordingly becomes the characteristic method of the Indian artist and it is directly enjoined on him by the canon. He has to see first in his spiritual being the truth of the thing he must express and to create its form in his intuitive mind; he is not bound to look out first on outward life and Nature for his model, his authority, his rule, his teacher or his fountain of suggestions. Why should he when it is something quite inward he has to bring out into expression? It is not an idea in the intellect, a mental imagination, an outward emotion on which he has to depend for his stimulants, but an idea, image, emotion of the spirit, and the mental equivalents are subor-dinate things for help in the transmission and give only a part of the colouring and the shape. A material form, colour, line and design are his physical means of the expression, but in using them he is not bound to an imitation of Nature, but has to make the form and all else significant of his vision, and if that can only be done or can best be done by some modification, some pose, some touch or symbolic variation which is not found in physical Nature, he is at perfect liberty to use it, since truth to his vision, the unity of the thing he is seeing and expressing is his only business. The line, colour and the rest are not his first, but his last preoccupation, because they have to carry on them a world of things which have already taken spiritual form in his mind. He has not for instance to recreate for us the human face and body of the Buddha or some one passion or incident of his life, but to reveal the calm of Nirvana through a figure of the Buddha, and every detail and accessory must be turned into a means or an aid of his purpose. And even when it is some human passion or incident he has to portray, it is not usually that alone, but also or more something else in the soul to which it points or from which it starts or some power behind the action that has to enter into the spirit of his design and is often really the main thing. And through the eye that looks on his work he has to appeal not merely to an excitement of the outward soul, but to the inner self, antaratman forth and he suddenly laughs out, or may well say that beyond other period of the outward forth and he suddenly laughs out, or may well say that beyond other period of the country of the coun

tion of the aesthetic instinct necessary to artistic appreciation there is a spiritual insigni or culture needed if we are to enter into the whole meaning of Indian artistic creation otherwise we get only at the surface external things or at the most at things only just below of his r things of at the surface. It is an intuitive and spiritual ar and must be seen with the intuitive and spiritual eye.

Children's Right.

To the Hindustan Review for January Dr. Arthur R. S. Roy, Ph. D., has contributed an article of sterling merit or "Children's Right". The whole article and it is a short one-deserves to ke quoted, but we have space only for aki paragraphs.

The savage thinks he has a perfect right in kill his child. To-day the law in civilised com tries hangs the parent who kills his offspring There are still parents, who think that they punish and thrash their children as they li Most parents think so. In this matter, they are only a little better than savages. In theory, have progressed somewhat. To-day, there is Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Childre but they cannot do much because the chil beaters are mostly cowards. They beat the poor, helpless, innocent beings in the privacy their homes, where outsiders cannot see the They do not dare to beat their children in open. They are afraid of people calling the "brutal". But they do not hesitate to politi the sweetness of their homes by the cry of pu and fear that their ill-treatment forces from lips of the weak and helpless entrusted to the care.

"To prevent mischief," these parents say excuse, to justify their cruelty. It is a slar the parents' intelligence if the child falls mischief mischief. It merely proves, that the parents not possess sufficient sense to provide the with diversion enough to occupy its mind mischievous child proves the brightness of own mind and the fertility of his imaginate and at the and at the same time the stupidity of parents, who cannot employ the activity of budding mind budding mind.

Why are children thrashed!

The child asks too many questions, parents cannot answer. They get angry and child is threshold. It is only and Ma child is thrashed for disturbing. His grow can be confession of the parents' ignorance.

muscles twitch, his active mind is hord inoccupation, his youthful exuberance forth and he sudd forth and he suddenly laughs out, or make really punished for his parents' stupidity

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Achild refuses to obey. He is immediately hrashed. Any fool, any savage can thrash a did into obedience in ten minutes; but it takes acterer and intelligent man hours to compel a did to do his bidding, by showing him the folly y just below of his refusal and the wisdom of his obedience.

When a full grown man obstinately refuses to something; he is either admired for being a determined man of high spirit, possessing a grong will; or his friends reason with him for bours and days. But the child is thrashed. The dild also has rights, as much and as many as

Those rights are recognised when the children gow older-not because the parents think them wiser; but because the children are strong mough to demand due respect to their rights. hother words parents beat their children only ves to k solong as they can do it with impunity—in y for a few short they are mere bullies.

> The evil results of the brutality of parents have not been exaggerated by the writer in the least.

> The brutality of parents break the spirit of dildren, who grow up to be insignificant, oinging persons, without initiative, without

> The cruelty and injustice of parents produce a race of men, who cannot think of right except in the terms of might. Thus ignorant, bullying parents impede the march of civilisation and bwer the spirit and moral standard of human-

Sugar from the Palmyra Palm.

In the Agricultural Journal of India Mr. Manmathanath Ghose, M.A., draws attento "A Neglected Source of Sugar in Bihar." Says he:

Bengal has a considerable industry in datealm sugar, but no great attention seems to are been paid to the palmyra palm as a gar-producer. Nor has it received any recognibon in Bihar where the richly saccharine juices which by this tree are converted into toddy which supplies a cheap intoxicating drink for the low class people. The tree flourishes fairly indiciously it can supply a large part of the low consumed by the people. Not even 10 Mgar consumed by the people. Not even 10 that, er cent. of the trees are tapped, so that, estions, it the allowing the trees are tapped, so that, ngry and le commercial possibility exists, and in April the isometric tis obtained and May when the flow of the juice is most the product of the solution of the solut His good be little doubt that the manufacture Sugar Will pay. In the Madras Presidency large quantities of sugar are annually produced from this source and though its commercial access is accurated that the climatic conditions of Madras during the juice-yielding season, it is considered worth while to study the question

We learn from the Encyclopaedia Britannica that by means of scientific cultivation beet has been made in Germany to yield 12.79 per cent. of its weight of sugar, whereas originally it yielded only from 4 to 6 per cent. Mr. Ghose says of the composition of the palmyra palm juice, that "the percentage of sucrose, average 12.5 per cent. [ranging from 12.05 to 15.76 per cent.], is remarkably constant throughout the season." So that palmyra palm sugar may be rightly said to have a good future. Mr. Ghose gives a detailed description of the process of tapping, flow of the juice, collection of the juice, composition of the juice, and of the making of gur and refined sugar.

Mr. C. F. Andrews on Swami Dayananda Saraswati.

The Vedic Magazine for February contains an appreciation of Swami Dayananda Saraswati's life and work by Mr. C. F. Andrews. The spirit in which he writes is made clear in the introductory paragraph.

I consider that this request which has been made to me, who am a Christian, to write my impressions of the great Rishi, Swami Dayananda Saraswati, is due to the fact that we are coming more and more to recognise in India that the pure religious heart of man is united, even while sects and creeds still keep man far asunder. It is in that spirit of unity that I write what I am going to say. I wish to speak only of those things that unite. I wish to show how I, who am a Christain, can truly love and revere Swami Dayananda Saraswati, who was a Hindu.

He then goes on to say:

I have always put in the first place, among the things that I reverence in Swami Dayananda's character, his manly adherence to the truth as it came home to his own conscience. This is seen in his early boyhood when he refused any longer to believe in idolatry when once he had seen the way in which the food offered to the idol was consumed by the mice in the temple.

The other traits in the character of the Swami mentioned by Mr. Andrews are his manly courage, his intense and patriotism, and his reforming zeal.

this source and though its commercial leave things alone, in a selfish nope to attain the selfish is assured there, the climatic conditions rule from the selfish nope to attain the selfish selfish nope to attain the selfish nope to attai

reform. Starting from religious reform, he went on from religious reform to social reform.

Mr. Andrews conveys a warning to the members of the Arya Samaj in the following

paragraph:

There appears to me to be a danger, in these perilous days of hurry and change on the one hand, and of rapid money-making and worldly success on the other, that the peace and calm and joy which comes from religious meditation may be neglected and lost sight of in the stress of worldly activity. I would be the last to underestimate the need of action. An active life is good for a man and it is only by action that many wrongs can be righted. But, side by side with action (which has a special attraction to the Punjabis) I would wish to see a deeper religious spirit of peace and inward joy and meditation and devotion to God. To many in the Punjab this inner life of the soul is far more difficult than the active life of the body. But the just Rishi, Swami Dayananda Saraswati, who founded the Arya Samaj combined both these sides of character in his own person. He spent years in solitary meditation: he spent years in active work for the welfare of mankind. He did not neglect either the one, or the other. And I would earnestly wish that his followers might follow him in this.

Truth and Beauty.

Mr. Walter Baylis, M.A., writes in East and West:

"Beauty is truth, truth is beauty,"-the words with which Keats sums up the lesson of his immortal Grecian Urn-may seem to many to be merely the paradox of a poet. There is no doubt, however, that Keats deliberately held that view, as is shown by his correspondence, in which he repeats his conviction. "What the imagination seizes as Beauty must be Truth, whether it existed before or not." It is no less certain that from a philosphical point of view his opinion can be amply justified.

He draws a distinction between facts and truth.

At first sight, indeed, to affirm that whatever is true is beautiful, seems to be a flagrant contradiction. In real life there are so many ugly facts; and facts are commonly considered to be the equivalent of truth. Most of us live almost wholly in the concrete and for us the stern brutal "facts" are the most important. The malady of the age, so far as western nations are concerned, is that it is too exclusively active and very little interested in contemplation

London or New York would have been looked upon as a horrible nightmare by an antique or medieval man. One sympathises with Landor's cry, "How much time we waste in business!"

Some, indeed, deliberately scout the cultiva. tion of the imagination as a useless and even dangerous pursuit. Like Dickens's famous Mr. Gradgrind, in "Hard Times", they want nothing but "facts". Gradgrind, indeed, is still active in Britain, and has been heard to denounce the reading even of Dickens's own works. "What is the use," he asks, "of a lot of stories which are not true?"

Philosophers and poets, on the other hand, hold that merely individual facts, which may be quite trivial or unpleasant, have not the significance of truth. In order to attain the dignity of Truth, facts must be generalised abstracted, in short changed into ideas. Schiller tells us in one of his poems that the really great immortal things are those which have never actually happened: they are the abstraction, in forms of beauty, of many individual expen-

The life of the imagination transcends the actual life of the world, and has a truth of its

Ship-building Industry for Indians.

Prof. Gilbert Slater says of a ship-building industry for Indians, in the Young Men of India:

Industrial development must include develop ment in the three fields of Agriculture, Manufacture, and Transport. Land transport is in India peculiarly a matter for Government, which in one form or other is almost entirely responsible for both roads and railways. But the sea lies open to private enterprise. I am there fore not surprised that Indian industrial ambitions are continually pointing towards the creation of a great Indian ship-building industry and the establishment of Indian steamship lines But on Allander war lines. But on the whole I fear I must wan you against hastily putting money into contract panies for the panies for this purpose at present. Established lines have an awkward habit of resenting the coming of a new competitor, and, if that new competitor, and, if that new competitor, and, if the new competitor, and the competitor to th comer is not very strong, of endeavouring to crush it out of existence. The general ideal would like to a series to the desirement of the would like to suggest to you here is the desir ability of hard ability of building on an existing foundation. The building of sailing-ships is an industry which has never coordinated and such ships W what I which has never ceased in India, and such ships make reasonable ndian inc make reasonably profitable trips from Indian port to another, and even go further afield. Would be a first affective to another and even go for the affective trips affective to another and even go for the affective trips affective trips and even go for the affective trips affective tri afield. Would not the next step in development be the building of next step in development be the building of somewhat bigger petrol equipped with and the next step in developing ships templation or meditation is regarded by most case of time. Probably big porming of the building of somewhat bigger surface the period of us as a waste of time. Probably big pomping or to get somewhat bigger surface the building of somewhat bigger

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rative reliability of Indian winds affords to sling-ships pure and simple? Such a developwould not excite the jealousy of the British Steam Navigation Company; and if it rete sufficiently successful might serve for a resh starting-point later on.

The Tariff Question.

On the tariff question he writes in the gme journal:

A good many people have complained to me hat in my two previous lectures I said nothing bout the tariff question, and that, they con-ier, is the very root of the matter of Indian dustrial development. Now rather more than free years ago, when I had newly arrived in ladras, I spoke upon this subject. I then appeared the opinion that, as Indians appeared be so unanimous in desiring a protective duty mcotton goods, this ought to be conceded, with because the refusal makes it appear as bough Lancashire interests weighed more with be Secretary of the State than Indian wishes, ad also because as long as Indians believed hat the tariff was the one thing necessary they rere not likely to face the real problem until bey were allowed to try their remedy. Since then the Government of India has moved, in my pinion quite rightly, in that direction; and we are now had, for some time, a protective mport tax of 71/2 per cent. ad valorem on all ported cotton goods. The real effect of this be seen later. Hitherto a 71/2 per cent. tax as been a small matter compared with the ficulties of manufacture and transport created the war, and still persisting since its close. am bound, however, to confess that the sponse of the Indian manufacturer to the portunities created for him by the difficulty securing foreign goods, and to the need for creased production of Indian goods, has been mewhat disappointing.

Nevertheless a tax upon imported cotton oth appears to me to have merits of another daracter. Since the Indian handloom weaver the Indian mills supply the cheapest and drsest clothes used in India, a tax Ported cloth is a tax on those who are able to pay. It is tolerably well graduaccording to income, whereas an incomeproper is very unsatisfactory in India in whether is very unsatisfactory in ascertainwhat people's incomes are.

He also points out a probable menace to dian industrial enterprise arising out of the

The question will have to be determined hether the small beginnings of a Protective the small beginnings or a riotal be already established in India shall be ther days of the days of the small beginnings or a riotal be

of that? In my opinion, simply that foreign capitalists will come into India and set up their factories here. The share of Indian firms in the industrial activities carried on in India would, I think, be reduced instead of increased. How are you going to deal with that difficulty? Obviously it can only be met by developing the capacities of the Indian people themselves.

So, therefore, stating the matter as seen from the broadest point of view, the problem of Indian industrial development is two-fold; it is the problem of conserving and developing the natural resources of the country; and then of conserving and developing its human resources. Let us take the former first.

Are we conserving the natural resources of the country? Are we not rather allowing some of the most important of them to be destroyed recklessly?

Conservation of Forests.

As an instance Prof. Slater speaks of India's forests.

India was at one time, there can be little doubt, almost entirely covered by forest. By slow degrees the greater part of the country has been cleared and brought under cultivation. That is good, up to a certain point. It is calculated that in a temperate climate like that of France or Germany three quarters of the area may properly be cleared, but one quarter should be kept forested. In a tropical country like India the need of forest is probably greater, especially on hill and mountain slopes where the soil is washed away by the heavy rains wherever unprotected by tree roots. But India, leaving out Burma, has only 12 per cent. of its area under forest. Further, much that is called forest, and which was forest once, is now treeless waste, producing nothing but rocks, prickly pear, euphorbia, land ruined and devastated

beyond hope of recovery.

I think that one of the most discouraging features of Indian life is the manner in which this question is handled by the speakers and writers who have taken on themselves the responsibility of guiding and expressing Indian opinion. Never does one find a speech delivered in the Legislative Council, or an article in the Indian Press, urging upon Government more effective conservation of the forests. It is the officials of the Forest Department alone who are struggling to conserve this most valuable heritage of the Indian people, and they have every man's hand against them. The peasant of neighbouring villages claims a fancied right to pasture his cattle on forests which by right belong just as much to villages at a greater distance. Forest is land bearing a growing crop of trees, just as much already established in India shall be entitled to, and just as much required to be greatly increased. What will be the effect cholam, For one village to turn cattle—and still worse goats-into a forest which ought to serve many villages as a source of timber and fuel, is like one ryot in a village turning cattle to graze over the growing corn crops of the whole village. For a very small immediate profit to a few people the permanent interests of a whole community are sacrificed.

India must learn to be less tender of individual interests, more resolved to vindicate the general rights of the community. Her economic

salvation depends upon it.

Education Too Bookish.

A school-boy in Allahabad was once asked to define a river and he succeeded in doing so. But when he was asked whether he had seen a river, his face wore a blank expression, though he was an inhabitant of the city which stands on the banks of the Ganges and the Jumna. Prof. Slater writes of a similar experience in England.

Yesterday I happened to look into a book about my native county of Devonshire by the well known novelist, Mr. Baring Gould. He described how he went into a school nestling below the hills of Dartmoor with His Majesty's Inspector. First the Inspector asked the children questions. He asked them to name the rivers of Siberia and they did. He asked them to name the highest mountains of Africa and they did. He asked them to give the height of the highest mountain of Africa, and they did. And the Inspector was pleased. Then Mr. Baring Gould asked questions. He asked them to give the name of the river which flowed through their village, and they could not. He asked them to give the name of the hill that overhung the valley, and they could not. He asked them how high the hill was, and they did not know. He asked the name of a common wild flower he had picked in the lane, and no one knew it. "This," he cried, "is the rubbish which we inflict on the children and call education." Is there nothing of that unreal unimaginative bookish quality in Indian education?

The Right Use of Industries.

Prof. Slater's observations on the right use of industries are very valuable.

India might hum from end to end with the machinery of cotton mills and woolen mills and silk mills. Her stores of coal and iron might be exploited to the utmost, her ports might be crowded with ships of her own building, carrying her manufactures all over the world, and yet the average Indian might be no better and

depends on the use which is made of it. The Western world has been too absorbed in its pursuit of industrial efficiency and material power, too little careful about the application of such power to the best and highest uses; and it has received a terrible lesson. India needs to put more effort, more intelligence, and more conscientiousness into industry. But India must also realise the importance of securing the just distribution of the fruits of industry, and of wise use of economic power to promote health, happiness, intellectual culture, and spiritual advance.

Music as a Factor in Education.

In an article on "Music as a Factorin Education" by Mr. K. John in the Educational Review of Madras, it is said:

Music is a science as well as an art. As science it teaches us the theoretical principles, the laws that govern the composition of melody and harmony. As an art it makes us acquaint ourselves with playing on musical instruments. In learning music, our mental faculties develop: reading music from a book requires practice; rapid thinking and prompt expression and the effort required for the correctness of playing a piece of music, necessitates the use of the powers of judgment and discretion no less than concentration of mind. Further, in singing clearness and distinctness of articulation are attained. Children do not articulate fully. But singing gives the right way of articulation Boys or girls who feel shy to sing alone have an excellent opportunity to get rid of their shyness by combining their voices in a chorus, and gradually their shyness will wear out, and the will come to see singing a great pleasure to themselves as well as to others.

In music, the ear, the eye, and the voice play the prominent part. By the training of the ear, a boy or girl acquires the power of discrimination of the discrimination of the power o discriminating the harsh from the pleasant, the harmonious from the dissonant. By the training of the eye, the pupil acquires the rapidity reading two or more bars before he proceeds to play on any musical instrument. By the training of the voice, the pupil is enabled to articulate properly and to sing audibly and clearly. This will ultimately train him to sing softly and model.

softly and melodiously.

Music contributes to physical well-being

By pressing the pedals of the harmonium the fingers calf muscles of the leg get exercise. The fingers inking; get nimble and drilled by constant play on the piano. In the violin the wrist and the whole of the right hand are always in play. In playing on a trumpet or clarify of Indian melan definition. on a trumpet or clarion, or Indian melan exercise is given to development gives economic power. Economic in the second power is neither good norcevil Pinhitigenain. Shruku Karing lands are strengthened resulting in a good larger to the second larger are strengthened resulting in a good larger than the second larger and a trumpet or clarion, or Indian meaning to our hands, and above all in vocal music the power is neither good norcevil Pinhitigenain. Shruku karing larger are strengthened resulting in a good larger than the second larger th stellect in

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Music necessarily imparts moral education orided it is rightly cultivated. The tastes of who has heard nothing but the comic ougs and the ugly ribaldries of the drama and gin-shop are not likely to be refined. usic is the expression of deep feelings. It is expression of ideas in soft and soothing tody. There is a grandeur in its harmony and solemnness that thrills the deepest chords of man heart. Music awakens love, joy, anger, atred, repentance, pity, sorrow, and what not. Music is a balm to the wounded mind. It is stimulus to the dull and inactive spirits of man nature. Its refining influence on the baracter of man is invaluable and enduring. omusic we owe intense patriotism and moral

The Heart of Education.

Sir M. E. Sadler's articles on "Education England" in Indian Education are always istructive reading. The one contributed to le January number is particularly thoughtful informing. In it he asks: Is Education o serve a spiritual purpose or to be domiated by the desire of increasing material words? This is the question which challenges dern civilisation." The writer then devibes different theories of the aims of educa-

Simplest to state as a doctrine is the view at education aims at enlightenment. This Conduct of the Understanding. "The writes, "is not to the the young perfect in any one of the but so to open and dispose their minds may best make them capable of any, when shall apply themselves to it. If men are a long time accustomed only to one sort method of thought, their minds grow stiff it and do not readily turn to another. It is, refore, to give them this freedom that I think should be made to look into all sorts of weedge and exercise their understandings in wide a variety and stock of knowledge. But do not propose it as a variety and stock of nium sowledge but as a variety and freedom y on the mind, not as an enlargement of its playing sessions." lowledge but as a variety and freedom of

The same idea was in Huxley's mind when defined a lidea was in Huxley's mind when defined education as, "the instruction of the delect in the laws of Nature." "Under the of the laws of Nature. Include not merely sand to the laws of Nature I include not merely

and the fashioning of the affections and of the will into an earnest and living desire to move in harmony with those laws." "That man, I think, has had a liberal education who has been so trained in youth that his body is the ready servant of his will and does with ease and pleasure all the work that, as a mechanism, it is capable of; whose intellect is a clear, cold, logic engine with all its parts of equal strength and in smooth working order; ready, like a steam engine, to be turned to any kind of work and spin the gossamers as well as forge the anchors of the mind; whose mind is stored with a knowledge of the great and fundamental truths of Nature and of the laws of her operations; one who, no stunted ascetic, is full of life and fire, but whose passions are trained to come to heel by a vigorous will, the servant of a tender conscience; who has learned to love all beauty, whether of nature or of art, to hate vileness, and to respect others as himself. Such an one, and no other I conceive, has had a liberal education; for he is, as completely as a man can be, in harmony with Nature. He will make the best of her and she of him. They will get on together rarely; she as his everbeneficent mother; he as her mouth-piece, her conscious self, her minister and interpreter."

He then turns to a very different theory of education, which "has been carried by Germany to the furthest point yet reached of logical completeness. It holds that by means of education a whole people should be brought to conform with an ideal of national effort and duty." "The world has good reason to rue the success of the German experiment."

Lastly, Sir Michael turns to "a third and far deeper conception of the aims of education. It is the idea of initiation, of admitting the individual's mind and soul to something transcendent, over-ruling and illuminative. Summing up and commenting on theories, Sir Michael says:

We are now in a position to review these three doctrines as to the aim of education—the doctrine that its fundamental purpose is enlightenment, the doctrine that its fundamental purpose is, by means of suggestion, to secure conformity to an ideal, and the doctrine that its fundamental purpose is initiation. I submit that each doctrine has a measure of truth, but that the two first are rightly to be considered as subsidiary to the third. Enlightenment in any narrowly intellectual sense of the word is inadequate, because knowledge, apart from conscience, is in itself unable to determine conduct, and conduct is the test of education. To induce acceptance of a prescribed ideal is an inadequate statement of educational aims, because the ideal prescribed of the laws of Nature I include not merely may be mischievous of evil, and their forces but med and their forces but med and their paragis Gurukul kahacatikanidis Handwadeliberate choice, if need may be mischievous or evil, and the final test

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be, in defiance of authority, of the most choiceworthy end, But enlightenment and guidance through suggestion are both incidentally valuable in so far as they prepare for the initiation of mind and heart into the mysteries of life and duty. It is this initiation, however, which is the highest purpose and achievement of education and the consummate boon which it can confer. It is this, and this alone, which gives the power of revaluation. It is through the union of the individual mind with the central and eternal power of Truth and Beauty that new forces flow into life and break down the obstacles to spiritual and mental growth.

Such initiation may be achieved by means which are apparently simple, but really profound. Its consequences can be soon, have actually at all times been witnessed, in the case of quite simple and, in one sense of the word, uncultured people. The supreme benefit which education can bestow comes from a right attitude of mind and heart to the truths which are waiting to be seen and received. Its reception is followed by the acceptance of a way of life. Its criterion is peace of mind. It manifests itself in conduct, in human relationships, in the spirit of service and self-surrender, in courageous protest against what is at enmity with the

India and Indians in "World-Culture."

The section devoted to the "World of Culture" is a commendable addition to the features of the Collegian. We compile a few items from it relating to India and Indians.

Indian Art in America.

During the winter of 1918-19 Mr. Rahamin, the artist of Poona, was all but lionized in the art-circles of New York. There were two exhibitions of his water-colors, one of which was held at the Knoedler Galleries. Some of these have been reproduced in the monthly magazine, Asia, for March 1919. He delivered also a lecture at Columbia University on the paintings at Ajanta. Lectures on Hindu music with song-illustrations were offered before several women's clubs by Mrs. Fyzee Rahamin, who is the author of a book on Indian Music. Last spring the Shakoontala (in English) was staged by the Greenwich Village Theatre of New York. It drew large audiences. The Indian Section of the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston is being re-organized under the directions of A. K. Coomaraswamy as Keeper. He has lectured also at the New York Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts.

American Scholarship in Indology.

Among the recent articles of the American Oriental Society's Journal Indian antiquarians will be interested in W. N. Brown's monograph on the Panchatantra (Feb. 1919) and W. E. Clark's on "Sakadvipa and Svetadvipa" (Oct. 1919). Both are hibliographical masternieses

Research in Philosophy.

H. HALDAR's article on the "Absolute and Rinite H. HALDAR'S article Review for July 1918 is one Self" in the Philosophical Review for July 1918 is one of the very few contributions of Indian intellect to modern philosophical investigations. It is a matter of regret that in India students of philosophy should be far behind their comrades in the fields of positive science whose original researches in mathematics physics, and chemistry are reported quite often in the leading scientific periodicals of the world. We shall be glad to see S. K. Maitra's thesis on The New Romantic Movement in Contemporary Philosophy in

Asia in American Universities and Academies.

AMERICA is taking an academic interest in the methods and problems of Oriental culture. During the last three years B. K. Sarkar was invited to give lectures on the politics and civilization of Egypt, Persa India, China and Japan at the State Universities of California and Iowa, Western Reserve University, University of Pittsburg, Clark and Columbia Universities and Amherst College. The Journals of American learned societies also have published about a dozen articles from his pen. By favourable comments on Mr. Sarkar's thesis in his book on Hinds Achievements in Exact Science the scientific magazina like the Journal of American Chemical Society, Edit cational Review, Pedagogical Seminary and America Journal of Sociology have brought the material attainments of Orientals to the notice of Occidental scholars.

Islam and the Far East.

THE political institutions of Islam have been render ed accessible to students of comparative politics by the publication of N. P. Aghnides' Mohammeds Theories of Finance (N. Y. 1916). Students of Hindu material statements of the students of the statements of the Hindu necti-shastras will find bibliographical material on the Moslem theory of kingship in the Encyclopelle of Religion and Ethics (ed. by Hastings), Vol. VII.

Moslem Influence on Dante.

ISLAMIC elements in the Divine Comedy have been putely and sending minutely analyzed by Professor Asin of Madrid La Escatologia Mussulmana en la Divina Comedia.

A Tibetan Treatise on Hindu Painting.

ics in the Nor many Sanskrit books on art have been render ed accessible in modern languages. The publicate (Leipzig 1913) of Das Chitralakshana in the Darmente der Indischen Kunst Series of the Bayana Academy has therefore here for a considerable help. own as su useful f Academy has therefore been of considerable help the annu orientalists in understanding the theoretical ideas to the Hindu shilpa-shastra in regard to the lakely to the (marks or criteria) of a chitra (painting). who have cotton where the investigating the expansion of India to the lakely to the property to the property than the country to the lakely been investigating the expansion of India the This sea medieval times; since the Tibetan treatise (in the Tibetan treatis translation from the Sanskrit original which seems is physical duction and his notes. "Sakadvipa and Svetadvipa" (Oct. 1919). Both are pecially as he is one of those very few scholars to be be believed a learner of the distribution of the distribution

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shology. Many researchers in Bombay and can now read German with ease. Steps should taken therefore by some Research Society to bring ran English translation of this extremely useful a matter of Royal 8vo (excluding the Tibetan text). Permission of real which, en passant, covers only about 140 pages y should be Royal 8vo (excluding the Tibetan text). Permission the secured by corresponding with the author at Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.

andu Political Philosophy in South America.

THE neeti-shastras of ancient India are attracting ention among the scholars of the republics of South gerica. The Revista Argentina de Ciencias Politinof Buenos Aires has in its issue of April 1919 given and thort summary in Spanish of B. K. Sarkar's article "Hindu Political Philosophy" that appeared in the Mitical Science Quarterly (Columbia University, Y.) for Dec. 1918. The Argentinan reviewer is the During Technology. re. During sidently interested in "city states", oriental and midental.

Comparative Religion.

THE Open Court (Chicago) for November 1919 ints an article on "Confucianism, Buddhism and lished about "rstianity" by Benoy Kumar Sarkar. The paper

analyzes Christlore in history and uses it as a peg on which to hang the discussion of three world-religions in their psychological relations. Mr. Sarkar is the author of Chinese Religion Through Hindu Eyes (Shanghai and Tokyo 1916).

Women Poets of India.

POETRY lovers of America have been treated to several instalments of Bengali verse through the columns of the New York literary monthly, the Bookman (1917). Three women poets have thereby been introduced in its pages. The article gave translations introduced in its pages. The article gave translations and appreciative estimates of Kamini Roy, Mankumari Devi and Anangamohini Devi.

Pali Scholarship at Harvard.

BUDDHA-GHOSHA'S Papanchasudani, commentary on the Majjhima-Nikaya (the second book of the Sutta Pitaka) is being edited at Harvard University. The mss. are in Sinhalese characters. Mr. Dharmananda Kosambi, late of the National Council of Education, Bengal, and of Fergusson College, Poona, is working on the material together with James H. Woods, professor of philosophy. The work is likely to take four years and will be published by the Pali Text Society of Great Britain.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Japan's Discovery of a New Fibre.

The Japanese take cotton from India to ical material pan and, manufacturing cotton goods there, mg them to India and sell them at a lower than are demanded for Indian and tish cotton goods. Such is their enterprise. comes the news, through the pages of Japan Magazine, that

Japan has discovered a new fibre to mix with which promises to cause a revolution in cheap in the Far East. It is a kind of sea grass been few as sugamo, which, when properly treated mixed with raw cotton, makes a thread strong in the Bayara useful for cheapening the material, which is he Bayer so high in price.

able idea idea annual value of raw cotton imports to Japan no high in price.

the lats who is a success, such that who is a success who is a success.

by har cotton with sea grass proves a success, such for india to his sea grass proves a success, such atise in the sea grass flourishes plentifully about the an rendering of Japan, so that there will be no difficulty was building a sufficient supply to the sea grass flourishes plentifully about the sea grass proves a success, such at the sea grass flourishes plentifully about the sea grass flourishe an rendering of Japan, so that there will be no difficulty an rendering a sufficient supply if it comes into general among a sufficient supply if it comes into general sarned in the different places where it grows different places where it grows different indolegy are used by the Japanese, such as umisuge, indolegy and so off. The quantity provisibility of substituting bread or other cereals indolegy to be unlimited.

Rice is the provided and the writer mentions various constitutions and the writer mentions various constit

The use of this weed in cotton spinning has only just begun and is not on a very extensive scale as yet. It was first tried in making material for rough horse blankets, and was found so practicable that its use in other ways is now contemplated.

This discovery is sure to give a great stimulus to the cotton industry of Japan.

Japan's Food Scarcity.

There being food scarcity in Japan, F. Miyamoto writes in the Japan Magazine "the question of ample food supply has been occupying the attention of our people for some time, and is becoming a serious question in national politics."

Food, of course, must be the paramount question for all nations; and in it are involved some important considerations, as, for instance, the sources of production, the relation between prices of labour and food prices, the importation of rice and so on. Last year the total value of our rice imports was over 100,000,-

yield to keep pace with consumption? His answer is-

This important question is answered in various ways. It is believed that there is room for considerable extension of rice fields by land reclamation and the utilization of lands now used for other purposes or lying waste. The present acreage of paddyfields can be cultivated more intensively by further employment of fertilizers, the imports of which even now amount in value to about 150,000,000 yen a year. By engaging in the cultivation of rice in a more intensive and scientific manner the annual crop could no doubt be much increased. As to further imports from abroad, the possibilities are always available, though foreign rice is not popular and is used only in case of necessity.

There is shortage of food in India too. And we have made the above extracts to show how earnestly and by what means an independent people are trying to tackle this vital problem.

Internal and External Sovereignty in Ancient Hindu Politics.

In an article on the Hindu Theory of International Relations contributed to the American Political Science Review, Professor Benoykumar Sarkar writes:-

The conception of "external" sovereignty was well established in the Hindu philosophy of the state. The Hindu thinkers not only analyzed sovereignty with regard to the constituent elements in a single state. They realized also that sovereignty is not complete unless it is external as well as internal, that is, unless the state can exercise its internal authority unobstructed by and independently of, other states.

"Great misery," says Shookra, "comes of dependence on others. There is no greater happiness than that from self-rule." This is one of the maxims of the Shookra-neeti bearing on the freedom of the rastra, or the land and the people in a state. Kautilya also in his remarks on "foreign rule" expresses the same idea in a negative manner. Under it, we are told in his Artha-shastra, the country is not treated as one's own land, it is impoverished, its wealth carried off, or it is treated "as a commercial article". The description is suggestive of John Stuart Mill's metaphor of the "cattle farm" applied to the "government of one people by another."

Indian Ministers and the Temperance Question.

We learn from Abkari that at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association held in London last December,

Sir Sankaran Nair stated that under the Act as passed by Parliament, Excise would be wholly transconfident that they would, ociondupublisho main all the way would would be also of women, and if the allegation be true that would would be also of women, and if the allegation be true that would be also of women, and if the allegation be true that would be also of women, and if the allegation be true that would be also of women, and if the allegation be true that would be also of women, and if the allegation be true that would be also of women, and if the allegation be true that would be also of women, and if the allegation be true that would be also of women, and if the allegation be true that would be also of women, and if the allegation be true that would be also of women, and if the allegation be true that would be also of women, and if the allegation be true that would be also of women and if the allegation be true that would be also of women and if the allegation be true that would be also of women and if the allegation be true that would be also of women and if the allegation be true that would be also of women and if the allegation be also

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Suffragist Movement in the Philippines.

The Philippine Review writes-

One of the recommendations of the Governor is. I can General in his annual message to the Philippine rission the Legislature is the enactment of a law granting women to the control of the Governor of the Go the right to vote, "not only in recognition of the public equality of the two sexes, but also having regard to the high standards of the Filipino woman, and as a means of stimulating public interest in many social and moral reforms." It is conceded that the Filipino woman is in every way capable of taking part in shaping the political destiny of the Islands, but from every quarter there comes forth the argument that she does not sincerely desire to exercise the right of suffrage. At the woman suffrage mas Palace under the auspices of Mrs. Francis Button Harrison, wife of the Governor General, President Quezon of the Philippine Senate sounded this signifcant note: "We leave it to our wives to decir whether they want suffrage "

The other speakers of the occasion were Mrs Palma, wife of the Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Calderon, wife of the Director of the Philippine General Hospital Management Hospital, Mrs. Alvero, directress of the Institute Mujeres, and Mrs. Francis Burton Harrison.

Mrs. Palma declared that,

The Filipino woman must not be insensible to the progress going on in other parts of the world, especial in the United States in connection with the emancies tion of woman from her position of inequality will men in political affairs. She further stated that other countries other countries a great deal of harm and suffering the experienced in the suffering the sufficient the suffering t experienced in the efforts of woman to put through the adoption of woman suffrage, but she predicted that no such the predicted that no such the predicted that no such the predicted the predicted that the predicted t that no such thing will be experienced here woman suffrage has been a success in other countries she asked when a success in other countries are asked when a success in other countries are asked when a success in other countries are asked when a success in the she asked, why should it not be a success in other countries in the Philippines?

Senate President Quezon stated that,

He advocated woman suffrage because he is convinced of the capacity, intelligence and moderation and ability of the Filipina works and hecause giving and ability of the Filipino woman and because giving the them the right to and ability of the Filipino woman and because the object them the right to vote would redound to the object benefit of the countries. benefit of the country. He said:

"The Filipino public is not only composed of men, b) of women, and if the

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Regulate the same as the man? There is no reason why Regulations should arbitrarily express the political views of family when part of it, when his other half disappears with him. Whether she agrees or not with organisations the one the liberty and freedom to express here. the opinions given the liberty and freedom to express her own with with a view per through the ballot. It is not fair that women ance policy to do not marry and whose fathers are dead and to ultimate the rolling to are thus left unrepresented at the polls, especially icians would they have property, are thus left without a voice in posals along government.

Mrs. Rosa Sevilla de Alvero declared

Woman is the heart of humanity as man is the igin. "If this is the case," she argued, "why handicap manity by amputating its heart on questions politi-1: The statement is made that women should not so made themselves as to go down to the level of polihe Governor is I cannot believe this is so because this is an adrission that politics here is dirty and I believe that is not dirty. If it is, then let women come and

Mrs. Francis Burton Harrison asserted

Women are under the same laws as men. "If it is s,", she declared, "then it is but right that they both stiny of the take part in framing them." She cited the names of mowned women in the governmental administration te to exercise of many countries of the world and mentioned the feat work undertaken by the women during the last Malacanang World War.

The Editor of the Philippine Review oberves :--

This movement of lifting women from the abyss which they have been relegated by tradition is coming more and more general. The women of West have become triumphant, as a consequence man's recognition of their forces in the affairs of man society. The women of the East are gradually sing from their seclusion to assert their rights. In Italia, China, and Japan women are clamoring for vote. But in the Philippines, there is a greater thance for the fair the state of their desire for the ance for the fair sex to realize their desire, for the inipino statesmen only expect their more ardent initestation of their desire to exercise the right of hesitate Out of man's love and respect for woman, hesitates to place upon her shoulders a past of political burden; but, if she really desires to fulfil share in the share share in the great task, he is but too willing to ant her the right in obedience to the dictates of

^{lapan}'s Post-bellum Trade with India and the South Seas.

moderation There is in Tokyo, Japan, an association moder in Tokyo, Japan, an association." In ause giving led "the Indo-Japanese Association." In the object of the Indo-Japanese Association"

facility and opportunity to help both peoples to work in concert, whenever investigations have to be made with regard to commerce, industry, religion, science or the arts.

As the welfare of both countries is sought to be promoted, the membership should be approximately equal. But we find that the president, the two vice-presidents, the five members of the executive committee and sixty out of the sixty-one members of the board of councillors are Japanese; and one solitary member of the board, Mr. M. C. Mallick, is probably an Indian. Under the circumstances, it does not seem probable that the Association can promote the welfare of India.

The Journal of the Association, dated October, 1919, has recently reached us. It opens with an article entitled "Our Postbellum Trade with India and the South Seas" by Marquis S. Okuma. The first section has the heading, "Politics should not be involved in Trade." But has not Japan used political power and means to protect and push on her trade. The Marquis writes:

Our trade with India and the South Seas, making rapid development during the great war, saw in 1918 the total exports and imports of 780 million yen against 300 millions of pre-war years. The exports, in particular, which showed a remarkable rate of increase, reached 356 million yen, as compared with 53 millions before the war, while the excess of imports have decreased since the outbreak of the war, from 200 millions gradually down to about 100 millions, the figure for last year showing only 70 millions. But this development is not so much due to the real and national development of our trade, as it is attributable to the war, which either stopped the transportation of our rivals or kept them too busy to attend to trade in the Orient. Should the self-supplying principle be adobted and heavy duties be levied on foreign articles, for the protection of home productions, the result would be that the means of distribution is cut off and trade declines.

But has not Japan levied heavy duties on foreign articles?

The Fate of Old Manuscripts.

India has lost innumerable manuscripts of great value. But in other countries also, many manuscripts have been lost. Chambers's Fournal writes :-

Of those literary treasures which classical authors bequeathed to the world, only a small portion have been preserved. Time, spite, and ignorance have contrived for us, the heirs, an irreparable loss; and if it be asked how this has happened, it can be replied, 'The character of the destroyer suits equally well the bigot, the blockhead, and the barbarian.' How great is the loss may be surmised when we recollect that Livy's History The Indo-Japanese Association takes upon itself, head, and the parpariam.

The Indo-Japanese Association takes upon itself, head, and the parpariam.

The Indo-Japanese Association takes upon itself, head, and the parpariam.

Sound is a promote friendship between the surmised when we recollect that Livy's History countries and promises to provide every paragraphic countries and provide every paragraphic every paragraphic countries and provide every paragraphic countries and provide every paragraphic every of which but thirty-five remain. Of the twelve books of Tacitus's Histories there are only four extant. Chance has saved for us nineteen out of the eighty or ninety dramas of Euripides. Plautus is credited with one hundred and thirty comedies, and of these one hundred and ten have been lost. The same fate has overtaken the autographs of the Bible; and we are dependent in some instances upon manuscripts prepared many centuries after the books were first written. Nor has fortune been much kinder in the case of the writings of certain modern authors. Louis XIV destroyed with his own hands works of Fenelon. The letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu were burned by her mother, though her Turkish correspondence was saved. Some valuable family manuscripts belonging to the Duke of Bridgewater were also destroyed by fire because, it is reported, he wished to conceal his descent from mean antecedents.

Of all the wealth of literature, far more has perished than industrious research is ever likely to recover. Yet, much as we regret the loss of so many works of genius, we are at the same time provided with the very interest-The splendid ing story which attaches to their fate. library at Alexandria was destroyed by religious fanaticism, both Christian and Mohammedan. thousand manuscripts (so the story goes) were used for heating the stoves by the master of the baths in the time of Caliph Omar. At Granada Ximenes burned five thousand Korans. Twelve thousand copies of the Talmud perished in the flames at Cremona. The Persians destroyed the literature of Phænicia and Egypt, the Jesuits that of Bohemia. Many manuscripts in the quaint Peruvian picture-writing were lost for ever owing to the bigotry of Roman Catholic priests. The brilliant writings of Origen were burned by the orthodox. The ancient learning of the Irish monasteries suffered at the hands of invaders. And the ruin of what escaped the malice of man was completed by the not less certain process of decay. Part of our impoverishment is due to neglect.

News Relating to Education in Many Countries.

The article headed "Christian Education 1914 to 1918" in the International Review of Missions contains much useful information relating to education in various countries. For instance, regarding Japan we learn:

In Japan during the war schools of all grades have been overcrowded. Eagerness for higher education has become keener than ever. To meet the growing demand the Government has launched a great scheme of expansion. In December 1918 it announced its intention of establishing thirty-three new higher schools (Koto Gakko) and higher special schools (Semmon Gakko) and six one-department universities, and to add one college to each of four imperial universities. Yen 44,000,000 will be appropriated for this purpose during the next six years, and this sum will be augmented by contributions from the provincial and municipal authorities where the new schools are to be located. The emperor has given Yen 10,000,000 for the scheme and wealthy men are also subscribing money for private schools not in the government programme. As means of providing competent teachers for the proposed expansion the Government is instablishing and out the pro-

400 scholarships in the imperial universities for students who expect become teachers, and a similar number anti-re of students are to be sent abroad for advanced-work,

It will be noticed that in Japan there is no intention to reduce the number of university students in order to improve the quality of subility university education. What foolishness desire Japan ought really to take lessons in educa. tional policy from Anglo-Indian bureaucrats or rather, we ought to say that Japanese statesmen know what to do for their own country and what for a dependent foreign country, as will be clear from the following sentences relating to Korea:-

While in Japan itself, where a national system of education is securely established, the tendency is to allow greater freedom to private effort, in Korea new drastic regulations were promulgated in 1915 requiring that all private schools should follow exactly the government curriculum and prohibiting all religious teaching and religious cremonies in schools The Japanese authorities disclaim any wish to interfere with religious freedom or to restrict religious propaganda, but it is held that education is an affair of the State and must be absolutely controlled by the State in order to educate the people for its own ends. In existing conditions in Korea the authorities are not prepared, as in Japan itself, to leave a place for private schools giving their own special type of education All schools must be secularized and conform exactly to the government model or be closed.

However, it is good to note that in addition to establishing 400 scholarships in the imperial universities for would be teachers, the Japanese Government will send 400 students abroad for advanced work. Will the Government of India take note?

In spite of the internal dissentions in China with the resulting disorder and lack of settled government,

The statistics issued by the Ministry of education show that in 1915-16, the last for which figures are available, the number of pupils under instruction was five per cent. more than in 1914-15, and nearly 70 per cent. more than in 1914-15, and nearly 70 per cent. more than in 1912-13.

Even Turkey, which has been frequently described as a God-forsaken land, has some progress to show.

One of the most striking developments during the war in the Turkish Empire has been a remarkable impulse given to the impulse given to the education of women, new schools and normal schools and normal schools for girls being started in different parts of the country.

> Conversion of Outcastes to Christianity.

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s very litt e men. deed, the for students be minds of all Hindus, whether pro-reform ranti-reform :-

In India the widespread movement of the outcastes ands the Christian Church has continued unabated. mass movement areas in North and South India number of baptisms is still only limited by the subility of instructing the thousands of inquirers desire to join the Church. In one year, as noted at the time, an American mission reported 2000 inquirers and nearly 30,000 baptisms. Baptism as refused to 40,000 persons for whose instruction provision could be made. The areas of the move-that have extended. In Hyderabad in the Nizam's minions-to take one instance out of many-a hish mission reports that a movement which began 1915 has spread 'like an infection from village to lare'; over 3,000 adults and an equal number of Idren were baptized in 1918, and over 4,000 more nunder instruction for baptism.

It is mainly the social and economic conition of the outcastes which makes them mier the Christian fold.

The Christian Churches in the War.

A committee of clergy and laymen sat to scertain the attitude of soldiers toward the adre'. The Nation of London writes about Is conclusions as follows:

In the rude dramatization of war for the civilian pple the 'padre' has had a fairly conspicuous role, and attitude of Tommy toward this functionary of the vitual life has been a frequent topic of reflective or of adhle testimony of a representative kind. This condetation gives importance to the results of a more derly inquiry made by a committee of clergy and men of various denominations into the religion of army as disclosed in the stress of the war. Nearly hundred memoranda, based on the evidence of hundred witnesses, were obtained from men of lanks, 'Generals down to privates, chaplains, docnurses, hut leaders, and workers, and a careful of the material thus got has yielded a very steeting report, drafted by Dr. Cairns, and pub-ded, with a preface by the Bishop of Winchester, the title, The Army and Religion (Macmillan &

Directed to ascertain What the men are thinking Moral and solicionation what the men are changes noral and religious outlook made by the war,' and hearing he relation of the men to the churches,' and bearing the nation of the men to the churches, the nation the men' in question are the virile portion the nation, the confession before us has deep signifiand nation, the confession before us has used significantly page it bears the mark of a confession. or though there are wide divergencies and contradichas in some matters of valuation, there is everywhere tank agreemental judgments. trank agreement upon two fundamental judgments. this failure appears to us too abject, for a reason to which we will presently advert,

Again:

There is an interesting consensus of evidence in favor of the view that there is a dim sort of religious consciousness generally prevalent. But it belongs to what would be called the sphere of natural rather than of revealed religion, and has no dogmatic or ecclesiastical

A saying, to which this inquiry gives just prominence, holds that 'The soldier has got religion,'I am not so sure that he has got Christianity.' What religion has he 'got'? If 'got' implies a firm and conscious possession, it is too strong a term to describe the vague flicker of beliefs and feelings revealed by this 'cloud' of witness. There is, however, by general assent, a belief in God and a 'respect' for the character of Jesus Christ, But in both cases the conception of these beings and of the part they play in the moral government of the world is quite vague, while the particular tenets of the Christian faith with its scheme of salvation have no place whatever in their mind. 'They have not the foggiest notion of what it is all about. The Incarnation and Atonement mean nothing to them.

In the Report there is no proper answer to the questions,

Where is the Almighty Father in this business?

Why did God permit the war ?

Why are the innocent punished along with the guilty?

We will conclude by making another extract,

What did the ministers of the gospel of love do (1) to keep down hate and the propaganda of hate, (2) to favor the earliest possibility of a good peace? (3) to urge just and healing terms in the peace that was imposed? Our newspapers have been full of headlines of the aspirations of the churches toward the 'Brotherhood of Nations'. Where has this sense of brotherhood been lying during the last five years, when brother has been stamping out the life of brother and spitting poison at him across the spiritual and material barriers? The representatives of the churches here confess, 'We could do little: we would like to have done more; but we were so weak; our want of earnest, strenuous endeavor in the past deprived us of the faith in ourselves and others needed for any great work.' They add, 'We must do better in the future.'

But will they? Here, as always, they raise the cry, 'Materialism'. But what is materialism? It is the preference of the physical to the spiritual, the worship. of the dead substance instead of the living power. Now materialism, as an operative element in the art of life, means the reliance upon physical instead of moral force. Thus war is the supreme exhibition of materialism. For though the antinomy of physical and spiritual force may not be ultimate and absolute the charge of materialism, so far as it is valid, consists in the reversion to a course of conduct in which spiritual influences very little hold indeed upon the great majority of ment of the protounces. The second is that the churches have a happiness of men are submitted to a strictly material happiness of men are submitted to a strict

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which statesmen, peoples, and, above all, their spiritual pastors and masters, persuade themselves and others that the real combatants are spiritual ideals and that somehow, ordeal by battle still holds good as an orderly process in the moral government of the world.

It is the utter and complete failure of the churches, as reflected even in the well-meaning spiritual fumbling of such an inquiry as lies before us, to perceive the incompatibility of the two terms, army and religion, which they thus bring together, that is the crowning proof of that 'unreality' which they admit is the charge the soldiers bring against the Christianity of the churches. How could it be otherwise? The presentation of Christ in khaki at the front carries a feeling of moral and intellectual blasphemy to most sincere-minded men

and women, which is not really overcome, though it may be modified, by the deep conviction of the inher. ent righteousness of our cause, which is always enter, ent righteousness of our matter than the battlefield their tribal gods, with an equal insistence the tribal cause is that of the tribal cause is the tribal cause is that of the tribal cause is the tribal cause that this time the tribal cause is that of unconditional justice and humanity. War may or may not be an eternal necessity. We hold that it is not. But if and so long as it be necessary, let Christianity be kept out of the affair, and above all let nobody pretend that anything but evil to the spiritual life can come out of this devil's game. We feel certain that this is the representative feeling of the men who have been play ers in this game.

SMALL-POX-HISTORY AND TREATMENT

History of its Ravages.

THE troops of Napoleon received various reports of the superhuman strength and blood-thirsty nature of the Cossacks and sat chop-fallen. Napoleon confronted them with the picture of a Cossack and assured them that the Cossacks were but mortals and before a disciplined army like theirs would fly like chaff before a wind. His prophecy was fulfilled when his army enlivened by his words fell upon the enemy with renewed vigour. prevalence of small-pox in this city seems to have created a panic and people are thinking of running away to their villages to avoid an attack. This foolish attempt to spread the disease will cease if they know what small-pox is and how easily it can and has been prevented in countries where preventive measures are efficiently adopted.

The disease begins with rigor, fever, violent pains about the head, spine and other places and other troubles which are followed by eruptions after 48 hours. The eruptions resemble masur dal when ripe and were termed masurika by the Ayurvedic sages. In Bengal it is called basanta perhaps owing to the fact its attack is most virulent during the spring season. In the North-Western provinces they call it mātīji. Bishop Marius is said

varus a pimple. It is called in English small-pox to distinguish it from Syphilis which was termed French or great por, It was first mentioned in Ireland under the out any designation of bolgagh in 675 A. D. It is the c evidently known to Shakespeare, for in "Love's Labours Lost" Rosaline The Hir exclaims, "O, that your face were not so of the de full of O's!", to which Katharine replies, icked u The general "A pox of that jest!" prevalence of the disease and the havorit lose, KT played in England is best realised by a musts t perusal of Ben Jonson's "Epigram to the aultiple Small-pox" in which the following in uption appear: "Envious and foul disease! could there there not be one beauty in an age, and fre positi from thee?" In Mexico it is said to have this st surpassed the cruelties of the conquest asts ar "suddenly smiting down 3, 500,000 popular town t tion, and having none to bury them. Brazil, in 1563, "it extirpated whole race of men" of men." Even so late as a century and I four George Bell of Edinburgh said:

"The small-pox, one of the most severe and big clare dangerous diseases to which mankind is subject than a thousand years ago, has descended to remove the mankind is subject to the most severe undiminished violence from generation to generation, and every effort hitherto made to extipate it has failed."

In India small-pox was mentioned as a certions directions direction direction direction direction direction direction direction direction direc infectious disease by the earliest Ayurvell writers and all writers and classified under the heading t to have applied to it the termunanionant found writers and classified under the heading to have applied to it the termunanionant found keptide line with the termunanion of the termunan

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of small-pox epidemic in Calcutta was that gade by Mr. Blacquire in or about the year 1795-6 during the months of anuary and February, "during which the mortality was great among men and cattle of all sorts."

2. How We Help Small-pox Attack.

To thwart a formidable foe we must know and guard all the strategic points. been play. Our invisible foes, the small-pox microbes. swarm in the air of the patient's room, in his clothes, furniture and excretions and in the flies feeding on his discharges. During the epidemic of 1894-95 the largest centres finfections were brothels and huts occuped by brick masons, coolies and servants and next to them, laundries. It was observed that among the Mahomedans ustoms prevailed (1) of carrying the dead English na wooden coffin covered with shawls Syphilis and bringing them back from the burial ground to some Musjid for future use witheat por under the out any disinfection, and (2) of distribut-A. D. It is the clothes of the dead, though infected, kespeare, mong a class of mendicants called hadjins. Rosaline The Hindus used to throw the beddings e not 50 of the deceased on the streets which were e replies ikked up by the doms or rag-sellers. The general larwaris, according to Sir Kailaschandra havoeit lose, KT., used to send by post small-pox ised by usts to their friends, as a remedy for m to the altiple abscesses. Patients with dried up ring in aptions are allowed to mix freely with se! could there or walk in the street on the , and more prosition that the disease is innocuous to have stage. But as a matter of fact the conquest, justs are most infectious. This fact was o popula nown to our tikadars of old who pernem. inoculation with a paste prepared on these crusts. It was only the other tury and a lunatic covered with smallcrusts lying in front of Kamalalaya, severe and big cloth shop in the College Street severt arket. The police though informed took rope, notice of the case and the patient was to general tremoved until the District Health to generate ocer Dr. Roy was phoned.

The Treatment of Small-pox. (1) Treatment by Sitala Priests—most

The dangerous.

The treatment of small-pox may be have to listen to the treatment of small-pox may be have to listen to the third into (1) Curative and Public Donnaire Gurus Handrige Handriges Handwar that there Namāmi Sītalā-devim r the current idea that there

is no treatment for small-pox according to the Western method is most erroneous. Simply because we are honest enough to confess that we have no specific for smallpox like quinine in malaria, people throw themselves at the mercy of quacks known as Sitala priests whose knowledge of the disease is derived from a few wormeaten leaves of prescription formulated by their great-great-grand-fathers. I know several cases which ended fatally owing to their wrong diagnosis and treatment. Small-pox by itself is not a fatal disease, it is only the complications such as sepsis, pneumonia, bleeding, pus-poisoning, &c., to which the patients succumb and which these quacks can neither diagnosen or treat. Moreover they spread the disease broadcast as they use no disinfectants either for themselves or for their patients. The cases which under their treatment escape death do not escape the lifelong misery of blindness and lameness, common sequelae of virulent types of the disease; on the other hand it was found during the epidemic of 1894-5 that there was nearly 80 per cent recovery under the allopathic mode of treatment. Our external applications are not only curative and soothing but keep off flies which are potent factors in the dissemination of the disease. They also prevent septic poisoning by foreign germs which cause multiple abscesses, destruction of joints and various other complications found in cases treated by quacks. Bleeding from different organs which hasten death may speedily be checked by injections. At a stage when swallowing is impossible owing to paralysis of the throat and all other methods are helpless, we provide nutrition and medication through the rectum, skin and veins. But superstition dies hard. I have known even some medical practitioners recommending treatment by Sitala priests and Anglo-Indians bowing before the decision of the latter and tolerating the worship of Sitala and the use of Ganges water. Such is the terrorizing power of the King of Terrors! Every day the patients and their friends have to listen to the following invocation

Namāmi Sītalā-devim rāsabhasthām digamvarīm

Marjani-kalaeopetam sürpalankrita-mastakam, Sitale tanujān rogan nrinam harati dustarān, Bisfotaka-visīrnānām twamekāmritavarshini. Galaganda-graha-roga ye chanye daruna nrinam, Twad anudhyana matrena Sitale yanti te kshayam.

It is quite providential that Sitala comes slowly riding on an ass thus giving us sufficient time to prepare ourselves for the attack and to adopt previous protective measures. It is those foolish persons who remain unprotected that are swept away by the broomstick which she holds in one of her hands.

(2) India First to Practise Protective Inoculation.

Preventive treatment however is more important and certain than the curative. Even so recently as the eighteenth century owing to the influence of the "the hypotheses wildest Sydenham visionary could never hope," according to Haygarth, "to retard the progress of the destructive disease except by prayers and by recourse to the merciful interposition of Providence." In the tenth or eleventh century, small-pox in England was guarded against by amulets and prayers. Amulets inscribed with the name of St. Nicaise and consecrated with a Latin prayer were worn as a protection against the small-pox. It must be several centuries before the birth of Christ that forefathers forestalled the Western savants in their attempt to baffle a severe attack of the disease by the induction of a milder attack in a scientific method. Even in the eighteenth century children in Scotland were sometimes put to bed with small-pox patients or woolen threads saturated with the contents of small-pox pustules were tied round their wrists to induce a mild attack of the disease. But in India as Stevenson and Murphy observe: "In most respects the Brahmin method of what we would now call attenuation of virus, and of general treatment, was as nearly perfect as later experience ever made it, and it was only after many years' elaborate blundering that the Eastern simplicity returned to." Inoculation was finally Circassia where it was practised at a to est benefactor of humanity discovered early date and thence to Constantinople. enemies with a mere speck on the point must have travelled

The Circassian operation was done by old women. The practice was called "Buying the small-pox" owing to some trifling present being made to the child from whom matter was taken. It was mother. hood again which asserted itself in the protection of children in England. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu had her own child inoculated in Constantinople in 1717 and recommended the method in a letter, On her return home she introduced the operation for the first time in April, 1721. by having her second child inoculated by Mr. Maitland. So protection against small pox in England was a Montagu Reform.

But an objection which strongly against the universal adoption of inoculation was the danger to life owing to the infectivity of the disease produced by the operation. The consequent numerous deaths, severe attacks, serious sequelae and permanent disfiguration in many cases led the British Parliament to prohibit it in 1840. Owing to the exertions made by my revered Guru the late Edmon ston Charles, Professor of Midwifery, inoch lation was prohibited by law in 1865.

Jenner Poisoning His Own Child With Cow-pox Virus.

again which Motherhood reflection provided a food for ing to a discovery which startled the whole world and benefited humanity at large. About the year 1768, a young woman calling for advice at a country surgery in a Gloucestershire doctor's village, observed in the course of converse tion about small-pox that she could not take the disease as she had had cow por The doctor forgot it, but not his assistant Edward Jenner, to whom the remark was not a casual talk but a Heavenly inspire tion. When he himself became a doctor he cogitated, discussed the matter at "Medico Convincel" Convivial" meetings, enquired among dairy folk and folk and made experimental investiga the mations. His publications tions. His publication in 1798 threw objects: whole world into convulsions. This great est benefactor est benefactor of humanity discovered enemies with a mere speck on the point

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ascalpel. He was not one of those who experimented on others to prove their own pet theory. In May 1796 he performed the operation on his own child. Instances are not rare of the votaries of Science sacrifeing their children, like Karna at the altar of Duty. Carried by an enthusisam to review the vaccine lymph from cows supposed to have been attacked with ww-pox, Mr. Furnell of Sylhet experimented on his own child with poison taken from the affected cows. The disease however was in reality rinderpest which was no protection against small-pox. The latter disease was raging in Sylhet at that time which attacked the child immediately after the operation and carried it off to the disappointment and chagrin of the overconfident father.

In 1802, under the auspices of Lord Clive, the Jennerian antedote arrived by a circuitous route of Vienna, Constanti-10ple, Bagdad, Bussra and Bombay. present of £4,000 was transmitted May 1806 to Dr. Jenner from the principal inhabitants of Calcutta and its dependencies, as a testimonial of their gratitude for the benefits which this settlement, in common with the rest of mankind, had derived from his inestimable discovery of a preventive of the small-pox. Madras and Bombay together made a present of 13,383-1-10. The greatest obstacle to the rogress of vaccination was the avowed lostility of the Indian inoculators. To conciliate them, Dr. Shoolbred of the "Native lospital" instructed two of the principal moculators in the art of vaccination. Being convinced by their own observations, of the anti-small-pox power of the vaccine disease, 26 of them signed a document in avour of vaccination before the then chief Magistrate Mr. Blacquire. One of them was rewarded subsequently with a pension of Rs. 26 per mensem. To the professional that and conciliatory firmness and high the racter of Dr. Shoolbred must be ascribed nvestigathe magic conversion of the bigoted worhrew objections of Sitala to a new faith. Various Objections on religious grounds were raised against vaccination even up to 1856.

Vidyasagar to the Rescue of Vaccination.

whose name is identified with every cause that alleviates human misery, that in 1856, Maharaja Srischandra of Navadwip convened a meeting of pundits to discuss the propriety of vaccination with calf lymph. "Being convinced by the crushing arguments of the learned reformer, the pundits signed a document in favour of vaccination." Sir Raja Radhakanta Deb introduced it in his family in that year and justified his action by a reference to Dhanvantari's Sakteya Grantha from which he quoted the following:

Dhenu-stanya-masūrikā narānancha masūrikā, Taj-jalam vāhu-mūlach-cha sastrantena grihitavan, Vāhu-mūle cha sastrāni raktotpatti-karāni cha, Taj-jalam rakta-militam sfotaka-jwara-sambhavam.

"The lymph taken with the end of a lancet from a pock on the human arm or the teat of a cow, when mixed with the blood let out from the arm by that lancet, gives rise to pock and

It is for the antiquarians to decide whether Sakteya-grantha is a myth or a reality. But it is a fact that the above quotation quieted the parrot cry "religion in danger".

Our experience extending over a century and a quarter throughout the whole world has proved the efficacy of vaccination as a protective against small-pox. Without relying on what others say in other parts of the world, I quote below a few figures from my lecture on Small-pox and Vaccination delivered at a meeting of the Calcutta Medical Society in 1896, which prove conclusively how vaccination has checked the ravages of small-pox.

Small-pox Deaths in 34 years in Calcutta. 1832-65 (Inoculation in vogue) 24513 1866-89 (Inoculation prohibited) 8785 (Reduced to nearly one-third)

Mean Annual Death-Rate in Calcutta per mille

All causes Small-pox 31.5 1876-80 (Vaccination optional) 1.172 1881-85 (Vaccination compulsory) 28.6 .395

1889-93 (Vaccination supervised by Medical Inspectors) 26.4 .378

The improvement due to vaccination reducing the small-pox mortality to onethird cannot be credited to general sanitation which could not reduce the deaths from all causes in the same proportion.

The small-pox mortality during 16 It was under the influence of Vaccination. (year of compulsory

vaccination) to 1895 was less than 4000, i.e., less than that of a single epidemic in (6154) or 1864-65 (5256). 1849-50 (Small-pox and Vaccination by the writer.)

confessed that to Tenner himself attribute to a single vaccination lifelong protection, would be to claim for it something supernatural. Re-vaccination every 4th or 5th year is absolutely necessary. Germany, the only country where vaccination is compulsory, is quite free from smallpox.

Neglecting Vaccination is Aiding Conflagration.

So instead of trying to run away from the enemy and help its egress through the vulnerable points in your system and in that of your village folk, protect your citadel by re-vaccination and like Tolstoy's Ivan do not under compulsion repent too late and exclaim:

"A spark neglected burns the house."

SUNDARIMOHAN DAS.

UNREST IN BRITISH-RULED INDIA, PAST AND PRESENT

T the Salon held on December 4, 1919, at Government House, Calcutta, for a private view of the exhibits of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, His Excellency the Governor of Bengal delivered an address, in the course of which His Excellency said :-

I have diagnosed the root cause of Indian unrest as a clash of ideals. I have no doubt in my own mind as to the correctness of my

So far as our present knowledge and understanding of the matter goes, we think that Lord Ronaldshay's diagnosis is in the main wrong, though in one sense there may be said to be a modicum of truth in it. At present the ideal of life pursued by our rich land-holding and other classes can be realised only in cities. The main elements of this ideal are plenty of creature comforts, luxury, and the seeking of selfish pleasures-often of a debasing character. These draw the wealthy to the cities. Formerly when the villages were inhabited by a greater number of rich people, the villagers, who form the bulk of the people, had more remunerative employment, the village tanks and wells and paths were better kept, and the indigenous theatricals and athletic performances patronised by the rich afforded plenty of entertainment, gratis, to all village folk. The present-day rich men may individually have more decorations for the images of gods &c.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Guruk and gongs,

exciting pleasures and entertainments, but they feel less often than their ancestors the happiness of giving to their neighbours joy in widest commonalty spread. There were, therefore, in former times much more colour and joyous movement and bustle in the lives of the people than now. The people at present lead more cheerless lives than formerly. This result has been aggravated by a real change in the religious beliefs and ideals of a considerable proportion of the people. Appearances to the contrary notwithstanding, orthodoxy has lost its former hold on the people, In the case of a minority of the educated and the well-to-do classes, the old orthodoxy has given place to a purer and more spiritual faith, though that, too, is some what cold and devoid of brightness and colour. In the case of a majority of them, the old beliefs are gone leaving a dreary vacuity behind. Festive occasions are, therefore, of rarer occurrence in the country

now than in days gone by. The old beliefs had their artistic and economic value, too. They necessitated the use of particular kinds of cloth, copper and brass vessels and utensils, earther and metal lamps and pots, shell bracelets and other areas for and other ornaments, lac dyes (alta) for the feet of the feet of women and their finger-tips decorations for the images of gods and

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ese gave fismen. The excavation of tanks, the uting of shady trees, &c., were looked on as religious duties. there are people who feel unhappy and regloomy forebodings at the passing of old order of things, -though this state mind can scarcely be spoken of as

employment to numerous

But probably when His Excellency the of unrest, he was not thinking of the colourless lives the people lead owing the circumstances referred to above. therefore, we have ventured to say in the main his diagnosis is not met. And at present so few people care Art, that the unrest is certainly not in the least to the clash of the artistic als of the East and the West. In our nion, so far as the mass of the people is merned, the cause of the unrest is inly economic. As there is no clear line demarcation between economics and itics and as there have been of late un clear indications of the awakening plitical consciousness among even the trate poor, and among women, too, unrest among them is also to some at of a political character. Among higher strata of the people, the tical cause of the unrest is more proared and clearly discernible, though teir case, too, the economic factor of causes of unrest is certainly more at. So that, adapting the words by Mr. Lloyd George on a recent on, we may say that unrest may be great extent fought with abundance, for the rest with political justice.

Indians (old style) have been tally blind to the causes which are onsible for unrest in India. Many of have attributed it to the newspaper ots, failed B. A's, and disappointed hunters. But they are mere quacks consider the above as sufficient to able for the unrest. They have not able to feel the pulse rightly or probe lecer to its very core who attribute it e causes referred to above. No, the of the unrest are inseparably con-With what Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji

India. The founders and builders of the British Empire knew it and tried their best to check it. Did not Warren Hastings and other experienced Anglo-Indian witnesses who appeared before the Parliamentary Committee appointed on the occasion of the renewal of the East India Company's Charter in 1813 depose that there would be disaffection produced in India by the free influx of Europeans into that country, by the adoption of free trade in the commercial intercourse with India, by giving education to Indians and lastly sending missionaries to try to convert them to Christianity?* We see in their full force all the evil consequences of the free influx of Europeans-they are so patent that it is useless to enumerate them. By the adoption of a one-sided free trade policy, Indian industries and manufactures have been ruined and the artisan class destroyed, and their members have been thrown for their subsistence on land, which is unable to maintain them in comfort. As a result, ever-recurring famines, epidemics, and chronic innutrition are sweeping away hundreds of thousands almost every year and adding to the miseries of the Indian people. Poverty is the lot of almost every household of this vast country.

But besides the above there are other causes, too, of the unrest. Mr. John Dickinson, Junior, in his pamphlet on "the Government of India under a Bureaucracy" published in 1853, explained these causes lucidly that we are tempted to quote them in extenso. Some of them are no longer operative; but as their evil effects remain, we have not omitted them. He wrote:-

The more I study the subject the more I feel a growing conviction that the natives were happier, not merely under their good princes, but happier under the average of their native sovereigns, than they have been

under an English Bureaucracy.

In discussing this point, we have always hitherto had the advantage of being the judges in our own cause; therefore because we first acquired power in India during a revolutionary period, we have assumed that the normal condition of Indian Governments was a

^{*} See the Modern Review for November 1907 with what Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji India," and also for January, February and un-British" mode of Governing GMARCH 2008 of the British and colors of the British idea of civilizing and the "Un-British" mode of Governing of the British idea of civilizing and also for January, February and the "Genesis of the British idea of civilizing and the "Un-British" mode of Governing of the British idea of civilizing and the "Genesis of the British idea of civilizing and the "Un-British" mode of Governing of the British idea of civilizing and the "Un-British" mode of Governing of the British idea of civilizing and the "Un-British" mode of Governing of the British idea of civilizing and the "Un-British" mode of Governing of the British idea of civilizing and the "Un-British" mode of Governing of the British idea of civilizing and the "Un-British" mode of Governing of the British idea of civilizing and the "Un-British" mode of Governing of the British idea of civilizing and the "Un-British" mode of Governing of the British idea of civilizing and the "Un-British" mode of Governing of the British idea of civilizing and the "Un-British" mode of the British idea of the British idea of civilizing and the "Un-British" mode of the British idea of civilizing and the "Un-British" mode of the British idea of

chronic state of revolution; and we have assumed that the mass of the people must have been miserable, because we can prove that many of their native sovereigns were warlike, bigoted, &c. recollect that India is as large as the whole of Europe; and suppose we were to apply the same ingenious process of crimination to Europe that we do to India,suppose we were to reckon up the wars and acts of oppression of European princes, as we do for the native princes, down to the end of the eighteenth century, and calculate the amount of bloodshed and human misery caused by their ambition and selfish indifference to the fate of the masses, suppose we were to rake out of a few centuries of history, for Europe as we do for India, all the deliberate cruelties inflicted on mankind by religious fanaticism,-finally, suppose we were to see what the memoir-writers of the time say of the condition of the great bulk of the people in Europe, down to the period of the French revolution?

If we were to do this with any good faith, we should beigin to find it impossible to cast the first stone at India. We should begin to admit that if there had been wars, if there had been bigotry, if there had been misgovernment in India, there had been such things elsewhere. But there had been many compensations in India; there had been long established Governments, and a great mass of contented subjects; the Mohammedan conquerors had settled in the country, and identified themselves with the interests and sympathies of its inhabitants; they had, as the rule, respected the customs, and religion, and private landed property of the people, and any infracton of the rule was condemned by their own historians as it would be by Europeans; they had preserved the municipal institutions, and arbitration system, and excellent police, which gave the people the best security for person and property at the least cost; they never burthened the country with a national debt and had spent great sums out of the taxes for the people, on public works and grants for education, and had not attempted to destory their native aristocracy, whose capital was the support of the labourers, manufacturers, and merchants of India; finally, they had not treated the people as an inferior race of beings; they had maintained a free social intercourse with them; they had not confined them to such low ill-paid offices as they could not fill themselves; they had frequently left the most important share of the civil offices of State in their hands and had allowed them to rise daily from among the lower orders to all ranks of civil and military employment, which "kept up the spirit of the people", said Mr. Elphinstone.

In short, the Mohammedans did not, by dividing the community into two distinct bodies of privileged foreigners and native serfs, systematically degrade a whole people. In a long course of time and among a hundred millions of men, they had oppressed many; but they had left hope to all; they had thrown open to all their subjects prizes of honest ambition, and allowed every man of talent, industry, and courage to aspire to titles of honour or political power, or high military

commands, with corresponding grants of land.

Very different from this has been the government of the English conquerors of India.

until they reach the point where misgovernment sets

But this benefit of keeping the peace in India is turn the only one our rule has conferred on the natives to make of the last of all the compensations mentions of the labove; and if I show this to be the case—if against on the native of the labove; and if I show this to be the case—if against on the labove is to be set our systematic impoveries of laght above; and if I show this to be the case—if against of inth results benefit is to be set our systematic impoverishment are of jaght degradation of a whole people, what will after ages of propert of our passion for aggrandizement in India? Will introduce sufficient to have changed the mode of extertion, sant aggrandizement to have substituted the dry rot of English Bureaucracy is plessing the violence of Roman proconsuls, to prevent postal elessing from condemning with one voice our selfish policy self-sing that although for a while the system may deceive all property property property and property although for a while the system may deceive all property and property and property and property and property although for a while the system may deceive all property and property a that, although for a while the system may deceive and prope corrupt contemporary opinion, and triumph over solvers; but feeble protests as mine, its triumph will one day by invente appealed against in a higher court of opinion, and kind up by reversed by the Judgment of history; and in that dead to never the verdict of the whole civilised world will be gazing the against England and the curse of many nations will be dead to the upon her, for her selfish treatment of India.

However, the passion for aggrandizement about the other mentioned is both excused and denied. It is excel 16th, on the ground that our territorial extension in legicent to re cannot be helped; that it is "in the natural course of and we things." Why, of course it is, so long as we the ful influe every precaution in constituting the Home Government of the ensure its grasping tendency, which is our precautihedness.

policy.

We now make a Home Government which metry. theoretically know and care little about the natives, a mily, In covet any immediate increase of revenue and patronarys with But suppose we made the Home Government of the Gototally different theory; suppose its very constitution, and ensured its knowing and caring a good deal about the "avoic natives, and proportionably less for patronage, as in all cas caring more for the ultimate than the immediate being the increase of revenue—more for its real than its apparation only a living the increase of the patronage, as in all cas real than its apparation of the increase of the patronage, as it is surposed in the control of the graphing, as it now is for it to be so. grasping, as it now is for it to be so.

Again, the passion for aggrandizement is dense miles and it is said that our wars in India were defense European wars, by ways of discourse wars and it is said that our wars in India were defense European wars. wars, by way of disproving the fact. Defensive wars, by way of disproving the fact. Defensive wardly, Why, the least scrupulous of European conquerors, will be same down their ambition, and called their wars defensive means their ambition, and called their wars defensive means with the same assurance; so that, with the Scinder Afghanistan wars fresh in the readers's memory. Afghanistan wars fresh in the readers's memory, italian the exploded old state fiction is not worth answering is not wars place. is not wars alone that prove this passion for agg of of a c

The reader must recollect that it is not by confirmed from enemies, but by cessions extorted from from our unfortunated from our unf from our unfortunate allies, that a great part of the territory has always been, and continues to be obtained to territory taken by Lord Wellest People in time of peace was prodigious, and at the present the native States is going on steadily, not at the span errors. the native States is going on steadily, not at the epoch spendence of enemies but of friends. of enemies but of friends. It is no security to the nate the per Princes to have treaties with us or to recall good for the least no their alliance was balled by instinctive efforts of men to better their condition will always ensure the material Organic Domain. Such always ensure the material Organic Domain organic Dom er morals ming for

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in India is the turn the heirs adrift, and seize on their inheritatives to make in the same spirit we are confiscating the lives to make in the same spirit we are confiscating the lives to make in the same spirit we are confiscating the one mentions of the landed aristocracy, and it is believed that, one mentions of the landed aristocracy, and rent-free lands and in against on the resumptions of inams, and rent-free lands and rerishment and jagheers, we have, since 1819, appropriated rerishment and jagheers, the require of three million sterling of reishment are of jagheers, we have, since 1819, appropriated after ages and revenue. And why, for what purpose, is this of extortion, sant aggrandizement? Is it to give the natives Bureaucracy bessings of the British rule"? Let us see what event poster blessings have been.

elfish policy sty, In Bengal by one of the most sweeping confeel paints for the world ever saw, we transferred the whole teel painth cons the world ever saw, we transferred the whole hay decive and property of the community to a body of taxmph over solvers; but under such conditions that this body of
ll one day by invented landlords were ruined almost to a man,
pinion, and bold up by our Collectors, and their estates transd in that day to new men within ten or twelve years; and in
will be given to their tenants, yet we have left them from
italiant the other day it was said by the "Eviend of India"

lizement about the other day it was said by the "Friend of India", It is except 16th, 1852:—"A whole century will scarcely be nsion in latition to remedy the evils of that Perpetual Settletural course st, and we have not yet begun the task. Under its ag as we takeful influence a population of more than twenty ne Government was have been reduced to a state of such utter nt which recurry."

he natives, a mily, In Madras, by another sweeping confiscation, and patrons without a precedent in history, we assumed wernment of a the Government was the owner of all property by constitute and, and that in the words of Government, we deal about had "avoid all material evil if the surplus produce patronage, as in all cases made the utmost extent of our demand;" he immediately being the landlord's rent, and leaving to the cultian its appared only a bare sufficiency for his own subsistence; much in this surplus produce being demanded from the mment not be, not as a corn rent, but as a money rent, and ment is dense are miles and collected in districts averaging 7000 were defense Europeans, assisted by informers, with notoriously efensive minect surveys.

onquerors idly, When this Ryotwar system had ruined Madras, same doal forced it upon Bombay, in spite of Mr. Elphinstone's same class reced it upon Bombay, in spite of Mr. Exprinsione on sive measurements and nowhere did we at any time lower our me Scinde memory italian the system to this day.

State of a century, transit duties, which broke the memory of a century, transit duties, which broke the memory of a century, transit duties, which broke the memory of a century, transit duties, and demoralised

People of India, and left it a matter of wonder that

by comparison for the people of India, and left it a matter of woncer with the people of India through all their revolutions, and the people of India through all their revolutions, and the present of a great portion of freedom and the property of the people of India through all their revolutions, and the property of a great portion of freedom and the property of the people of security for person and property at the people full security for person and property at the people of English law, which has so utterly in the people of security, besides corrupting in the content of the people of security, besides corrupting in the people of security, besides corrupting in the people of security that in our civil courts, which give every in the people of the country have been governors of provinces and identified with its interests and specifical with its interests and of serfs, who are and identified with its interests and of serfs, who are the many of whom are regarded as little better than many of whom are regarded as little better than didentified with its interests and of serfs, who are the many of whom are regarded as little better than didentified with its interests and operations and identified with its interests and operations.

In the order of the people of security for person and property at the people of security for person and property

converted and transferred, and no man's estate is safe, and in our criminal courts nothing but his most singular ill luck can bring an accomplished criminal to justice; and even within a circle of sixty or seventy miles round our capital city of Calcutta, no man of property can retire to rest without danger of being the victim of Dacoits before morning.

6thly, We levied great taxes on the people, and drained away one-seventh of their net revenue to England, at the same time burthening them with a load of national debt for the first time in their history; and yet in spite of their admitted rights and necessities, we gave them back next to nothing in public works; never anything for education, unless forced by pressure from without and the vigorous initiative of private individuals, and then as little as possible; and in most districts beyond comparison less for roads, bridges, tanks, &c., than has been given by wealthy native merchants and country gentlemen.

7thly, We have long been systematically destroying the native aristocracy, who furnished consumers for the articles of commerce and luxury, who stimulated the production of the labourers, the manufacturers and the merchants, who were the patrons of art, the promoters of agricultural improvement, the co-operators in public works, and the only class who could enable us to carry out any comprehensive amelioration of native society: and we are extinguishing the native States, of which the effect is, according to Sir Thomas Munro, "in place of raising to debase the whole people," and according to the Duke of Wellington, "to degrade and beggar the natives, making them all enemies;" and meanwhile, our threat of absorption hanging over their heads, deprives both princes and aristocracy of any inducement to improve their country.

8thly, We regard the natives rather as vassals and servants than as the ancient owners and masters of the country, we have as little as possible of social intercourse with them, and although we allow them to do above ninety-seven per cent. of the work of administration, we monopolise the credit and emoluments of it, and keep every high office for ourselves. The establishment of our rule in any part of India at once shuts the door on the honest and laudable ambition of the natives; all prospect of enjoying those honours and distinctions, and lucrative situations of trust and power, which reconcile men to the oppressions of arbitrary rulers in native States, is thence-forward cut of; we divide the community into a government of foreign officials on the one hand, and a nation of serfs on the other; of foreigners, constantly shifting their quarters, having no permanent connection

with them, and the future is not a blank; instead of flying into our territory, they go from it, often in

some important works on the Kistnah were stopped because the people of the country fled en masse into

the Nizam's dominions.

And why do they prefer to live under "effete" native Governments? Because they do not feel themselves degraded as they do under us, for it is not the arbitrary power of a national sovereign, but subjugation to a foreign one, that destroys national power and extinguishes national spirit, and with this the mainspring of whatever is laudable both in public and private life; but we make them feel the rule of the stranger to their heart's core; we set a barrier of privilege between the natives and their foreign masters; the lowest European officer in a black or red coat, is above every native gentleman, though the latter may be the descendant of a line of princes, and is often a man of the most chivalrous feelings and the highest accomplishments; nevertheless, we treat them as an inferior race of beings and we are making them so; our monopoly of every high office, from generation to generation, is systematically degrading the people of India; the deterioration of native character under our rule is manifest to every one and Sir Thomas Munro went so far as to say, "it would be more desirable that we should be expelled from the country altogether, than that the result of our system of Government should be such an abasement of a whole people." Here are samples of "the blessings of the British rule"!

I have not the skill to state the case in eloquent language, and cannot express what I feel about it, but a man of imagination who pleaded this cause would often bring tears into his reader's eyes; however, I do beseech the reader to consider this series of facts, told in the plainest, simplest manner, and to say whether such "blessings" can justify our

passion for aggrandizement in India!

And I have not done. I have yet to describe the means and the end of gratifying this passion; because considering that our bureaucratic, irresponsible Government of India, has lately shown that it would no longer respect the clearest rights and treaties when it could find a pretext for grasping a little more revenue and patronage; and considering that Malcolm, Elphinstone, Metcalfe, Russell, Munro, the Duke of Wellington, and most of our great India statesmen, have emphatically condemned the absorption of the native States, and that our unfortunate allies, above 250 native Princes, in the presence of an overwhelming army, with no tribunal before which they can carry their complaints, and placed as a class out of the pale of the law, that they have now confiscation always hanging over their heads, I must explain the outrageous breach of faith involved in our absorption of native States, and show what the Duke meant when he said it "degraded and beggared the natives and made them all enemies."

The means now employed by the Government to absorb the native States are to deny the right of adoption. Probably the reader is aware that adoption is one of the most solemn duties of religion in India, in

to them, as their States would soon fall into our hand down and this right has been given to the without it; and this right has been given to the people inherit of India in express words, by an early Act of Pall And the Generals, as Lords Amherst, Metcalfe, and Auckland of a new country of the law officers of the Government of the covernment and asserted by the law officers of the Government think and the courts of Bengal over and over again, and harren, who been admitted by us for many years in the success which and requiring of prevous forget notice, or any reserve or qualification whatsoever in men's

Nevertheless, the Government has at length decided as I is more revenue, that, as the paramount power in high many end succeeding to the authority of the Emperor of paramount of the end of the succession of the end of th succeeding to the authority of the Emperor of Des gie too its sanction to an act of adoption is necessary, and its da fruit i essential to withhold this sanction; and according to expect has within the last few years set aside three adopted ating to and confiscated the native States of Sattarah, Colad abspirited and Mandavie, although in each of these three cas and there were collateral blood relations and heirs of the set of

deceased prince, after the adopted son.

Now I will first say a few words about the Empers Meanwh of Delhi, and put him out of the way; for he has m more to do with the question than the man in the mon ression.
When the poor Emperor came into our hands a su s a When the poor Emperor came into our hands a sus a Scindiah's prisoner, blinded twenty years before the we restore him to his empire? Certainly not! Disk know he then give us a grant of his paramount power's India? If so, how came we to make treaties with the feudatories as independent Princes? The fact is store in all the world knows, our paramount power was not and is kept, by the sword. And such are the "blessing our nate of the Point of th of the British rule," that we are obliged to remain armed to the teeth to keep it; and we had better at forget that we keep it by the sword of a native arm, which has a strong personal interest in the right and adoption. adoption.

I now come to the question of the sancing be som Undoubtedly where there is a dispute or doubt as by the control of No. the succession, the sanction of the paramount power is entired and bound to be the paramount power is entired and bound to be the paramount power is entired beath and bound to be the paramount power is entired beath and bound to be the paramount power is entired by the paramoun and bound to keep the peace in India and to pracy, prevent any violation of rights, or outrage on the feelings of the people, which may endanger to our public safety; and feelings of the people, which may endanged the tot public safety; and in a disputed or doubtful case of sed to the public safety; and in a disputed or doubtful case of sed to the public safety; and in a disputed or doubtful case of sed to the public safety; and in a disputed or doubtful case of sed to the public safety.

succession to the rightful claimant. But this sanction of the paramount power is Nor does judicial sanction; it is the same thing as the low ses, Nati Chancellor's decision on a will; and when the sale in litary is tion of the paramount power is required or required in allied States, not subject or belonging to it, who kno connected with it by treaties, its duty is to find the heir, and to give the succession to the heir, in part to seize on the inheritance itself, in defiance of the heirs.

son becomes as much an heir as an heir of the body, succession to a political power, in the force and effect one of the rights of a legitimate heir of the body. Privilege of the native Princes candath components and the components of the privilege of the native Princes candath components and the components and the components are successionally and privilege of the native Princes candath components are successionally and privilege of the native Princes candath components are successionally and privilege of the native Princes candath components are successionally and privilege of the native Princes candath components are successionally and privilege of the native Princes candath components are successionally and privilege of the principalities of Sattarah, and the principalitie It was as much an act of robbery for us to apply the the principal and act of robbery for us to apply the the principal and act of robbery for us to apply the the principal and act of robbery for us to apply the theory for us to apply th

Magration

UNREST IN BRITISH-RULED INDIA, PAST AND PRESENT

and orphan out of doors, and confiscates to the people of the people of the people of the people of a native State and go about our business of Government of a native State and go about our business of Government of think no more of the matter; like a ship's gain, and layer, who duly note in log, "run down a vessel in the success, in high all hands lost"; then pursue their voyage of prevocal forget it. But these things lodge and rankle hatsoever in men's minds in India, where too many of our length decided as I said, I am convinced that the Government se, of getting some day regret the system that is making power in lade many enemies. It will some day absorb a native ower in los many enemies. It will some day absorb a native peror of Delicie too many, and feel a pang like one who has sary, and it a fruit into his mouth with a hornet in it. We must accordingly it expect the Rajput Princes to lie still like oysters, are adopted ating to be dredged. They are and ever were a trah, Coabin the spirited, martial race, prompt to appeal to the see three cast and, and just the men to say, in a fit of exasperations of the in, "better an end with fear than fear without an

for he has a Meanwhile the natives have a stereotyped n in the more ression for their communications with us, which ur hand, a rest the confidence, we tread on ice, and ur hand, a us a false confidence, we tread on ice, and ret the current of passion flowing beneath, ly not! If the imperils our footing. The natives seem what unt power is the wind was the fact is a stove may be under its polished surface. For ver was we we was the interior out, we are obliged to keep it up the "blession and bettern and bettern native army, which may blaze into a sent out, we are obliged to keep it up the "blession and bettern native army, which may blaze into a sent out, we are obliged to keep it up the "blession and bettern native army, which may blaze into a sent out, we are obliged to keep it up the "blession and burn the empire. There may matchless in diplomatic art and sent out its polished surface. For which will travel for years to knit the initial sent out in the right of the sancia. The sent out is the sancia when the sancia we do attended to the provide the sancia when the current of passion flowing beneath, and we do attended to a provide the sancia when the current of passion flowing beneath, and we do attended to a provide the sancia when the current of passion flowing beneath, and we do attended to a provide the sancia when the current of passion flowing beneath, and we do attended to a passion flowing beneath, and we do attended to a passion flowing beneath, and we do attended to a passion flowing beneath, and we do attended to a passion flowing beneath, and we do attended to a passion flowing beneath, and we do attended to a passion flowing beneath, and we do attended to a passion flowing beneath, and we do attended to a passion flowing beneath, and we do attended to a passion flowing beneath, and we do attended to a passion flowing beneath, and we do attended to a passion flowing beneath, and we do attended to a passion flowing beneath, and we do attended to a passion flowing beneath, and we do attended to a passion flowing beneath, and we do attended to a passion flowing beneath, and we do attended to a passion flowing beneath, and we do attended to a passion flowing beneath, the sancha to be some outrage, which will suddenly raise a doubt as a lerrible as that which broke forth when the doubt as that which broke forth when the amount port of Monreale were sounding to vespers, a cry wer is entitled. Death to the Englishmen!" there may be some dia and piracy, of which, as at Vellore, we have not dia a suspicion, until the native regiments open their ndanger to our barracks; and, as a merchant who is ndanger our barracks: and, as a merchant who is of the prove the ship, a storm may arise in India which will award by more to maintain our power than all we have or can ever hope to gain, by our confiscation.

Nor does the injury stop with the families of the as the low does the injury stop with the rammes as the low ses. Native States support a numerous class of civil hen the same her to find or requested to find to find or same her to find or same 200 rupees a month which they spend in the us to apply, we substitute one or two Europeans, receiving olabah, and 2000 to 3000 rupees a month, and remitting the as it would of their salaries to England. Moreover, the hative State depends on the expenditure of the capital called at the capital attention and about the capital called attention and control of the capital called attention and capital dependent upon it, but the manuals ty, we substitute one or two Europeans, receiving and away and shopkeepers dependent upon them, are there, in the cultivators of the soil. This is why the tury before an opening was given for our supremacy;

Duke said that absorption "degrades and beggars the natives, and makes them all enemies."

Similar results follow in proportion, from the resumption of the landed estates of the aristocracy. Shore says: "To bring the subject home to an English heart and mind, let us turn our thoughts to our native land, and compare the effects produced by individual example and influence there, with what might have been the case here. Let us represent to ourselves an English country gentleman, overlooking his estate, promoting the improvement of agriculture, superintending the roads and public buildings, and subscribing to the local charities; as a neighbour, opening his house, and by his hospitality affording the means of social intercourse to his neighbours; all the different members of his family contributing their share to the general of his family contributing their share to the general good. Contrast the picture with the state of things in India. The upper classes of the natives, who used to occupy the above situations, ruined, and their places supplied by foreigners who keep aloof from the people, and whose ultimate object is to return to England with a fortune." He adds: "As to the number of respectable people who have suffered let any one leave the English stations, few and far between, and go into the country towns and villages and there see the innumerable houses which not many years ago were in good repair and inhabited by men who lived in the style of gentlemen, keeping up establishments of servants, horses, elephants and equipages but which are now all falling to decay, while their owners their descendants are dwelling in mud huts, with little more than the merest necessaries of life." And let the reader recollect that the destruction of the native aristocracy is still going on with unremitting vigour, as one of "the blessings of the British rule".

How can we reconcile it to our conscience or our reason to treat the natives in this manner? It was a beautiful fiction of the Greeks that Ulysses could no longer feign madness when his child was thrown before his plough; but we who have allowed a Bureaucracy to plough over India till the "iron has entered into the soul" of her people, we have been essentially mad without seeming so.

However, I believe there is a secret cause why the English public feel so little sympathy for the natives. which is entirely founded on a misunderstanding, and on ignorance of the native character. Lord Ellenborough said last session, that "no intelligent people would submit to our government" and though alone he would say it, I am satisfied in my own mind that many think it and that my countrymen in their hearts despise the natives of India because they do submit to our Government.

Nevertheless, this submission does not argue cowardice in those who submit. You enforce submission by an overwhelming mercenary army; and as long as that army is faithful, submission is a matter of necessity; but although, under such circumstances they submit to our government, there is not a race on the face of the earth who possess more personal courage than the men of India and the fact is not altered by their subjection to us, because the bravest people in

the great powers of the country had been shattered by trars, which may be called wars of giants, from the magnitude of their operations. In the last great battle, in 1768, which decided the contest between the Mahrattas and Rajputs, the forces brought into the field by the latter were 125,500 strong, and by the former 111,000 strong; large bodies of the troops on both sides being armed and disciplined in the European fashion; and I will quote the description of a charge of cavalry in this action, taken from the mouth of an eye-witness, Colonel Skinner, to show the gallantry of the men: — "We now saw Chevalier Dudennaig's brigade or division. which was on the left, charged by the Rahtors. He received them nobly, but was cut to pieces by them. Out of 8000 men he had not 200 left. The Rahtors, more than ten thousand in number, were seen approaching from a distance; the tramp of their immense and compact body, rising like thunder over the roar of the battle. They came on first at a slow hand canter, which increased in speed as they advanced. The well served guns of the brigade showered grape upon their dense mass, cutting down hundreds at each discharge; but this had no effect in arresting their progress. On they came, like a whirlwind, trampling over 1500 of their own body, destroyed by the cannon of the brigade. Neither the murderous volleys from the muskets nor the serried hedge of bayonets, could check or shake them; they poured like a torrent on and over the brigade, and rode it fairly down, leaving scarcely a vestige of it remaining, as if the sheer weight of the mass had ground it to pieces," Again, we are accustomed to consider the battle of Waterloo one of the most sanguinary that ever was fought, yet our loss in some Indian battles has been about double the loss at Waterloo. The proportion of killed and wounded at Waterloo was one to six; that of Assaye was just double, one to three and several have been near it; and the loss in the Sutlej battles, in 1846, was much more severe than that of Waterloo, being in the proportion of one to five.

I could add many other proofs of the personal bravery of the natives; but it has always been conspicuous : so I will merely remind the reader of the brilliant native armies of Clive, Lawrence and Coote, which carved out our way to empire. And yet those armies, unrivalled for valour and loyalty, were officered by native gentlemen with only one or two Europeans to a brigade; and this was our original system in India, until the thirst for patronage, as usual, surmounted every other consideration, and substituted European for native officers.

Of late years sheer financial necessity has forced us to return to some extent to the old system, which is copied in our "irregular corps": and the admirable state of efficiency and discipline of these "irregular corps" shows that we can employ the natives when we choose in situations of trust and power, and that it answers perfectly to do so.

To return to my subject, I think I have said enough to show that we should do very wrong to refuse our sympathy to the natives from a doubt of their courage; and they have many other qualities which entitle them to our warm and kind consideration. I have noticed in the chapter on public works, their disposition to found benevolent institutions, and they are remarkable for a degree of charity in private life which renders and directly to oppress India, yet dares the poor independent of public reliefible Partial. Gardical Kartor Converse, decision my countrymen that large family circles," says Mf. Campbell, "assist and stand by, and look quietly on while this partial stand by, and look quietly on while this partial stand by, and look quietly on while this partial stand by, and look quietly on while this partial stand by, and look quietly on while this partial stand by the standard standard

support one another to an admirable extent, Families generally live together as on the continent, and the generally live together as on the continent, and the young men who go out to service return, and remit money most dutifully to their families." The native merchants are particularly distinguished for their merchants are particularly distinguished for their merchants. honorable mode of doing business, as well as for their bey say, enterprise; and Englishmen who have resided in his true native States bear witness to the simplicity and straightforward manner of the agricultural classes both in their dealings with them and amongst each realway when they are correct to the simplicity and simply, and the simplicity and simply are always to the simplicity and simply are some and amongst each realways to the simplicity and simply are some simplicity. other. It is only when they are corrupted by then the external influences, by a demoralising judicial system for or oppressive taxation, that art and cunning are substituted for candour, as the only protection against the sand; and hand of injustice and power; and I will add that thee mong-doing to the sand in the sand; and it will add that the sand; and it will add the sa who have had much intercourse with the natives, in a God forbi commercial, political, or military character, almost invariably speak of them in very high terms; it is only among such judicial functionaries as have centred their observations on the most vicious classes of native society, and have overlooked the rest, that their detractors are to be found.

Finally, it has been said by one of the most experenced members of the Indian service, that, "for the transaction of business, whether in accounts, diplomatic correspondence, or the conduct of judicial, magisteral or financial affairs, the natives are seldom surpassed They are, on the whole, an intelligent, tractable, and loyal people, not deficient in energy when there is motive for exertion, and eminently calculated to promit the arts of civil life."

And now I have done. I have shown that although there may be more complaint of the Government England in one year, than we hear of the Government of India during two or three Charters, yet there has been suffering, not loud but deep, in the latter county its cup of grief has filled silently to the brim, ay, it his filled to running over, though few individuals plained of it in England. The unfortunate natives had their right of had their rights of property confiscated. Their class on our justice and humanity trampled underloot, the manufacturers, towns, and agriculturists beggated their excellent records. their excellent municipal institutions broken up the judicial security taken away; their morality corrupted their patrons systematically destroyed and even the religious customs violated, by what are conventionally called the "blessings of the British rule". The great results at once strike the conventional properties of the British rule. great results at once strike the eye of any man goes seriously in the eye of any man goes and the eye of an goes seriously into the question of our Indian administration: like the road tration; like the tombs by the side of the road the entrance. the entrance of ancient cities, these monuments the power of Bureaucracy are the first things we and in them lie burial transport to the first things we are and in them lie buried the hopes of India.

And as abuses were maintained in the province the Roman Posselline of the Roman Republic because the patricians who tired from their magistracy were shielded by the So is the Indian Company of the Roman Republic because the patricians who is the Indian Company of the Roman Republic because the patricians who is the Indian Company of the Roman Republic because the patricians of the Roman Republic because the patricians who is the Indian Company of the Roman Republic because the patricians who is the Indian Company of the Roman Republic because the patricians who is the Roman Republic because so is the Indian Government regularly shielded by Parliament. Nay, at this hour it is an understood that the ministry intends to seel the misery of India. leasing her out for another term of years norther to govern paternally, just as Isaac Walton exhorts angler, in hooking a worm, "to handle dare of loved him." The Legislature would not and directly to oppress India, yet dares to vote of the present the prese that the ministry intends to seal the misery of India leasing her out from the misery of India to seal the misery

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parlyrdom is once more consummated, their censentt. Families a unto the deed will leave a heavy debt of vengeance nent, and the sainst them, not only on earth but in heaven; it will retributive justice which The native of for their the saling as for their they say, "On our heads and on our children's be it!"

Tesided in the native of their their they say, "On our heads and on our children's be it!"

Tesided in the saling true that we have an overwhelming mercenary plicity and the word is passed, no danger above the plicity and amy, and the word is passed, no danger above the tural classes without some may be coming; and in history we mongst each at always wise after the event; and when it is too late, orrupted by then the bolt has fallen and the penalty has been paid, dicial system then for the first time do politicians see why a g are subst overnment based on injustice and bad faith could not against the sand; and what innumerable consequences of its own d that the mong-doing were all the while undermining its power. natives, in a God forbid that we should be wise too late in India!

acter, almos I have one more word to say in conclusion. Never, as; it is only since the world began, was so great an opportunity of have centred bing good offered to a great nation, as that which ses of nature their detract mightened, Christian England—is the sovereign arbiter most experiments and empress of that glorious land, with its hundred and fifty millions of "intelligent, tractable, and loyal" tople, and she might throw herself on the fallen spire, as Elisha did on the Shunammite's child, and put his mouth upon his mouth and put his mouth upon his mouth. magisteral and put his mouth upon his mouth, and his eyes m surpassed with Radio and his hands upon his hands"—so ractable, and might England stretch herself on the prostrate empire, hen there is and warm and quicken its torpid body, and breathe ed to promote tew life into India. She might raise the natives, and alch their progress, moral and material as a mother talches her child, and loves it the better for the anxieties thas cost her; she might behold, from year to year, he blessings she conferred, and feel the tie strengthenwhich attached her to India; she might have the aswer of a good conscience and the esteem of the whole ivilised world.

Oh my countrymen! may heaven itself soften your tarts, and awaken your sympathy for this interesting ople; may it teach you not to reject your fated portunity, nor again throw such a pearl as India Hore an irresponsible Bureaucracy.

It is to be borne in mind in reading the bove long extract that the pamphlet tom which it is taken was written before the Sepoy War, which it vaguely fore-iold, and that, therefore, many of the hings said of India of those days do not apply to present day conditions, though, we have said before, their effects remain. overs of India, Indian and British, the proof cannot but grieve that the note of warnby the Sent large sounded betimes by Mr. Dicknison
derstood the ladd others of his way of thinking was be sounded betimes by Mr. Dicknison derstood to the signs of the times will not be lost upon years northe signs of the times will not be list in be exhort, the present generation of the British

India is no longer governed by a Com-

for the better to India? Wrote Rev. Mr. John Long in the Calcutta Review for September, 1860.

"Late years have witnessed the annihilation of that mighty East India Company, 'the Empire of the middle classes' which so long ruled with absolute sway over the East,.....It is a question whether it has yet been succeeded by a better form of Government, one that will guard Indian interests and finances so faithfully and which will not allow the rights of natives to be sacrificed, in order to swell the coffers of Mammon. The Company invariably resisted, as far as they could, the spirit of political and military aggression; they might have been reformed, but destruction was not the remedy, and now we fear, inspite of themselves and their better principles, the Queen's Government is imperceptibly drifting into a policy like that of Austria in Italy, whose main points were unity, and centralisation to the sacrifice of local government, a foreign agency to administer as conquerors, and an entirely foreign army to back their views out. We know the result now in Italy, in spite of Austrian cannons and soldiers,nationalities will have their sway and so it will be in India.

"The East India Company won India, the problem is, will the Queen's Government keep it ?......The following lines were often quoted in old books in reply to people(who argued that the best remedy for Indian evils was to transfer the Government to the Crown-

I was well, I would be better, I took physic And here I lie.

The remedy was worse than the disease, and the victim of Empiricism died."

Though the transfer of the Government of India from the East India Company to the Crown has not literally led to the political connection severance of the between Britain and India, it is only a thorough enquiry into the condition of India under the Crown by an impartial commission that can allay the fears entertained regarding the evil consequences of the transfer. Exploitation of India has been going on more rapidly since her transfer to the Crown. Exploitation means impoverishment for India.

Another cause of unrest to which Mr. Dickinson did not refer, is the treatment of educated Indians. Macaulay from his place in the House of Commons said in 1833:-

"Are we to keep the people of India ignorant in order that we may keep them submissive? Or do we think that we can give them knowledge without awakening ambition? Or do we mean to awaken ambition and to provide it with no legitimate vent? Who will lany of merchants but by the Crown and to provide it merchants but by the Crown answer any of these questions in the attirmative by But was the change in immediately urukuncan gritosmection. The land wanswered in the affirmative by answer any of these questions in the affirmative? Yet every person who maintain that we ought permanently

to exclude the natives from high office....

"It may be that, the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that, having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or to retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English history. To have found a great people sunk in the lowest depths of slavery and superstition, to have so ruled them as to have made them desirous and capable of all the privileges of citizens, would indeed be a title to glory all our

But what do we find now? Is not every attempt made to try to discredit educated Indians? Mr. (afterwards Sir) Henry Cotton wrote in his "New India" :-

"The more Anglicised a native is, the more is he disliked by Englishmen. The sense of jealousy becomes greater. Whatever may be professed, Englishmen are ready to encourage the natives who speak broken English more than those who speak good English; those who are subject to Hindoo prejudices more than those who have renounced them; and generally those who are far removed from English habits of thought and life more than those who have made a very close approach to them. They are more pleased with the backward Hindoo than with his advanced compatriot, because the former has made no attempt to attain equality with themselves.

"This abhorrence of equality rankles in the mind of all Anglo-Indians, and especially of officials. It is the peculiarity of residence in the East to develop sentiments of intolerance and race superiority."

Educated Indians have been in the past considered as so many Frankensteins whom it has been the policy of the Bureaucratic government of India to always keep under.

It has yet to be seen whether, now that the Reform Act has been passed and the Royal Proclamation published, they are practically treated as citizens of the British Empire. Why the contagion of revolution did not affect England while it did almost every other part of the continent of Europe, was tried to be explained by Sir Edward Sullivan, Bart., in 1858, in his Letters on India as follows :-

"India opens out an almost exhaustless field for the educated labour of Great Britain, or in other words, it maintains at a higher level than that existing in any other country, the reward of the labour of

".....to men who weigh well the crowded condition of every outlet for educated labour in this country, and remember how dangerous to a state the has always been, it will appear an ample reason for has always been, it retain, if not all, at least a striving to the utmost to retain, if not all, at least a very sufficient portion of our Indian possessions. Itis no use of hyperbole to say that the marked tranquility of too of England, when all Europe was tottering, was owing not a little, to the outlet India had given to her listort.

—Letters on India had given to her listort.

not a little, to the outlet india had given to her listort. [England's] educated masses."—Letters on India, p. 20, ".....For fifty or sixty years India has been to the stead brains and intellect of his [the Englishman's] country to stream states have been to the them. what the Western states have been to the thew and sinew of America—the safety-valve that has yearly afforded an escapement for the surplus energy of ambition of our educated population. There is no mob, however numerous or violent, half so dangerous as an educated middle class irritated with want, and conscious of deserving more than the crush and competition of the multitude enable them to acquire,

"If we consider the price that is paid for educated ford prop labour in India, we shall see that it is at least twice as the make high as that existing in any other country."-Letten stland reon India, pp. 51-52.

If that be true, how can those who tru always to have a fling at the educated Indians, to cut a joke at their expense, to refer to them as "microscopic minority" expect anything but unrest in India?

The Government of India is not keeping puticism pace with the times. Wrote Major Evans Bell:

"..... we must allow them (the people of India) to Emine this touch, to handle, to taste and to enjoy, all those glorious fruits of British civilisation which we have taught them to understand and to appreciate We cannot give and withhold at the same time. We must continue to show the way in reform and reconstruction we must always confer and never concede; so long the British Government keeps moderately if advance of native opinion and native capacity, it all preserve the moral support of the influential class. without which peace and good order will for ever ke precarious, and physical force will be a doubtful and discounding. [The Empire in India, discreditable safeguard. pp. 10-11.]

The same author wrote in another

"The natives of India, of every caste and creed, at men of like powers and passions with ourselves, and in obedience to the universal law,—as true in socience as in a second science as in physiology,—the healthy development of their civilisation cannot proceed without space and range for the coverage of the coverage for the coverag range for the exercise of all their faculties constraint, too much assistance,—however benevolenty intended,—will but distort the phenomena of progressing disturb its steady course, and drive the stream into datas dangerous channels."

Retrospects and Prospects of Indian Policy

any apologist of the Indian lab Preface, pp. v-vi.] Bureaucratic Government plead that has been to has been keeping in advance of native opinion and control opinion and and native capacity or that am want and desperation of the educated commended and native capacity of the educated commended and native capacity of the educated commended and range has been given

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e reason for the natives for the exercise of all their the natives of the na iven to her listort the phenomena of progress, disturb India, p. 29, is steady course," and somewhat "drive been to the is steady course into dangerous channels" in n's] country be stream into dangerous channels" in

recent years? Should the Reform Act succeed in improving the economic, condition of the people and in easing the political tension, it would indeed be the most momentous step ever taken by the British people in India.

FINANCIAL ADJUSTMENT

By Prof. Nibaranchandra Roy, M.A.

crush and W their Report on Indian constitutional Reforms, the Rt. Hon. Mr. Montagu and H. E. Lord Chelmsford proposed to abolish all divided heads of revenue or educated to make income-tax and general-stamps imperial ast twice as y."-Letten aland revenue, irrigation, excise and judicial stamps mincial (Para 203). In paragraph 206, a table men (calculated on the basis of the budget figures 1917-18) containing the gross revenues of the educated sinces after this adjustment. A committee presided pense, to by Lord Meston is now enquiring on the best the Imperial Government, and it is, therefore, minent to subject the proposed method of division t keeping inticism from the point of view of Bengal. Morea, a charge has been brought against Bengal, that has been contributing less to the Imperial Exchequer the other provinces. It is necessary also to f India) to place the case of Bengal la fair and equitable basis. The authors of the the we have the Report further proposed to make up the deficit in eciate. We finances of the Government of India after the pro-We must adjustment, by a levy of 87 per cent. of the provinsurpluses. Although this plan, in the opinion of the sthan on others, they could see no alternative plan therefore, were compelled to recommend it as made. Madras and the United Provinces, as the inces most affected by this scheme, have raised a of protest, and it is necessary to examine the ands on which this protest is based.

Taking the figures given in the accounts for the 1917-18, and excluding the income derived from another shint under Bombay, which is a purely imperial conand also excluding the income derived from opium Bengal, which rightly belongs to the United le following Behar, say in equal moieties, we arrive le following table (figures are in crores of rupees):

Division. Present. Proposed. Pro-Total Pro-Provin-In-Imvin- Im- vincial come. perial. cial. perial. cial. Gain. 18.29 9.95 8.34 4.72 13.57 22.39 13.52 Indianajab at il dar and Orissa 6.53 brovinces 4.47 8.87 12.03 10.36 1.49 19.92 13.06 6.86 12.27 .79 7.65 7.17 7.30 3.00 11.47 4.17 4.17 5.50 0.74 8.93 5.15 4.48 5.56 2.94 7.10 1.54 3.30 1.35 3.23 2.48 0.82 4.05 3.12 4.05 0.42 0.93 1.93 0.44 1.49 0.22 0.22

It would appear from the table that the provinces would gain 18.62 crores of rupees, but the distribution is glaringly unjust, varying from over 5 crores in the case of Madras and the Punjab and 4 crores in the case of the United Provinces to '22 crore in the case of Assam. Bengal is only superior to Assam in gain and certainly this improvement would be quite inadequate for her evergrowing needs. Moreover, the land revenue being fixed, the only expanding sources in Bengal would be excise and court-fees, an increase in the income derived from which would mean greater drunkenness and greater litigation, an evil which no popular government can view with equanimity.

It would appear from the table also that the total revenues raised within the various provinces from all sources (excluding the purely imperial sources, viz., Mint, Tributes, Posts and Telegraphs and Railways) was 107'71 crores in 1917-18, out of which the Imperial Government appropriated 57'44 crores for its own purposes and left 50'27 crores to the provinces. If allthe provinces were made to contribute in the proportion

of 57: 107, the figures would stand thus:

A STATE OF S	Present Division. Total Pro- Re- Im- vin- Im-			7710	AND DESCRIPTION OF THE PERSON	
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THE RESERVE THE PARTY OF THE PA	AL CHOICE	699	57	: 107 5	50: 10	7
Bombay	22.30	13.52	8.87	11.92	10.47	+ .26
Bengal	19.92	13.06	0.80	10.01	9.31	+2.45
United Provinces Punjab	0.67	7.17	7.30	7.70	6.77	53
Burma	10.04	4.48	5.56	5.15 5.35		98 87
Behar & Orissa	6.53	3.30	3.23	3.48		18
Central Provinces	4.47		3.12	2.38	2.09	-1.03
Assam	1.93	0.44	1.49	1.02	0.91	58
Thus the state	ment	that Be	engal	contrib	utes	less to

the Imperial Exchequer than the other provinces is completely disproved by the above table which shows that Bengal contributed 21 crores more than she should have contributed on an equitable basis, even excluding the opium revenue and adding it in equal moieties to the revenues of the U.P. and Behar. Bombay also contributed 1½ crores more than the average and Madras and Behar were just paying their proper share. Whereas, Punjab, Burma and the Central Provinces each contributed a crore, and U. P. and Assam ½ a crore less than they should have contributed.

We have shown, therefore, that Bengal has not been paying less than the other provinces, nor has she been 107.71 57.44 50.27 38.82 68.89 18.62 Montagu-Chelmsford Report. Neither are the protests

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of Madras and the U.P., against the proposed levy provincial surpluses just, inasmuch as they would be gaining over 5 and 4 crores respectively by the proposed adjustment. Punjab also would gain over 5 crores and this would be largely due to the irrigation revenues to which we shall revert later.

It is now necessary for us to examine whether there are other methods of adjustment which would be more equitable than that proposed. To an impartial observer, the proposed method of adjustment would appear to be arbitrary and not based on any sound and well-recognised principle known to financiers all over the world. Although the distinguished authors of the Joint Report have tried to justify this division, the arguments advanced are not convincing. principal ground is, attainment of a uniformity in the standard of taxation by making income-tax and But this object can be general stamps imperial. attained by making legislation for these taxes imperial. Moreover, as a careful examination of the figures will show, by far the greater part of the revenue under general stamps is derived from non-commercial sources, particularly from the duty on the sale and mortgage of immoveable properties. Income-tax is at present divided under three heads: ordinary tax, super tax and excess profits tax. This last is temporary and need not detain us here. In any case, super tax and excess profits tax may very well remain an imperial tax and the ordinary income tax may be given over to the provinces.

A well-recognised method of division of finances between the imperial and provincial governments all over the world, is to assign the indirect taxes to the former and the direct taxes to the latter. Under this scheme, opium, salt, excise, customs, income tax (super tax and excess profits tax) and tributes should be imperial and land revenue, stamps and the imperial government should be provincial. Of course, the imperial government should retain the revenues from Mints, Posts and Telegraphs, Railways and commercial undertakings. The distinguished authors of the Report have proposed to make responsibility for famine relief provincial on the ground that land revenue has been made provincial. This is open to the very grave objection, that prevalence of famine in a particular province requires the transfer of food grains from other provinces which have a surplus, and this is best effected by the power which controls export and import and the means of transport and communication. It should not, therefore, be made provincial and as a direct conclusion, it follows that irrigation which represents famine insurance, cannot be made provincial. The Imperial Government has sunk 68 crores of rupees in irrigation works, and to make over all this capital to the provinces would unduly favour some of the provinces at the expense of the others. In the Punjab for instance 21\frac{3}{4} crores of rupees have been sunk on irrigation works which brought in a gross revenue of about 4 crores and a net one of 2 crores in 1917-18. In Bengal, only about one crore has been spent on two canals, the net revenue from which in 1917-18 was about 2'75 lakhs, or a loss of 2'75 per cent, against an All-India average gain of over 6 per cent, after paying the working expenses and the interest on the outlay. Other provinces may very well object to the arrangement which thus benefits some provinces at the expense

It would be fairer to assign the portion of land revenue due to irrigation to the provinces and the direct due to irrigation to the imperial exchequer and interced in the direct receipts from irrigation to the imperial exchequer and interced in the receipts from irrigation to the imperial exchequer and interced in the receipts from irrigation to the imperial exchequer and interced in the receipts from irrigation to the imperial exchequer and interced in the imperial exche to divide the working expenses and interest charge between the two in the same proportion.

The table given below has been compiled from the accounts of 1917-18 according to the following

(1) Revenues derived from Mints, Posts and Railways are purely imperial and

they are excluded from this calculation;

(2) Indirect taxes raised in the provinces and coming under the heads of opium, salt, excise, customs income tax (super and excess profits), tributes and ilone; h direct receipts from irrigation have been assigned by gistence the imperial government;

(3) All direct taxes raised within the provinces and coming under the heads of land revenue (ordinary and derived from irrigation), stamps, income tax (ordinary) to be the and other sources which are at present provincial, have But tho

been assigned to the provinces;
(4) The revenue from opium has been excluded from the figure for Bengal and included in equal carcity moieties under the figures for the U. P. and Beha, but assigned to the Imperial Exchequer.

		Division,			
and the state of the state of	Total	Pr	esent.	Prop	oosed, cial
tensor to best a					Pro- Gaing
The state of the s					vincial. Loss.
Madras	18.29	9.95	8.34	7.40	10.89 +2.55
Bombay	22.39	13.52	8.87	12.56	9.83 + 9
Bengal		13.06		11.02	8.90 +2.04
U.P.		7.17	7.30	4.88	9.59 +2.39
Punjab		4.17	5.50	3.77	5.90 + 4
Burma	10.04	4.48	5.56	3.49	6.55 + 49
Behar and Orissa	6.53	3.30	3.23	3.55	2.98 - 25
Central Provinces	4.47	1.35	3.12	1.27	3.20 + 10)
Assam	1.93	0.44	1.49	.68	1.25 - 24
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107.71 57.44 50.27 48.62 59.09

The gain to the provinces is more fairly distributed him to the in this scheme than the gain under the Montagu-Chellis ford scheme. All the provinces gain expanding source of revenue and their case on the whole is more hoper Only Behar and Orissa and Assam suffer to the extension of about 25 lakhs each. But if the revenue derive from ordinary income tax in Bengal is partly allocated to these provinces on the ground of their being definition the coal and the ground of their being definition. from the coal and tea industries respectively in polar and Assam a and Assam, no doubt this loss will be made goods a gain of the proper dimensions and the gain for Benge will be properties.

Finally, it may be urged that as the loss to be perial reviewed. will be proportionately reduced. imperial revenues will be about 9 crores instead nearly 14 crores under the Montagu-Chelmster scheme, and as this is more than covered by imperial surplus of the covered by th imperial surplus of over 8 millions sterling or 12 cross of rupees in the of rupees in the year adopted for the calculations for will be covered by the calculations for the calculations fo will be covered by the huge gain resulting the ciner exchange in the current financial year and may the ciner be expected to be covered by the same gain the other personnel two financial transmits should be adopted by the same gain to the other personnel transmits should be adopted by the same gain to the other personnel transmits should be adopted by the same gain to the other personnel transmits should be adopted by the same gain to the other personnel transmits and the other next two financial years, it should be adopted by the same gain in the otting next two financial years, it should be adopted by array financial Relations Committee presided over by array Meston and no contribution should be levied and contribution. provinces. Or, if this course be unacceptable to contribution on the basis of that suggested in long to the provinces.

of the general tax-payer or of the imperial exchequer. Joint Republic Domain. Gurukul Kangil Collegest, mandwar levied from the provinces.

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NOTES

Extension and Improvement of Agriculture.

nces and com. It is true, man does not live by bread tributes and lone; but it is also true that his bodily assigned in ristence is impossible without food. The provinces and apply of a sufficient quantity of whole-(ordinary and one and nourishing food ought, therefore, ax (ordinary) be the first concern of every country. ovincial, have But though India is a vast country having een excluded afficient arable land, there is chronic ded in equal sarcity of food here for the mass of the and Beha, people and frequent famines. The producion of food must, therefore, be increased; -though even if we produced more than Pro- Gaing mough food for our purposes, the politivincial loss ally powerful and wealthy nations of 10.89 +2.55 the West may bring about such extensive 8.90 +200 aports of foodstuffs from India as not to 9.59 +2.5 kave enough for its inhabitants. To 5.90 + 4 prevent such export, the people of India make strenuous and persistent 3.20 + 40 adeavours to gain perfect internal autoomy. But leaving aside the question of sport of foodstuffs, let us see how more hod can be grown. And in considering be means to be adopted one does not now where to begin. Improved agricularal methods may be taught, to some ttent, even to illiterate and uneducated kasants, but for thorough success as a ultivator one requires both general and agricultural education.

A mental awakening of the agricultural Population has to be brought about. That an be done by (i) free universal compulory education of all boys and girls, (ii) the provision of adult schools in or 12 control of adult schools in localities and small towns, (iii) by visual sulting and the cinema and the radio-optikon, (iv) by dopted by the country with demonstration ver by arrangement with the recitive and country with the recitive and co by arrangement with the railway board bition panies, and (v) by holding exhibents of agricultural produce, implebackward in all these respects.

Agricultural education has to be provided in addition to general education. In this, too, India is deplorably lacking. A comparison will bring out this fact. England and Wales are mainly manufacturing, not agricultural, countries, and their population is 35 millions. Yet there are nine institutions there providing full courses of instruction in agriculture and the allied sciences. They are of university rank, and the highest courses can lead up to a degree. Courses of a less advanced character are also provided at them. Courses more or less complete, but not leading up to a degree are held at six more agricultural colleges. In addition, there are thirteen institutions which either give general agricultural instruction of a less advanced character, or confine themselves to some particular branch. India is at present mainly an agricultural country and has a population of 315 millions. But, according to Mr. Sharp's tables in "Indian Education in 1917-18," there are only five agricultural colleges with 435 scholars in the whole of India. Nor is the paucity of higher agricultural institutions made up for by a sufficiency of agricultural schools of a lower standard. For in Mr. Sharp's tables we find only six such schools with 237 scholars for the whole of India. population of the United States of America is less than one-third of that of India. But there, not to speak of the 55 colleges and departments in universities teaching agriculture only to white students, there were in 1912-13 (figures for any later years are not at hand) 2,300 agricultural high schools alone, and the number of elementary schools teaching agriculture was much larger. Agricultural colleges and schools for Negroes numbered 426 in The total Negro population was 1913. only 10 millions.

Irrigation, the supply of good seeds bents, cattle, manure and seeds blichdia is ukuand good manures, and the introduction of new food crops are some of the other

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means to be adopted. The conservation of cattle and the improvement of their breed, the provision of sufficient pasture lands and the cultivation of fodder have also to be attended to. The indebtedness of the ryots should be put an end to and agricultural banking facilities provided.

The agricultural departments, imperial and provincial, should be Indianised in more senses than one. Not only should the staff be Indian from top to bottom, Indian students in considerable numbers being sent abroad for education at State expense for the supply of officers, but in all reports, books, pamphlets and leaflets which must be assumed to be meant for the people, the vernaculars of the provinces must be used as the languages in which to write them. However unintentional, but it is none the less a cruel irony that for an illiterate agricultural population agricultural literature in English should in the main be provided. Such literature in the vernaculars would also be cruel in the present illiterate condition of the masses, but slightly less cruel. Of course, a crushing reply to our observation may be given by the agricultural authorities, saying, "Who told you that we print agricultural literature in English for the people of India? We do it simply to show that we are doing something in return for our salaries, and in some cases in order that Europeans engaged in some kinds of agriculture may take advantage of what we write." We may be demolished in that way, but have not yet been.

We learn from Mr. Sharp's "Progress of Education in India 1912-1917" that

"The subject agricultural education in India has engaged the attention of the Government of India in one form or another ever since it has had an agricultural policy. Side by side with the organisation and expansion of agricultural departments, colleges have been opened and syllabuses of instruction framed; but the results have hitherto been disappointing." [The italics

It must be a great relief to learn that the Government of India has an agricultural policy, but unfortunately this feeling of relief immediately vanishes on learning that the results have been disappointing, should be carefully investigated with spite of agriculturad-0. Indeptriture the control of the carefully investigated with the carefully with the carefully with the carefully with the ca

colleges, and, above all, of syllabuses of instruction. This disappointment becomes that the keener when one learns that there is a Board of Agriculture and there were con. ferences at Pusa in 1916 and at Simla in 1917. Gigantic agricultural philan. thropy like this has never been so ill rewarded in any other country. At the Simla Conference, one of the conclusions was that each of the prin. cipal provinces of India should have its own agricultural college as soon as the agricultural development of the province justified the step. Why, then, is there no agricultural college in Bengal? Is it not a principal province? Or has there been no agricultural development here? If so, why? For the non-existence of an agricultural college in Bengal we do not blame Government alone. The two parties who can establish and ought to maintain such a college are Government and the landholders. They are both to blame.

Board of Agriculture.

The Indian Daily News writes that the experience of the official year 1918-19 led Board of Agriculture to discuss measures for meeting famine conditions in future years. "They held a meeting in December, 1919, and made a number of recommendations," some of which are:

"(i) The maximum charges for irrigation water should be reconsidered in connection with all irrigation schemes in view of the new level of prices:

(ii) Each Local Government in any province, where famine conditions can be mitigated by wells should have an efficient well-boring department ment under the charge of an Agricultural

Engineer. (iii) In connection with such well-boring department as is recommended, the cost of the successful trial successful trial borings should not fall on the il-

dividual landowners in whose land they are made (iv) A systematic survey of the supplies of derground water survey of the supplies by underground water, which can be tapped by wells or small bores, should be undertaken, as soon as possible, in areas where famine conditions can be mitigated. tions can be mitigated by wells. In spite of recommendations recommendations of the Irrigation Commission this survey has not the this survey has not been made to anything like the extent that is desirable, and its importance has not been fully

The possibilities of strainer tube wells be carefully in the strainer tube. has not been fully appreciated. should be carefully investigated where there is (vi) Rivers and other sources of water which

gans in rofitable e questi a made i possible, a arefully (vii) T mine, of irregula e check stances bould be (viii) gat imp bould be uservat: reased ay be r provem lage ins mans of a ight be c e develo thich, wh all grow (ix) It mine has ie improv tacts and

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be profitably utilized by pumping and other ans in seasons of drought (even if at other their employment is not likely to be officiable) should be surveyed and mapped, and equestion as to whether preparations cannot made in advance to utilize these, as fully as posible, as soon as a drought occurs, should be arefully considered.

The importance, for the prevention of mine, of protective works such as embankments regulating the run-off of water from land and checking of erosion, combined in many sances with afforestation of part of the area.

bould be recognized.

(viii) In tracts of light rainfall it is of very nat importance that serious investigations ould be undertaken into methods of moisture uservation by which the yield of land can be reased in a normal year and the risk of failure be minimized in a year of drought. The provement and effective use of improved lage instruments is one of the most effective mans of attaining this end. Such investigations ight be combined with botanical enquiries into edevelopment of crops and strains of crops hich, while normally giving a satisfactory yield, agrow under conditions of minimum rainfall.

(ix) In as much as the loss during the recent mine has largely consisted in the loss of cattle, improvement of grass areas, in all precarious acts and in other tracts which can supply m, should be a matter for serious investigaon by the Agricultural Department. sturally involves the storage of fodder in

ormal years.

(x) An investigation should be undertaken, tach tract liable to famine, of the emergency der materials available and not usually lized, and the best way of using them.

(xi) Facilities and concession rates on railys should be given in famine tracts for the

Port of cattle so as to relieve distress.

The problem of famine prevention and of has now assumed a new aspect. The ablished policy of relief works and gratuitous of depends for success on the existence, sometre in India, of adequate stores of grain, while very success of relief operations tends to terate the motives which, in the past, have ated local stores of grain. Therefore, a special should now be made into the means treby a sufficiency of foodstuffs can be secured the event of two successive monsoon ures. The best agency for making such an Wiry would be a strong Famine Commission pointed by the Government of India."

On these our contemporary comments, Jhtly, as follows :-

very instructive blue-book this, which bild be widely read in an agricultural country But the difficulty is, it is written in and sample and But the difficulty is, it is written in

tents may perhaps be of greater use, but possibly in that case too we shall have to wait till Primary education makes the necessary progress. But before that blessed consummation comes, Zemindars and the educated public may take advantage of it and help the "chasha" in growing two blades of corn where one used to grow before.

The suggestion as to well-boring reminds us that a few years ago Dr. Rabindranath Tagore obtained excellent well-boring apparatus from America, but could not find anybody to put it to use.

Economic Importance of Sanitation.

Unless men and women have strong and healthy bodies, they cannot succeed either in agricultural or in manufacturing industries. Peasants and farmers may have the best general and agricultural education, the best seeds, manures, implements and cattle, and excellent irrigational facilities, yet if they are frequently ill and die prematurely, a country cannot be made agriculturally prosperous by them. So good sanitation of rural areas is a sine qua non of agricultural expansion, improvement, and prosperity.

In this connection the following extract from the Indian Medical Record would be found directly and indirectly suggestive:

The Medical needs of the country are, firstly, the formation of a medical corporation, like say, the British Medical Association, with branches over different parts of the country. This will not only protect the professional interests of medical men but will focus public attention on medical matters very easily.

Secondly, we should have a ministry of public health-composed not of the inevitable I. M. S. man to boss the show, but of eminent Indian practitioners in charge of the portfolio. Provincial ministries should also be formed under the

care of Indian ministers.

Thirdly, in each province, a medical man should be an associate director of public instruction, or if each province gets a minister of health, the education department should be partly controlled by that minister through an army of school Medical Inspectors, Baby Welfare bureau and Child Welfare workers.

Fourthly, we want medical plants cultivation farms, Botanical gardens well stocked with medicinal plants, medicinal plant seeds depots

copoeia Indica on the lines of the B. P., but including as many Indian drugs as possible. For this purpose there must be standing provincial as well as imperial medical committees composed largely of Indian chemists and Indian medical practitioners.

Sixthly, we want the country to be flooded with small hospitals and manned by Indians. Less money should be spent on buildings and more on equipment, pay and upkeep expenses. Either along with these hospitals or separately should be established a large number of research laboratories and pathological institutes.

Seventhly, we want medical and surgical appliances and dressings as well medicines made in India. The raw materials for them are ample and Indian capital and labour should be employed to exploit the same. Or, when and if complete self-government is ours, these industries may be nationalized.

Eighthly, we should have medical colleges in each of the commissioners' divisional headquarters and medical schools in each of the districts of India. Indian Pharmacopoeia, Indian languages and Indian teachers should be the sine qua non of these institutions.

Ninthly, we want the entire educational policy revised so as to press less on the young hopefuls and to give them an education that is more humanly. Each pupil male or female must know anatomy, physiology and hygiene-no matter what his or her standard of education.

And tenthly we want peripatetic demonstrators showing the latest achievements of modern medical science; dispensaries carrying treatment to one's very doors; sanatoria for tuberculous patients; medical benefit insurance; homes for incurables; public symnasia; staterecognised annual physical games; philanthropic societies for helping indigent mothers and babies. Our wants are so many that we can but give a brief list of them within the space at our disposal.

Medicines from Indigenous Plants.

Government have been making experiments in the manufacture of medicines from indigenous plants. That is good. But what is unsatisfactory is that the committee which is charged with the direction of this work consists entirely of officials and European officials. Surely there are Indians fit to be members of this committee. Why should Indians be kept at arm's length, and that even in a matter in which there is no question of politics involved? Or is it intended

attained, the industry should be handed over to European entrepreneurs? However, whatever Government may do, the people of the country should not lose sight of the Indian medicinal plants as sources of wealth and health. Why should not Indian doctors and druggists take advan. tage of works like "Indian Medicinal Plants" published by the Panini Office of Allahabad?

Child Welfare.

The children of a country are its chief assets; and it is a pleasure, therefore, to find that child welfare work is being or. ganised under official auspices in province after province. It is true that the donors are chiefly those who give their pecuniary support to all official projects, whether good or bad, necessary or unnecessary; but we have to take things as they are and be thankful for whatever good may result It is only to be hoped that foreign agency will not be employed for the organisation except temporarily to the extent that Philanthropy may be strictly necessary. and exploitation ill go together.

The importance of child welfare work has been shown in articles published in previous numbers of this Review.

Prospecting for Minerals.

The mineral wealth of India, to the lik, Mg. extent that it is extracted and exhausted is not renewable, except perhaps in some very remote geological age billions of year hence. For this reason, while full atter tion should be paid to the development the vegetable and animal resources of India by the people of the country, the fact by miner should not be lost sight of that mineral have hitherto been extracted and utilised for the most part by foreigners. Indians should come into the field in increasing numbers.

We read in New India some months ago. heir sex

The Fort S. George Gazette announces that essrs. Best and S. George Bazette announces that Messrs. Best and Co., have been given certificate of approximately control of approximately cont certificate of approval under the Mining which will enable which will enable them to carry out prospering or mining. money and after thorough success blass been kull coord on Fraser at its head—the latter gentlems

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chamber of Commerce in the City. These articulars must suffice to indicate the nature of the Company to which the Government have ben pleased to give the certificate. Evidently he process of intensified exploitation has begun and unless it is checked in the initial stage, it pay soon assume serious proportions.

We do not know whether any Indians have obtained prospecting licenses or ights in the Madras Presidency. In Rengal, Chota-Nagpur and Assam, Messrs. Bird & Co., have been carrying on prospecting operations for sometime past. We have noticed that the Indian firm of Messrs. y. C. Sircar & Co., have obtained a rospecting license. We do not know whether any other Indians have obtained smilar licenses. Burmans and Indians in Burma are probably more enterprising and wide awake in this respect than we are Some time ago we read in the here. Burma Observer :-

A certificate of approval has been granted beach of the following persons to prospect imminerals in the Province of Burma:-

Messrs. The Tavoy Concessions, Ltd., Mr. T. Greenhow, Tavoy; Mr. C. Swee Rwah, Tavoy; Mr. W. H. Olivant, Tavoy; Mr. F. B. Ady, Rangoon; Mg. Po Kin, Twinza, Rangoon; Mg. Pottler, Tourgoo: Mr. lenangyaung; Mr. C. A. Petley, Toungoo; Mr. I. J. Ispahany, Rangoon; Mr. Hassan Ameen, langoon; Mr. H. H. A. Peters, Moulmein; Mg. ha Dun, Moulmein; Mg. Tun Hman, Mg. kk, Mg. Shwe Kun and Mg. Po Han (jointly), binywa, Myingyan District; Ma Ngwe Nyun, Joulmein; Ma Hmwe, Moulmein; Mr. Mohamed sleiman, Yenangyaung; Mr. Lim Kyee Yan,

Again, in the same paper:

A certificate of approval has been granted each of the following persons to prospect minerals in the Province of Burma: Ma Twe, Kawkareik; Mg. Tun Wm, loungoo; Mg. Ba Chit and Ma Saw Yin wintly), Moulmein; Mg. Shwe Hla, Ramree. Indians

Note the Asiatic names in the above nths agoing them. The word "Ma" denotes unces that heir sex. tracts. There are four Burmese ladies

A New Forest Service.

t prospec The formation of a Forest Engineering the formation of a Forest Discovern-than been announced by Govern-Co, is then has been announced by Govern-The officers of the new service are to be

trained in Canada and the United States of America. The forests of India ought certainly to be properly conserved, developed and exploited in the interests of India. But this should be done by properly educated indigenous labour. Therefore the recruits to the new service should all be Indians and they should receive their training in Canada and U.S. A. But it may be taken for granted that they would all be Britishers. The existing Forest Imperial Service consists of 10 officers, of

whom only one is an Indian.

Like all other kinds of education, except that which was introduced for the manufacture of clerks and lawyers for the most part, education in forestry, too, has been greatly neglected in India. The area of India is 1,803,000 square miles, and it contains only two forest colleges. The area of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland is only 121,377 square miles, and yet there forestry is taught at the School of Forestry in the Forest of Dean, Oxford University, Cambridge University, the University College of North Wales, Armstrong College in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Agricultural Colleges at Cirencester and Wye, Edinburgh University, and three Scottish colleges of agriculture. In the U. S. A. forestry is taught in 23 Universities and colleges.

British People's and Parliament's Zeal for India's Welfare.

In our comments on the Royal Proclamation in the last January issue, we wrote:-

When.....His Majesty proceeds to declare that "the Parliament and the people of this realm and my officers in India have been equally zealous for the moral and material advancement of India," we must say that His Majesty has not been rightly advised by his ministers and correctly informed by his informants. The Indian Budget Debate in the House of Commons has ever been the signal for a stampede for the vast majority of its members. the people of the British Isles are indifferent to Indian affairs, British newspapers experience a fall in their circulation if they write frequently on Indian affairs,.....

Hon those of the Imperial Forestic Service with Next Macdorald's book on "The Gov-

ernment of India" in the Daily Herald and which has been reproduced in United India. We give an extract below:

As a guide to India for men and women who wish to understand the present critical situation I think the book is unrivalled.

ENGLAND'S INDIFFERENCE.

It is quite true that very few people wish to understand. The blind ignorance and indifference to India are strange and lamentable symptoms for our "Imperialism". "Speak of water," says the Central African proverb, "and the fish are gone." Speak of India, and the audience clears out. If one evening a year is given to the discussion involving the destiny of some 350,000,000 of our so-called fellow-subjects, the House of Commons can hardly beat up a quorum for the occasion. Our minds are too full of our own affairs to tackle so enormous a subject.

British Teachers of English for Indian Students.

The following sentence occurs in the Report of the Calcutta University Commission:

Bengal needs better teaching of English, and for that purpose English-speaking men and women who are trained teachers are required in larger numbers, especially for work at the intermediate stage.

Two questions arise here. Are Englishspeaking teachers necessarily better teachers of English to Indian boys and youths than English-knowing Indian teachers? And, are English-speaking teachers indispensably necessary? The following extract from an article on "Educating the East" contributed by Mr. J. D. Anderson, D. Litt., I.C.S. (Retired), to the Times Educational Supplement for January 2, 1919, has bearing on these questions :-

"The position [in India] is strictly parallel to that which has driven us to the conclusion that even foreign living tongues are taught to Englishmen by Englishmen."

From which we may conclude that in the opinion of Dr. Anderson, who is himself a teacher of a foreign living tongue at the universities of Cambridge and London, English, which is to us a living foreign tongue, is best taught to Indians by Indians. This is our opinion, too.

The Case for Egyptian Independence.

Considering that the Egyptians cannot kulk and following the country.

"The foundations of our independence of London assert their independence by their unaided in 1840, and furthermore, there are upwards in 1840, and furthermore, there are

might and that there is not a single power by form ful government which will agree to help regime them in winning independence, it may spained seem strange that they should continue it as the to declare that nothing but independence can satisfy them. In fact, there was a hadow Reuter's telegram dated Cairo, January 28, which ran:-

Cairo, Jan. 28. Zagloul Pasha, replying to the representation from Ministers, refuses to negotiate with the Milner Mission except on the basis of complete independence.

What is the inwardness of this resolute attitude? The declaration of the Egyptian Nationalists refusing to negotiate with story of the Milner Mission gives the following be mo reasons:-

First, that the Egyptian Nation question is an International question, and to agree to enter into pourparlers with a British commission would be to deprive the question of its real form, classifying it as a domestic question for settlement between ourselves and Great Britain:

Secondly, that the Commission wishes to conduct pourparlers based on the Protectorate, which the nation does not accept, claiming titude complete independence;

Thirdly, that a plebiscite must not be made included the regime of martial law.

The position is made clearer still by the magn following extract made by the Mahratta from a British paper:

Cairo, December 27.—In a conversation with Dr. Hafez Bey Afifi, a member of the Egyptian Delegation, in regard to the motives actuating members of the Delegation in advising Egyptians to boycott the Milner Commission, and also generally in regard to their objections to the British Protectorate, Reuter's correspondent asked: "Why are the Egyptians boycotting the Milner Commission." boycotting the Milner Commission?"

"They are boycotting it," said Dr. Half Afifi, "because its programme, as announced in both Houses of Parliament, is to act with the Protectors of Parliament, is to act with the Protectorate, and the Egyptians refus

"What do the Egyptians understand by

"A Protectorate ?"

permanent link of subordination which will be thing i never been, and has ever been, ated and the permanent link of subordination which will be thing i never been, and the subjection to British to this I involve our indefinite subjection to British to this I rule. It is, in our view, an inferior mate, an humiliating form of rever ment, wholly have the humiliating form of government, wholly have have ace Bu patible with the degree of civilisation we have acce Bri attained, as also with the recent political necession of the country to the recent political necession.

"The foundations of our independence were to compare the foundations of our independence were the country of London to compare the country of London to compare the country of London to compare the country of London to control to compare the country of London to control to country. in 1840, and furthermore, there are upwards

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the power of the p January hundred years' struggle for independence, and came and imposed upon us a 'de facto' eplying to well as a 'de jure' supremacy in the form of

THE OPPORTUNE MOMENT.

"Let me assure you that the honourable masion for evacuation which Lord Salisbury seeking in 1883 has at last been furnished Egyptian this great war of liberation and by the following be more opportune. The great war has ought to the forefront the cult of an ideal of arty and national self-realisation, and Egypt question is seen the first among Oriental nations to gest and proclaim such an ideal."

commission Reminded of the recognition of the Protectoof its real the by the other Allies, Dr. Hafez Afifi said:uestion for "Far from making your position more at Britain Licult, we think that the recognition of the wishes to intectorate by most of the Powers ought to otectorals, ake it easier for you to adopt a conciliatory , claiming titude towards us. Your dignity our propre having been saved by this ot be made blomatic victory, you can now afford to mowledge our independence. Such a noble ill by the magnanimous action on your part would

The Empire, the Anglo-Indian evening sation with ally of Calcutta, says that the Egyptian e Egyptim wspaper El Misr published on January actuation a resume of the recent conversation ng Egyph tween Lord Milner and the Grand Mufti objection the head of the Mohammedan ecclesiastical er's corres wild). Our Anglo-Indian contemporary Egyptians en reproduces the resume as follows:—

CAUSE OF TROUBLE. lord Milner having remarked that he did not ow the cause of the troubled spirit which was load, the Mufti replied :

That troubled spirit is due to a natural cause. the declarations of great Allied statesmen, rstand by claiming principles of liberty for all peoples, as the exception, finds her hopes frusand a Protectorate declared when she was

er been and a Protectorate declared when she was which which to this Lord Milner rejoined that the interests to British Great British in the Residence of the British of the Residence of the British in to B and Great Britain and Egypt required a Protecferior incompate, and that Egypt's independence would and that Egypt's independence would we have a seem of the orient.

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Lord Milner: "I am certain that there are Egyptians who are disposed to treat with us, but fear keeps them back."

The Mufti: "Every country has its traitors,

but any patriot would refuse to discuss."

CLEAR HINT.

Discussion, replied Lord Milner, would be more profitable than boycotting. He added:

"Do not forget that we are the most powerful nation in the world. No country can oppose us. It is not to your interest that we should impose our will. Moreover, it is not our desire to do so."

"The entire nation," declared the Mufti, "claims independence, and it would, therefore, be useless to speak any other language.

"I do not forget your power, but if Egyptians bend to-day before force, they will profit by the first occasion to revolt.

"Between Syria occupied by France, and Tripoli occupied by Italy it is better for you that Egypt should be independent and a friend."

All that," said Lord Milner, "does not prevent a loyal discussion."

"We can have no discusson," replied the Mutti, "until the Protectorate is withdrawn."

A copy of a letter written by M. Saad Zagloul, chief of the Egyptian Delegation at Paris, in reply to Lord Curzon's speech in the House of Lords on November 25, 1919, was sent to the Manchester Guardian, which has summarised it as follows:-

M. Zagloul says that Egypt is, with the exception of the few newly-created Ministers, absolutely unanimous in demanding complete independence and in repudiating the proposed Milner Mission, "whose greatest object is to effect the confirmation of the protectorate.' The protectorate, says M. Zagloul, is not accepted by the Egyptians, and it cannot be lawfully imposed on a people who revolt against it, especially after the promises made by British statesmen such as Lord Salisbury, who, on June 10, 1887, declared in the House of Lords:

It was not open to us to assume the protectorate of Egypt, because his Majesty's Government have again and again pledged themselves that they would not do so."

M. Zagloul points out that before the British occupation the Egyptians had "internal independence" and a voice in the foreign affairs of their country, and for that reason-

"they will not listen to a promise of so-called 'progressive development of self-governing institutions' under the protectorate, because such a promise simply means that they will be deprived of what they already had in 1840, and will push them eighty years back in the scale of civilisation, a thing which for them is altogether unthinkable

the Mufti: "No Egyptian would enter upon and impossible."

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he continues, has then under-rated by the British, just as the American movement for independence was under-rated by them. The British authorities have-

"induced his Majesty's Government to take it for a simple superficial movement led by a few irresponsible individuals, and which could be easily suppressed by machine guns and aeroplanes dropping bombs on villages :..... The truth is that the present movement for independence is real, deep, spontaneous, and universal......The British in Egypt, through their naturally characteristic reserve and lack of contact with the people, and through their complete ignorance of the Egyptian's tastes, habits, and aspirations, are quite unaware and unconscious of the prevailing Egyptian national spirit......If the British Government could realise the depth and scope of the present national movement, they would not attempt the impossible by trying to subjugate a whole race by force. And it matters very little that the President of the United States and the French Government have sanctioned the British protectorate, for the people of these two great Republics are sympathising with us, and, as a matter of fact, it is peoples and not diplomatists that will rule the world before long.'

M. Zagloul agrees with Lord Curzon in saying that Egypt's connection with Turkey is at an end, and adds that neither Turkey nor Great Britain has any claim to Egypt. He expresses confidence in the League of Nations and pleads for an end to bloodshed. In conclusion he says :-

"A thinly veiled annexation bearing the name of 'protectorate' can no longer deceive anybody, and the thick screen which the British Government have placed between us and the British public will soon be penetrated by our cries. still believe that the great democracy of Great Britain is capable of doing justice to the Egyp-

Compared with the demand of the Egyptian Nationalists, the demands of the extremest "Extremist" of the Indian National Congress are very moderate indeed. So our "Extremists", bearing in mind that they are after all very moderate in their demands, should condescend (is that the word?) to make friends with our "Moderates"; and our "Moderates", bearing in mind that our "extremism" compared with Egyptian Nationalism is as water is to wine, should deign (is that the shake hands with greater Ireland and a bigger Phis pomain. Gurukul Kang Collecting omnesathan they had at home really and probably continued there. eee that India does not develop into

"Communique" about I. E. S.

In the Government communique relating to the to the Indian Educational Service, it intistics

lation (1) That the pay will be the same for ale production of the service irrespective of the same for ale production of the same for all productions of the same for al members of the service irrespective of race, plant the of recruitment, etc., but that there will be also divise system of overseas allowances based of oted f

What really matters is the sum of money der C paid; it is immaterial whether it is called ter by 'overseas allowance' or part of the salar, mbers The rose called by any other name smels in I as sweet. The appointment of non-Indian larts. to I. E. S. posts and the payment to then m, whi of an overseas allowance could be justified if qualified Indians could not be found to fill any and every post in the Service. But at of the truth is, the Service can be manned is about from top to bottom by Indians without in M impairing its efficiency in the least Therefore, the filling of any fraction of the Service by non-Indians is an injustice to Indians; and giving the former overseas allowances is an aggravation of that injustice. The announcement that 50 percent. of the Service are to be Indians can give us no satisfaction; for we have a just claim to 100 per cent.

A clever but too transparent device has been in use for some time past to sfigures indirectly justify the payment of overses we find allowances to British officers in India light India has been decided to pay Indians serving a temale p Government servants in England an over that nur allowance in the same way at the other Britishers serving the Government her ils of se are paid extra large salaries. But ever beer, E a child can see through the trick. Overses tast bety allowances paid to the quarter dozen educati and, in future, the half-a-dozen member de class of the Secretary of State's Council the Secretary of State's Country It is a London, can never counter-balance such rondary allowances paid to hundreds of fat siss in salaried Englishmen here. It should also the remainder the remainder the remainder that the contract the should be remaindered. be remembered that most of the Indian who are appointed to the India oreally reality in London London, have their incomes greatly de ou reduced by the acceptance of office abroad re ital whereas Englishmen coming out to Indian the as Government

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Statistical Jugglery.

There is a humorous division of lies que relation the three classes of lies, d-d lies and ervice, it stissics, implying that by clever manilation of statistics an impression can same for approduced which does not in fact tally of race, placeth the reality. We were reminded of re will be division on looking at certain figures based a from Mr. H Sharp's "Progress of acation in India 1912-1917" by the m of money der Commission in their Report and it is called ter by Mr. P. J. Hartog, one of its the salary imbers, in a recent lecture delivered by ame smell in London before the Royal Society 10n-Indian larts. The figures for elementary educabe justified percentage of the population enrolled elementary schools is lower than ervice. But tat of any country named in the table; be manned is about one-fourth of that of Ceylon.
us without ien Mr. Hartog, following Mr. H. tion of the larp, says:

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Percentage of the population enrolled in Secondary Schools. United States of America 1'502 ... German Empire ... 0.088 England and Wales 0.62 ... India 0.486 ... 0-354 ... France

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ance such and are education has made more pronould also at the contrast between the figures for a Coulci mary and for secondary education is es greatly de out. For the sentence which we to India the number of pupils counted as at home at home really reached as eacondary education in India

tion. Therefore in order to form a correct estimate in comparison with other countries, half the number of students should have been deducted from secondary schools and added to elementary schools. If that had been done, the table for seconday education would have stood thus:—

Countries	Percentage of the population enrolled in
	secondary schools.
United States of America	a 1.502
German Empire	0.988
England and Wales	0.62
Japan	0.354
France	0.32
India	0.243

Even if for India only the male scholars and the total male population alone were considered, the percentage would be '434, which is not a high figure. If this figure be sought to be compared with the figures for other countries, it must be ascertained what percentage of the male population of those countries are in their secondary schools, which neither Mr. Sharp, nor the Sadler Commission, nor Mr. Hartog has done.

For the fact that elementary education has made only insignificant progress in India, Government is greatly and almost wholly to blame. It had along persistently opposed the making of primary education free and compulsory; only advance made in - recent years is that it has allowed private primary education bills, which are not thorough-going measures, to pass the understanding that Government would not be obliged wholly to bear the cost of the projects. For the backwardness of girls' education, too, the Government are in great part to blame; for the State has never made adequate efforts to educate the girls. The social customs of India are not everywhere equally obstructive to their education, which has made greater progress in many Native States than in British-ruled India.

t to have the number of pupils counted as and secondary schools and for colleges and at how really secondary education in India universities in India with those in other really receiving elementary blic Educa Gurukur kangnicollection, Hardwar never be forgotten

that the standards reached in our schools and colleges are lower than those reached in corresponding institutions in advanced Western countries. Many of our secondary schools principally teach what is taught in the higher forms of elementary schools in the West, and more than half the number of our college students are really less advanced than the higher form boys of secondary schools in England, Germany, U.S. A., &c. Chapter XII, II, 10 of the Sadler Commission Report tells us that when an English boy leaves school at 16 "to begin a business career," his "equipment for life" is "far from satisfactory. But it was rich in comparison with that of the average Bengali boy when he enters the University at about the same age."

So the mere names of elementary, secondary, collegiate, or university education, should not be allowed to mislead us. We should dive beneath the surface and understand what standard and kind of education these names connote in different countries. We should not think that, because the percentage of scholars attending institutions of a certain grade in India is equal to that of nominally the same grade in a certain Western country, therfore, the two countries are equally educated:

8. We now come to university education. The figures are comparable to those for secondary education. The following approximate figures are given by Mr. Sharp for 1914—15; they are undoubtedly liable to correction, but are sufficient to indicate the facts:—

Percentage of population enrolled in Universities.

United States of America	- Torred	in Oniversit
trance	•••	0.518
Italy	***	0.106
Netherlands	***	0.063
England and Wales	***	0.066
India	•••	0.024
211	111	0'024

Of the Indian male population the pecentage receiving university education is 0.048 or, say, 5 in 10,000, not far short of the British figure for the population as a whole. If we take Bengal we find that in the University of Calcutta which has some twenty-five of its colleges in Calcutta itself, and rather more than this number scattered through the province, there were in 1917—18 just under 26,000 students, as against the 26,700 "full-time" students in all the British universities together in the year before the war. The full-time students in the British universities included many who were not preparing for degrees. In Bengal all

For comparison of the percentage of the Indian male population at college with the corresponding British figure, the British figure for the population as a whole ought not to be taken; the figure for the male British population at college ought to have been ascertained, for even in the British Isles, as large a proportion of the women do not go in for university education as that of the men.

Mr. Hartog speaks of "the British figure" and of "the British universities." Similarly Mr. Sharp ("Progress of Educa. tion in India 1912-1917", Vol. 1, pp. 5-6) speaks of university education in "the Unit. ed Kingdom." But both of them give the figure only for England and Wales. But England and Wales are not the whole of the United Kingdom, nor of Great Britainor the British Isles. "British" means relating to Great Britain, and, hence, the terms "the British universities" and "the British figures" must not leave out Scotland. Scotland is educationally more advanced than England and Wales. It may or may not have been intentionally left out to keep "the British figure" low. In any case, we are going to give "the British figure" as worked out by us from the immediately pre-war statistics given in the Statesman's Year-Book for 1914, p. 30. The figure are for the year 1913-14.

Universities in	Students
England	24,010
Wales	1,140
Scotland	7,550
	32,700

of the United It she Kingdom in 1913 was 41,653,039, the alcutta percentage works out at more than instead population British figure aso. It Sharp and Hartog Prog instead of 054, Ireland were included, to give the figure the two for the United Kingdom, the number derison of university students would be 35,176 fair and the total population 46,035,570; the ritish u percentage still working out at more ost adv than '07.

So in any case, university education the tot whatever it may mean, is not as will province students are preparing for degrees. In Bengal all whatever it may mean, is not as Calcutt a CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Pargachilecton propagatively in the

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University area, as has been sought to be made out.

The following table compiled from the latest fingures given in the Year-Book for 1914 and Mr. H. Sharp's Progress of Education in India 1912-17, Vol. II, gives correct idea of the progress of university education in Bengal compared with that the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland:-

No. of Percentage of population enrolled in tion. Students. Universities.

More than '07 Kingdom 46,035,570 35,175 Rengal 46,305,642 22,580 .048

It should be remembered that in the Bengal figures of Intermediate class stuents, numbering more than half the mlege population, have been included, though they are admittedly doing school work. In orange

We turn next to what is denoted by miversity education in the Calcutta University area.

We learn from the Sadler Commission Report (Vol. 1, p. 341) that more than lalf of the students in Calcutta University re in the intermediate stage; and we learn arther (Vol. 1, p. 329) that "By common onsent, the work of the first two years, p to the intermediate level, is practically thool work." This plainly means that ore than half of those who have been ounted as university students are really tudents doing school work. So that the niversity education percentage assigned our country should in reality be at least alf of what it has been represented to be.

United It should also be remembered that the 039, the Calcutta University area is not co-extensive han On Mith Bengal; it includes Assam and Burma figure 150. It is true that university education rtog. progressed most in Bengal and little he figure the two other provinces; but in a commber of larison of statistics, it is neither accurate 35,175 for fair to leave out, in the case of the 570; the ritish universities, those situated in the t more ost advanced province of Scotland, and the case of the Calcutta University area, ucation he total population of the backward as widt rovinces of Assam and Burma. But that

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the British Isles or the United Kingdom is less than what it ought to be and the percentage put down for the Calcutta University area is higher than what it ought to be.

We hope we have been able to show that secondary and university education, in their true meaning, are not as widespread in our country as they are represented to be. And in estimating the spread of education of all kinds and degrees in India, we should bear in mind that what little of education there is in India is for the most part only literary or bookish education. We have very little of industrial, technical, agricultural, mechanical, commercial and technological education. In a comparison with other countries, this fact should not be lost sight of.

Banking Facilities in India.

Agriculture, manufacturing industries, trade and commerce cannot flourish in any country without banking facilities. That country is undoubtedly poor which does not possess banking facilities, or where the number and capital of banks are small. India is such a country, which would be evident from the following table compiled from Mr. Findlay Shirras's new book on Indian Finance and Banking, published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co.:

Popula- Number Capital Deposits Country, tion in of of Banks in Banks Million. Banks. in Million in Million £s. £s. U. S. A. 90 28013 482 5766 U. K. 46 9357 88 2355 Japan 75 5874 67 404 75. 3327 5 2356 35 3327 Canada 324 23 Australia 316 315 India 118

If the capital of Exchange Banks in India were included, the total capital of banks in India would be 23 million pounds, and even that is a small sum.

"The British Connection with India."

In official and non-official British and Anglo-Indian parlance the usual expression which indicated the political relationship existing between Britain and India what has been done; the result being unuthation of "British walle in India" or "our whereas the percentage put down for rule in India." The Royal Proclamation is

probably the first important document of its kind in which the expression used is "the British connection with India." This expression has been hitherto in use generally by those 'politically-minded' Indians who wanted to establish the supremacy of the national will in the internal affairs of the nation without severing the political tie between Britain and India. Its use by His Majesty the King shows that it is now theoretically accepted that India is not a subject country, though the fact of its subjection cannot yet be disputed.

"The Fullness of Political Freedom".

The Royal Proclamation ends with the prayer that India "may grow to the fullness of political freedom." Fullness of political freedom can have only one logical and consistent meaning, namely, perfect internal and external sovereignty. But the extent and degree of political freedom to which, according to the Royal Proclamation, we may aspire, is contained in the following passage:

"..... there is one gift which yet remains and without which the progress of a country cannot be consummated—the right of her people to direct her affairs and safeguard her interests. The defence of India against foreign aggression is a duty of common Imperial interest and pride. The control of her domestic concerns is a burden which India may legitimately aspire to take upon her own shoulders. The burden is too heavy to be borne in full until time and experience have brought the necessary strength; but opportunity will now be given for experience to grow and for responsibility to increase with the capacity for its fulfilment."

The utmost hope which this passage holds out is that in course of time we may have control of all internal affairs, minus the army, navy, and the air fleet and force; it holds out no hope of the least control of any concern that is not civil and domestic. But this is not the accepted meaning of "the fullness of political freedom."

The Question of the Capital of India.

With the desire that India should have one capital where its government should

the hills is not justified by any reason connected with public welfare. The expense incurred for it is sheer waste There is no proof before the public that more work or better work is actually done in the hills than can be done in the plains, To contend otherwise is nonsense; Lord Carmichael practically said so in one of his speeches in connection with the Bengal Government's annual pleasure. The founders and trip to Darjeeling. early wideners of the British Empire liter. ally bore the heat and burden of the day in the plains throughout the year. Is it pretended that the present-day rulers of India do more work, better work, harder and more strenuous and more anxious work than those empire-builders? Persons who cannot bear the climate of a country which is mainly tropical have no business to be connected with its government.

The removal from Delhi is advocated on the ground that that city has no strong public opinion, which Calcutta or Allahabad, for example, has. That may be true But when the capital was in Calcutta, did Lord Curzon pay any heed to public opinion and refrain from partitioning Bengal? It is to be noted that the Partition of Bengal was that stupendous blunder to which, directly or indirectly, the rise of anarchism in India has to be traced. Has the public opinion of Calcutta prevented the sack of Barabazar and Machuabazar and the shooting down of unarmed and inoffensive persons? The fact is wherever the Viceroy or a Governor may be, he does not attend public meetings or socially mix with the people of the country to ascertain public opinion with a view to shaping his policy in accordance with it. As for the newspapers, he may read them if I all them, if he likes, wherever he may be. The only "public" opinion which socially and indirectly 1 indirectly has often effectively influenced the rulers is the opinion of Anglo-Indian society. society. But that is not Indian public opinion The opinion. The less the rulers are influenced proving by Anglo-Indian by Anglo-Indian opinion the better for us lay lay The reason why the non-official European Community of the non-official European community of Calcutta want the Vicero remain located throughout the sendin community of Calcutta want the that that are in perfect sympathy. The rexodus to would mean more business and more would mean more business and more

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money to them, and more dinners also reason to some of them. But what is that to us? The ex-The national will cannot be made supreme waste. by merely locating the capital any where in ic that the plains or in the hills. Only a full ly done measure of representative and responsible plains. government can bring about that result. ; Lord is for the distance of Delhi, the aeroplanes in one will soon remove that objection. th the leasure-

So let the Government of India remain where it will, but let it not be like migratory birds. It should be stationed throughout the year in the same place. Even Simla as the only capital would be preferable to the present peripatetic way of government. Why not abolish Indian capitals and the viceroyalty altogether, and leave the Secretary of State alone to rule from London? The aeroplane will bring London within as easy reach as Simla is at present from Madras. The carrying out of this suggestion would result in considerable economy.

Let there be no more waste of public money over the building of capitals, old or new. And let there not be any further talk of removing the capital to any city in the plains—particularly to Calcutta, it touses provincial jealousy so much. If the Viceroy can do without the ditchers, why cannot the ditchers do without having him in their midst?

Unification of Orissa

The Oriya-speaking population is at Present governed by four provincial admihistrations, the result being that none of them can or do attend fully to their wellare. They are an ancient race, with an ancient history, literature, culture, and traditions of which they are justly proud. They should certainly be brought under one administration, so that they may be astrong, compact, and prosperous people. It is best to make a separate province of the Oriya-speaking tracts. If Assam with population of 67 lakhs, and the Central Provinces and Berar with a population of lakhs can be separate provinces, why hay not the British-ruled Oriyas numberbg 103 lakhs ask for a separate administration? Particularly when the fact is that if the Ociora in trancisome aderruku 30,000 isachi ding allowance.

Indian rule be included, the population rises to 152 lakhs. If all the Oriya tracts be not formed into a separate province, they should certainly be brought under one administration. The Oriyas themselves should decide what province they would like to be included in. Our information is that in language, religion and culture they have greater affinity to Bengal than to any other tract. But we do not lay stress on this point, for fear of rousing the jealousy of the Biharis, and, it may be, of others, too.

The Status of Bihar & Orissa.

Is there more chance of political or any other kind of salvation in being governed by a ruler getting Rs. 128000 and councillors getting Rs. 64000 per annum than in being ruled by a governor getting Rs. 100000 and councillors getting Rs. 60000 per annum? We do not think any kind of salvation lies that way.

No doubt, the provinces having the more expensive variety of rulers would generally have them imported direct from England, and the other provinces would generally have sun-dried bureaucrats to govern them. And theoretically, the men coming direct from the United Kingdom are believed to have a wider and more catholic mental outlook. But as a matter of actual history, there has not been much appreciable progress or retrogression in the provinces under the one or the other species of rulers. Sydenham came from "home" direct, and a Cotton and an Earle became sun-dried here. So it is best not to think of spending more money on the salaries of a set of men already too lavishly paid. Some of the States of the United States of America are as big as, if not bigger than, the provinces of India, and America is a very wealthy country. And yet there is only one State of which the Governor gets 12,000 dollars per annum, equivalent to less than Rs. 40000 per annum, the others all getting less. The Governor-General of the Philippines gets 20,000 dollars or about Rs. 60,000 per annum. The Governor-General of Korea gets Rs.

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India in the Progress of Science.

. That India has been making some contributions to the world's knowledge of science is undoubted. But we should not be misled by the glamour of the name made by the very few notable Indian scientific workers into thinking that India's modern achievement in science is, considering that she contains one-fifth of the human race, not microscopic. reminded of her comparative barrenness in science when we find that in the section named "Recent Advances in Science," contained in the January issue of Science Progress, a quarterly review of scientific thought, work and affairs, edited by Sir Ronald Ross and published by John Murray, there is not mentioned any single research made by any Indian in any branch of science. Of course, this does not mean that during the last quarter of 1919 or during the whole of that year no Indian has done any original scientific work. But it does mean that no work of sufficient outstanding merit to attract the attention of the scientific world, has been done or reported during the quarter or the year. The branches of science in which advances have been noted in Science Progress are, pure mathematics, astronomy, physical chemistry, organic chemistry, geology, mineralogy and crystallography, botany, plant physiology, palaeobotany (1918), zoology, and anthropology.

Emigration to Fiji and British Guiana.

While we should not oppose anybody really freely emigrating to any part of the globe, we are entirely opposed to any encouragement or assistance being given to any project or organisation for bringing about the emigration of Indian labourers to Fiji or British Guiana. India requires all the labour, she has and can get, for her growing industries. There is really no surplus labour here. A few portions of the country are congested, but as a whole India is not overpopulated, but rather underpopulated. If there is to be assisted emigration, it should be from the overpepulated to the underpopulated tracts.

Indian coolies, they have been looked upon and treated as slaves or human cattle, Even free labourers going to those places ad it. now cannot but be looked upon and treated as sub-human, at least for a decade or so. When Indians win political self-mastery and are able to send abroad educated and sturdy men, then alone can the badge of degradation be removed from their countrymen's brows in those countries. Till then no Indians of the labouring class should go to any place where India's name has been degraded, In Fiji, the moral atmosphere in the cooly lines is abominable. There should be no emigration to that colony for the present. Let unmarried young Indians from there come to their ancestral provinces, districts or villages, get properly married according to the religious rites of their community, and then if they like they can go back to Fiji to lead pure lives as free householders.

Indians in East and South Africa.

Mr. C. F. Andrews, who is, day after day, increasing his claims to India's gratitude, by his self-sacrificing and strenuous labours, has been, by his cables and his letters to the press-particularly to the Bombay Chronicle, keeping the East and South African Indian problems before the public. Unscrupulous greed, and racial arrogance and race hatred, are at the root of all the mischief.

As in everything else, so in this matter, real and lasting redress will be won only when we have risen in the scale of human ity as a whole people, including the submerged classes, spiritually, morally, intellectually lectually, physically and politically, so that foreigners may feel that the world cannot do without India's friendship good will and free co-operation.

Society for Promotion of National

The Report of the Society for the Promo of thorough of National Editional Promo of National Editional Promo of National tion of National Education for the year 1919 is a very interest is a very interesting and nicely illustrated publications. It talk Wherever there have clock Public Corner of the land of much excellent who are done in many directions.

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prested in education should procure a copy the Secretary at Adyar, Madras, and e places and it. The introduction tells us:

The chief purposes of the Society for the motion of National Education are two to gover through practical experiment in selectschools the principles of a strong system truly Indian education together with the method of their application; to assist spread of this education from those schools oughout the country. This enterprise implies thorough dissatisfaction-which the society sin common with the whole country-with existing system. But the Society's promme is essentially constructive—it is an primental body, basing its experiments on true Indian life and ideals while keeping view methods (as distinct from materials) and satisfactory in the most progressive of

After the introductory page there is a ation devoted to showing how there has en consistent official failure in dealing with e educational problem in India. This is lowed by an account of the work of the bools and colleges in 1919, including cial development, illustrative examples, sical life, emotional life, intellectual life the religious atmosphere. Then comes accout of the whole Society in 1919, the ms being, first manual arts exhibition, versity lectures, second national education ek, personal, examinations, schools and leges, and publications. Then there is a ecast of what is intended to be done in There are 19 useful appendices. The arly fifty illustrations are not mere decora-18. They have an educative value and equite informing and interesting.

"The Centre of Indian Culture."

This is the name under which the Society the Promotion of National Education dyar, Madras) has published Rabindranath gore's address on national education, which delivered in several places in India. It is ated on good paper in clear and bold type. Nandalal Bose's vignettes in it are suggestive!

The address is a masterpiece both in dicas well as in range and depth of thought Promo thorough grasp of the subject. In many sages there is a rare combination of poetic gery, quiet humour and sarcasm, and wiswhat should be the ideal of education in India In the first section the poet-thinker briefly, gives the following answer:

On each race is the duty laid, to keep alight its own lamp of mind, as its part in the illumination of the world. To break the lamp of any people, is to deprive it of its rightful place in the world festival. He who has no light is unfortunate enough, but utterly miserable is he who, having it, has been deprived of it, or has forgotten all about it.

India has proved that it has its own mind, which has deeply thought and felt and tried to solve according to its light the problems of its light, the problems of existence. The education of India is to enable this mind of India to find out truth, to make this truth its own wherever found and to give expression to it in such a manner as only it can do.

In order to carry this out, first of all the mind of India has to be concentrated and made conscious of itself and then only can it accept education from its teachers in a right spirit, judge it by its own standard and make use of it by its own creative power. The fingers must be joined together to take, as well as to give. So when we can bring the scattered minds of India into co-ordinated activity, they will then become receptive as well as creative—and the waters of life will cease to slip through the gaps, to make sodden the ground beneath.

The next point is that, in education, the inost important factor must be the inspiring atmosphere of creative activity. And therefore the primary function of our University should be the constructive work of knowledge. Men should be brought together and full scope given to them for their work of intellectual exploration and creation; and the teaching should be like the overflow water of this spring of culture, spontaneous and inevitable. Education can only become natural and wholesome when it is the direct fruit of a living and growing knowledge.

The last point is that our education should be in full touch with our complete life, economical, intellectual, æ s t h e t i c, social and spiritual; and our educational institutions should be in the very heart of our society, connected with it by the living bonds of varied co-operations. For true education is to realise at every step how our training and knowledge have organic connection with our surroundings.

We shall have occasion to revert to the contents of the address hereafter. readers should not be satisfied with mere extracts but read the whole of it from the first The question discussed Caro the Bupin permans, Gur Mid dense, Sallette principle Re. 1 per copy. line to the last. It is for sale at Adyar,

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Society for the Improvement of the Backward Classes, Bengal and Assam.

The ninth annual report of the Society for the Improvement of the Backward Classes, Bengal and Assam, is a very encouraging account of what is being done for the education of these classes.

The total number of schools of all classes in 1918 increased by 128, the total figure for the year previous being 103. During the few months of the current year (1919) 100 schools have been added, a result which is considered

to be very encouraging.

78 per cent in the case of girls.

The total number of pupils attending these schools in 1918 was 8120, of whom 6667 were boys and 1453 girls. Of the latter, 328 girls were in 35 mixed schools, and 1125 girls in 50 girls' schools. The average number of pupils on the rolls in a school was 36.8 boys and 22.5 girls, and the average daily attendance was 27.5 or 74.6 per cent in the case of boys, and about

A very perceptible though indirect result of the activities of the Society, is the growth of a keen desire for education amongst the backward classes, which for want of funds the Society has not been able to meet to the fullest extent. It is often observed that after a school is started by the Society the local people follow it up by starting others in the neighbourhood and then come to the Society for help. Thus after starting 55 schools in Brahmanbaria in October last, the Society got information of about 52 new schools having been started in the locality by the people within a period of about 4 months.

We are told there has been a remarkable rise in the number of girl students.

The figure nearly doubled in 1917 as compared with that of 1916, whereas in 1918 it was more than three times of what it was in 1917. In 1917 the ratio of girls attending schools to the total number of female population of school-going age amongst these classes was 13.7 as compared with 12:4 in the previous year and rising up to 18.9 in 1918, the number of girls being more than a 5th of the total number of pupils (both male and female) attending these schools. The number of girls' schools has also increased beyond expectation. Whereas the increase was only 4 in 1917 as compared with the figure of 1916, in 1918 the total number of girls' schools rose to 50, being 35 more than what it was in 1917.

Sixty different castes are represented in the Society's schools. Recently a school for the methar or sweeper caste has been opened at Dhubri, the municipality having voted Rs. 350 for it.

The remarkable expansion of the Society's work in the year under copont is the Protest Grown the fact that in 1918-19 its income was Rs. exper-13645, whereas in the previous nine years support combined the total income was Rs. 13631. A very hopeful and encouraging fact is the The spirit of self-help of the villagers,

The District Boards and the Municipalities of sh helped the schools during the period with Rychine C Rs. 15626-4 in the shape of fees, donations, etc. paid either in cash or kind. The comparative popular statement given below shows the monthly cost ople ar per school and per pupil from the different justly a

THE PROPERTY.	191	7	1918—19 Per Per		
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We support the following observations in opularity the Report:

It should be observed here that in view of a country the poverty of the people and their traditional upularity simple habits of life the paraphernalia of amanity. school, viz., furniture and in many cases separate ad, peop school-houses, may be dispensed with in primary schools. They operate as great drawbacks the spread of education in this country, especially amongst the poorer and backward classes the people. It will not be out of place to mention here the instance of Satyabadi English High School at Sakshigopal, 12 miles from Puri. Its now an open air colored to the same of the same of the same open air colored to the same open air colored an open-air school in a large grove of one-fourth erty be square mile kept scrupulously clean, with shall be they trees, such as Bakul, Surapunnaga and Bana schief all round. The classes are held under different many clusters of trees. The students sit on small thout all country mats and the teacher on a raise masonry seat having the appearance of a class verging musconry seat having the school is held in an adjace as the school is held in a school in the school in the school is held in a school in the sch During the rains the school is held in an adjace as building construction of the school is held in an adjace as a second of the school is held in a second of the school is hel building constructed to meet the requirement appli of the university for the purpose of getticiety. affiliation. The school has over 300 pupils desire the rolls and gives very efficient teaching a shows striking the rolls and gives very efficient teaching shows striking results at the matricular dering. examination.

We are pleased to read the following:

It is a noteworthy fact that education er and to m of a very elementary character gives advantage to a person engaged in any vocation. Its truth demonstrated by the greater efficient and success of the analysis who have got so and success of the analysis who have got so and success of those Muchies who have got sort of general sort of general education. It may also reived a observed here that there is no ground for the apprehension in the minds of some backers the members of the poorer and traditional line is the members of the poorer and traditional line is callings on receiving a smattering of education vice. callings on receiving a smattering of education in ice, in

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ne was Rs. experience of the Society does not lend nine years support to these apprehensions.

Welcome to Panjab Leaders.

Rs. 13631. fact is the The unprecedented welcome given in cutta to some Musalman and Panjab unicipalities ders show that though the administrative od with Reschine can deprive men of life, liberty and contributed perty, it cannot at will make men suffer attions, etc. popular esteem. On the contrary, when the comparative place are convinced that men have been onthly cost ople are convinced that men have been different justly and unnecessarily persecuted and mished, the love and respect felt for them increased beyond measure.

When there is a wide gulf between the pular estimate and the official estimate of o o it per and of men, the tendency in the minds of 006 bureaucracy is to rely more and more 0 2 0 " iphysical force for safety and maintenance

power. This is undesirable.

The persons whose influence over and ervations in pularity with the people have risen so markably, will be a great power for good to in view de country, if they can use that influence and tradition pularity as a gift of God for the service of nalia of manity. For, generally, where they will ses separate ad, people will follow.

awbacks to Released Detenus and Political Prisoners.

to mention The detenus and political prisoners who Puri listre now been released, were deprived of fone-fourth erty because Government thought with shall her they had the will and the power for and Banial schief or that they had actually done harm. der differe many cases, the people thought otherwise. it on small thout attempting to adjudicate between these of a charmer signing opinions, it may be said that these anadjaco isons possess ardour and powers which, equirement applied, may conduce to the wefare of of gettin ciety. It may be assumed that they have of guide desire to do good. They are inured to eaching and striculate desire to do good. They are inured to atriculate dering. The problem is to provide them opportunities for doing good. Many of wing have the initiative and the strength of deation et and to make opportunities.

Welcome to Mr. Lajpat Rai.

welcome to Mr. Lajpat Rai.

er efficience of his return from America after an expected a warm welcome from his countrymen He used every opportunity while abroad hackers spread a knowledge of the true facts relating

remarkable is that in spite of the persistent persecution to which he has been subjected for years, he has not lost his political balance. of mind, he has not become a revolutionary. In fact, his bent of mind is more in the direction of social and economic reconstruction than in that of mere political agitation.

It is to be hoped that he will be allowed to do his work without harrassment.

Calcutta Public Meeting to Consider Government Resolution on Sadler Commission's Report.

The resolutions passed at the important Calcutta public meeting held under the presidency of Sir P. C. Ray, to consider the Government Resolution on the Sadler Commission's Report, and Sir P. C. Ray's presidential address, reflect the educated public opinion of Bengal. The address and the resolutions rightly urged that there should be no hurry, and that as Bengal will have to find the money for educational reconstruction in the province, education being a transferred subject, the legislation to be undertaken should be introduced in the reconstituted and enlarged Bengal legislative council.

We have no heart to write more on a matter like this. For, when the practically despotic Government of India once sets its heart upon any measure, it does not listen to public. And it always goes against our grain to adopt the attitude of begging.

The Khilapat Conference Workers.

The first batch of delegates of the Khilapat Conference are already in London. We wish them all success.

As the Germans in spite of their defeat are to remain supreme in the areas where they are in a majority, so the Turks also should remain supreme in areas where the Moslems of the Ottoman Empire are in a majority. As the principle of self-determination has been held to be applicable in countries, it should Christian European apply also in European and Asiatic Moslem of the Turk is The offence countries. alleged to be his cruelty. Political partisanship and prejudice added to religious rancour make men such liars that it is difficult to men back spread a knowledge of the true facts relating the Turks is true.

back spread a knowledge of the true facts relating the Turks is true.

traditional lindia and thus rendered unequalled wholly true, within the last few years Belgium, feducational lindia and thus rendered unequalled wholly true, within the last few years Belgium, feducational lindia and thus rendered unequalled wholly true, within the last few years Belgium, feducational lindia and thus rendered unequalled wholly true, within the last few years Belgium, feducational lindia and thus rendered unequalled wholly true, within the last few years Belgium, feducational lindia and thus rendered unequalled wholly true, within the last few years Belgium, feducational lindia and thus rendered unequalled wholly true, within the Balkan States have

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been accused of the same kind of atrocities. . Why thereshould Turkey alone suffer?

Compulsory Education for Boys and Girls.

As compulsory education is going to be introduced in Poona, it is being hotly debated there whether compulsion should apply simultaneously to both boys and girls, or to boys first and girls afterwards. Mr. Tilak's party is for applying compulsion to boys first. It is said that there would not be sufficient funds available to provide edequate school accommodation for all boys and girls of primary school age. The party in favour of compulsory education of girls, too, have shown that the same school buildings and staffs may suffice for both boys and girls, if education be given them in the forenoons

and afternoons respectively.

The contrivance by which one school is made to do duty for two is known as the Gary plan in America, and there is no reason why it should not succeed in India. If there be insuperable difficulties in the way of its adoption here, then instead of shutting out the whole female sex from the benefits of compulsion, both boys and girls of the backward or depressed classes alone may be compelled to attend school, as has been suggested by some Brahmin ladies of Poona. This is a good suggestion. If this suggestion be not accepted, there is a third, namely, that if there be not sufficient money for both boys and girls, the girls alone should first have the benefit of free and compulsory education. The education of girls has been hitherto so much neglected everywhere that it would not be at all unfair to give them the preference for a while.

It has been argued that the education of boys is an economic necessity and of economic importance, whereas that of girls is necessary more from the cultural than from the economic standpoint. It is true, no doubt, that a greater proportion of men than of women are bread-winners. But in this argument one fact is lost sight of. Male infants must first survive the perils of infancy before they can begin to be trained for bread-winning. We must reduce infant mortality in order to have more workers. We must have healthy homes, villages and towns in order to have more

workers and more healthy workers. But though other steps may and should be taken infant mortality cannot be reduced, nor health homes and surroundings secured, without giving education to women. Moreover, the good las alw education of the boys themselves depends on the LEADIN education of their mothers and sisters. And gives it should also be noted that the good effect, the education of boys is frequently nullified Relief impaired by the ignorance and superstition their grandmothers, mothers and sisters. § the education of girls is of economic as well as bundan cultural value.

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The women of Poona have set a noble and ay: courageous example by marching in procession 2000 strong to the Municipal Office carrying of Benga banners and singing songs, to demand universal education for girls. One motto was particular delicious striking and opposite. It said that the putting off of girl's education by three years would mean putting off of Home Rule for thirty years Brahmin women and "untouchable" women KUNTAL walked hand in hand in the procession. righteous cause is a great leveller.

Proposed Reforms in the Nizam's Dominions.

His Exalted Highness the Nizam has to cently established an Executive Council. He has now taken the important step of issuingal progressive Firman Mobarik which says, in part,

The next important move in the direction of Reforms I have in contemplation, is thorough and complete investigation of the conditions most favourable to the enlargement of the Legislative Council and the expansion of its useful and the expansion of the of its usefulness as an integral part of the Government machinery. I, therefore, direct the Sadar-i-Azam, Sir Ali Imam, to take immediat steps to collect all necessary materials on White a liberal scheme for the attainment of the about mentioned objects may be based. It is a desire that desire that, with due regard to the social and educational advance made by my people, particular attention should be paid to the following points in conduction in points in conducting the investigation: Substantial introduction of the Elective Heart (b) Direct Voting, (c) Representation all important Classes and Interests, (d) Effective protection of Minorities, (e) Conditions Franchise, (f) The Official Element, (g) Power Franchise, (f) The Official Element, (g) Powers and Functions and Functions.

We await developments with expectancy

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Lives of great men all remind us, We can make our lives sublime. The sketches are written in direct and graceful

anguage and form very pleasant reading.

There is no doubt that the book will find favour

The Subodha Patrika says :-

The articles which are embodied in the volume te of such a kind as would appeal to every one who

wants to get a glimpse into the innermost recesses of the mentality of some of the men who have had a considerable hand in the shaping of Modern Bengal. The articles are an attempt to present to the men The articles are an attempt to present to the men and women of our generation a few characteristics of some of the leaders of Bengal whom Pandit Sivanath Sastri had the privilege to know intimately. And it may here be noted in passing that the book incidentally gives information which would be very valuable to the future biographer of another great man of Bengal, we mean, Pandit Sivanath Sastri himself. The book is full of anecdotes of these great personalities of Bengal. And it is not possible to give the reader an adequate idea of the very interesting and instructive character of these reminiscences without quoting some of them for his in-

The book is full of such inspiring and elevating anecdotes.

The Indian Social Reformer says :-

Then rose a galaxy of men who made the name of Bengal great among Indian provinces. The venerable Pandit Sivanath Sastry, in a volume of reminiscences, with the title of "Men I Have Seen", has given vivid pen-portraits of seven of these pioneers. He has also given in them much material for a picture of himself,—"the last of the Romans". Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Dwarkanath Vidhyabhusan, Devendra Nath Tagore, Mahendralal Sircar, Rajnarain Bosehere is, indeed, a group not easily matched in any age or clime. These engali pioneers were great souls in every sense. We are indebted to Pandit Sivanath Sastry for this volume which is really a valuable contribution to the history of modern Bengal.

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Opinions on Wen I Have Seen":

Men I Have Seen. This is a small Collection of information and annecdotes of great leaders of Bengal. Hence the book has got an exceptional value. We trust that this book will find a place in every library. -- The Wednesday Review.

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more widely known outside of Bengal all over India Men I Have Seen. This is a small Collection of the Men and the Again of Seen on posts to guide us to direct personal Reminiscences of se regitized meaby all the ship of our culture and civilisation in these times by Pandit Sivanath Sastri. The Book contains full the ship of our culture and civilisation in these times of several leaders of Bengal. of stress and conflict of ideals. The names of the same of the sa of stress and conflict of ideals. The names of some of these great men of Bengal are household words of these great much is known of their character, in Bengal and much is known of their character, in cidents of life, and these reminiscences also give us glimpses of the characteristic traits of nobility, strength and moral fibre of their character. The Indian Messenger says :-

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It is observed all through the book that the author's main concern is with his Motherland. It is interest in her needs and the wish to point out to his countrymen a possible solution of her problems that have called forth almost all of that which is here placed before the public.—The Commonweal

Lala Lajpat Rai means to stir up young India to achieve nobler ends. The book teems with very useful and instructive information and would serve the purpose of a guide to young men in understanding the Position of their country and nation in the scale of their country. We recommend its perusal to every lover of his country.

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rect and FIFTEEN YEARS IN AMERICA

BY

DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A., Ph.D.,

LECTURER ON ORIENTAL POLITICS IN THE STATE UNIVERSITY
OF IOWA, U.S.A.,; AUTHOR OF "SOME ASPECTS OF
BRITISH RULE IN INDIA"; AND EDITOR OF THE
ORIENTAL DEPARTMENT OF "THE
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PREFACE

Candor requires that I should warn the reader that this book is not a philosophical dissertation on American life and thought: in the main it represents my personal impressions and observations-rather commonplace at times but always human. Reflective readers will perceive nevertheless, that the volume is not without a definite purpose, which is to afford a cross-section view of American life.

It is almost superfluous to observe that a new epoch is opening for mankind which will emphasize world unity rather than world division. In this historic epoch, the rising India, as indeed the rest of the world, must turn to the United States for support and inspiration. Hindustan should know and study America—the people, the govern HALL O. ment, the scientific progress, the educational development low C and the gospel of energism of the New World. And it's to be hoped that through these pages the reader may glimpse the real America, and note the play and interplate of forces which are of such tremendous significance this moment.

In India the people have lived for thousands of year under the shadow of Manu's teaching: "Tell the truth but not that which is unpleasant: tell the pleasant, but no that which is untrue". In this book I have clearly broke with the time-honoured traditions of our Hindu race: have not only told the truth as I was able to see it, I have dared at times even to say some unpleasant thing During the fifteen years of my residence in the Unit

States I highest have u Americ counts with a l

Por magazin Plaiforr Review The Hi fully ac to my Profess of Iowa

States I have become an ardent admirer of all that is best, highest and noblest in the life of the American nation. I have unmeasured faith in the rich potentialities of American democracy. And if I have ventured on a few counts to criticize this country, I have written nevertheless with a loving heart of the "wonder land" of my dream.

Portions of this work have appeared in such American magazines as The Forum, The Lyceum World, and The Platform; and in such Indian magazines as The Modern Review of Calcutta, The Indian Review of Madras, and The Hindustan Review of Allahabad. I desire to gratefully acknowledge my debt for many valuable suggestions to my colleague and highly esteemed former teacher, Professor Benjamin F. Shambaugh of the State University of Iowa.

SUDHINDRA BOSE.

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CHAPTER I

AMERICAN WAYS

Let us extend our ideas over the whole of the vast field in which we are called to act. Let our object be, our country, our whole country, and nothing but our country.

-Daniel Webster.

The United States may well be described as a congress of nations in permanent session; for the citizenry of America is an unprecedented mixture of the peoples of the globe. In the veins of the people flows the blood of half the races of the world. For the five-year period before the great war in Europe the number of immigrants averaged more than a million a year. There are in the United States sixty-five different nationalities speaking as many as seventy-three languages and dialects. "In one ward in the city of Chicago forty languages are spoken by persons who prattled at their mother's knee one or the other of them". Having once set his foot on American soil, the alien becomes quickly

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innoculated with patriotism for the United States: he vies with the "native-born" American in his profession of loyalty to his adopted country. The incoming immigrant having thrown off his former allegience finds himself in a vast melting pot where many nationalities are fused preparatory to their being recasted into a new mould called Americanism.

The feeling of unity in America is so intense that it impels assimilation of even the most obstinate elements. The chief solvents in the process are language, education, free government, and public opinion—the greatest and most potent of which is the compelling force of public opinion. Should a foreigner be hardy enough to disregard public sentiment, he may find social and even business avenues barred against him. "If you don't like our country, get out", he will be informed politely. "Do as others do. Follow the crowd", is the demand of normal American existence.

I recall with amusement my earlier experiences in America when I was tardy in adjusting myself to the new environment. One by one, almost unconsciously, I had shed my Indian costumes; but there was one article I fondly

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CORPORATE ENFE IN CANCIENT INDIA

BY

Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M. A., PH. D.

Lecturer on Ancient Indian History,

Calcutta University.

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It is an original study on the corporate activities of the ancient Indians in political, economic, religious and social life. It gives a critical account of the Republics and Political Assemblies in Ancient India and contains detailed description of such self-governing institutions as Guilds and Village Communities. It deals with religious corporations like Buddhist Samgha and contains a critical study of the rise and development of the social corporations known as Castes.

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